[Nance]

********** 20 West 40th Street

4 January 1946

Personal

21-22-2

My dear Mariella

I am thinking of a lecture trip to California early in March. As I said to you, I do not want to speak at branches of the NAACP. If, however, requests should come refer them directly to me. I am writing also to Dr. Harold M. Kingsley and the Sommervilles of Los Angeles. I should probably have to charge between one hundred and one hundred and fifty dollars out of which I would pay my own expenses providing of course I got enough engagements.

I hope you have solved your housing difficulty. A Happy New Year to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ethel R. Nance
c/o NAACP Regional Office
12 Geary Street
San Francisco

21-27-28

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

Official Organ: The Crisis

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Regional Office
Room 206, 12 Geary Street
San Francisco 8, California

January 25, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have been working on engagements in San Francisco but with little success. The short notice seems to be the major difficulty. I am enclosing a letter received today from Dr. Alfred G. Fisk of the San Francisco State College (He is co-pastor with Howard Thurman in the Fellowship Church here).

I am in touch with Martin Loeb, Dept. of Social Welfare, University of California, but February seems to be the only time they could work you in. He is still working on the matter, however.

I have contacted the Kappa Sorority, Carpe Diem Club, Booker T. Washington Center, and a Mrs. Dane at Stanford University in charge of Public Exercises.

I wanted you to know I haven't been asleep on the job and hadn't merely filed your letter (smile).

My sons arrived on Tuesday morning so one milestone has been passed although we have had to move out to Hunters Point, a project near the Navy Yard. It is tolerable until something else turns up although it gives me a long ride on a more than crowded bus morning and evening. I've lived through so many cyclones and things this far, I very much fear you will continue hearing from me many years hence.

Trust 1946 will be another year filled with many new friends and experiences for you.

Sincerely,

Ethel Ray Nance

[Enclosure]

San Francisco State College

San Francisco 2, California

January 23, 1946

21-27-29

Miss Ethel Ray Nance
Room 206
12 Geary Street
c/o Natl. Assn. for the Advancement
of Colored People
San Francisco 8, California

My dear Miss Nance:

I have your letter concerning the coming to the college of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. I have talked about this letter to the Dean, and I am sorry to say to you that we have no funds to pay outside speakers, nor do we have at the college any assemblies during the term, partly because we have no place to hold them.

If Dr. DuBois would be interested in coming to the college to speak to three or four classes which might be combined to hear him, we would be very happy to have him here, but I suspect that his usual fee would make it impossible for him to do that.

You may be interested in knowing that we are offering at the college a course entitled "The Negro in American Life". I am teaching this course and am extremely sorry that it seems unlikely for us to have Dr. DuBois, because I know it would fit in with the work of this course very nicely.

Let me know at any time if you have other suggestions for us, and we will be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

Alfred G. Fisk

AGF:eas

Dr. Alfred G. Fisk

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1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
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21-27-30

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

15 February 1946

Mrs. Ethel R. Nance (please deliver)
c/o NAACP Regional Office — day letter
12 Geary Street
San Francisco, California

CAN LECTURE IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA APRIL SEVENTH TO TWENTIETH OR APRIL TWENTY-FIRST TO MAY FOURTH stop WHICH WOULD BE BETTER AND WOULD IT BE WORTHWHILE stop CONSULT BUELL GALLAGHER OF PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Edgecombe 4-9837

21-27-31

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

.521)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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NC50 DL PD=SANFRANCISCO CALIF 20 1025A 1946 FEB 20 PM 2 03

DR DUBOIS=

20 WEST 40 ST=

DR GALLAGHER HAS JUST RETURNED TO CITY HE WILL ARRANGE LECTURE TO FIT IN WITH UNIVERSITY ENGAGEMENT. AWAITING WORD FROM UNIVERSITY NOW=

ETHEL NANCE.(

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

25 February 1946

My dear Marielle:

I hope my telegrams have not mixed you up. What I finally decided is this: I will leave Chicago so as to lecture in southern California from April seventh to twentieth and then the last two weeks, and if necessary the first four days in May, in northern California.

Of course it may be that you cannot arrange engagements for me at that time but I am hoping something can be done without too much strain and time on your part. Send me a memorandum of any expenses that you may have.

I have written to Kingsley and the Sommervilles in Los Angeles and they are attending to that end.

I hope your family has been fairly well settled.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ethel R. Nance
c/o NAACP Regional Office
12 Geary Street
San Francisco

21-27-33

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

Night Letter 25 February 1946

Mrs. Ethel Nance (do not telephone)
c/o NAACP REGIONAL OFFICE
12 Geary Street
San Francisco, California

WILL LECTURE IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA APRIL TWENTY-FIRST TO MAY FOURTH stop
HAVE ARRANGED THIS DIVISION OF TIME WITH KINGSLEY.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

21-27-32

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

NIGHT LETTER

Mrs. Ethel Nance (Please deliver)
c/o NAACP Regional Office
12 Geary Street
San Francisco, California

MUST KNOW IMMEDIATELY WHETHER NORTH CALIFORNIA WISHES FIRST HALF OR LAST HALF OF APRIL stop COMMUNICATE WITH Harold Kingsley one twenty SAN PEDRO STREET LOS ANGELES AND ARRANGE TO HIS SATISFACTION stop WIRE MY EXPENSE.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

[E. R. Nance]

21-27-35

Saturday, March 2nd

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Glad to have your letter. I wired Rev. Kingsley upon receipt of your wire.

Dr. Deutsch at the University of California was out of the city and no one else seemed able to make a decision. I realize how upsetting it can be to have things unsettled, but I wasn't exactly sleeping on the job. They were in the midst of exams at the U (as though no other school ever has exams) and everyone seemed concentrated! I did keep phoning them and got myself a bit disliked I guess. I have written them again and talked to Dr. Deutsch's Secretary and she promises me a reply within a few days.

Dr. Gallagher wishes to present you in Berkeley before the University engagement. I don't know just why he seems to think the two lectures must go together. I am to notify him as soon as the U date is settled.

I have talked again to Stanford on the phone, and the later date seems more favorable to them. They are arranging their program for the semester now and I have written them about the most outstanding of your accomplishments, together with a picture, and hope to hear next week also. (my picture by the way)

You might send me a couple of pictures which I could use when I am asked, also a short biographical sketch of the things you prefer seeing in print!

Hoping to get things settled so we will at least get a glimpse of you in April or early May, I am

Sincerely,

Ethel

Marielle

21-27-36

6 March 1946

My dear Marielle:

Thank you very much for what you are doing. Do not work too hard at it or get in trouble about it. I hope that the two universities and Mr. Gallagher's apointments can be made. Let me hear from you when you can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ethel Nance
c/o NAACP Regional Office
12 Geary Street
San Francisco

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC EXERCISES

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFORNIA

March 14, 1946 Lectures

Miss Ethel Ray Nance
West Coast Regional Office
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
12 Geary Street
San Francisco 8, California

Dear Miss Nance:

The Tuesday Evening Series Program Committee met today and was particularly interested in allocating a Tuesday Evening Series date for the presentation of DR. WILLIAM EDUARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS.

Unfortunately, there are immovable programs scheduled on the Series during the time Dr. Du Bois will be in these environs. Since our budget is not set up only for Tuesday Evening Series programs, we would not be in a position to arrange a special lecture for this scholarly man.

We are grateful to you for calling our attention to his visit in the Bay Region.

Sincerely,

Yvonne Harley Dane

(Mrs.) Yvonne Harley Dane
Secretary to the Committee

Glossy print enclosed

21-27

21-27-37

18 March 1946

Dear Marielle:

I am planning to arrive in Los Angeles on the fifth or sixth of April and to come to San Francisco the thirteenth or fourteenth. I shall leave here March thirtieth. Please let me hear from you before I leave or sometime before April fourth in care of Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois
Do the best you can for me for engagements, but as I said before do not take more time than you can afford and do not get in trouble with your job.

I shall probably stay with Edith Loving while in San Francisco although that is not yet settled.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ethel Nance
c/o NAACP Regional Office
12 Geary Street
San Francisco

27 March 1946

21-27-38

My dear Marielle:

I shall arrive in Los Angeles April sixth and my address will be c/o Mrs. Vada Somerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Sometime about the middle of the month I shall be coming up to San Francisco. I have notified Mr. White that I am going to be lecturing in California and that if any of the branches wish my services I could take a few lectures and would charge them a proper proportion of the expense of the trip.

Will you suggest a stopping place? You might make reservation at the St. Francis or the Drake if nothing better occurs to you.

Also during the last two weeks of April I shall be working on the manuscript of my book. If you have any extra time, I should like your help. I would, of course, pay you. Let me hear from you in Los Angeles.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ethel R. Nance
c/o NAACP Regional Office
12 Geary Street
San Francisco

2 May 1946

21-11-20

My dear Mariella:

I cannot tell you how much I am indebted to you for the hard work which you did on my book. I have just handed it in today. My best regards to your husband and the boys.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ethel Nance
c/o NAACP Regional Office
12 Geary Street
San Francisco

21-29-33

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
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SYMBOLS
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DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBLLO TERRACE BALTO= 14

ONLY

ONTY SENDING GREETINGS ON YOUR DIAMOND ANNIVERSARY WILL GIVE ME GREATER PLEASURE=

ETHEL RAY NANCE.

Ha 9016

Daughter
455P
La Mail

Ethel Ray Nance

21-11-21

18 October 1946

My dear Marielle:

Thank you for your letter of October 8. The difficulty is that there is no such official position as a Consuls Committee on Colonial Affairs. There is of course the trusteeship council and we are going to approach them although there is no offical position. The matter of colonies can only be taken up through the subject of human relations under the Social and Economic Council. I have asked for position as consultant and it might be a good thing for people to write to the chairman of the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations, asking that I be recognized as consultant. Further than that at present there seems nothing to do. Write and tell me how you are and how the family is. There was no chance to get to see you this summer but I may get west next winter at least I hope so.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
NAACP Regional Office
12 Geary Street
San Francisco, California

21-11-22

27 November 1946

My dear Ethel:

How are you and the family? There are two things I am writing about: I expect to make a trip South and West, in February and March and will probably be in San Francisco March 17 to 22. I have chosen this date so that if possible, I might get a chance to lecture on Tuesday, March 18 in the evening lecture series at Stanford University. If you will let me have the address, I can write them directly or you might make contact.

In addition to this it is not certain that Miss Diggs will return; she is in South America and the State Department wants her to stay three months more; which will take her up until next March. Besides that, she has had some offers from universities which she may accept. In case she did not return what would you think of coming here if I could obtain for you her salary of $2500; how about your husband's work and about the boys. At any rate think this over. I have interim arrangements lasting from December 1 to April 1 or thereabouts. I have nothing definite to offer now but as I say I may have. My best regards to all.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
NAACP Regional Office
12 Geary Street
San Francisco, California

21-11-23

4 December 1946

My dear Marielle:

I have just heard again from Miss Diggs and she expects to be here March 1 and come back to the office. She is going to hold her offers in abeyance for at least a year. So you need not pack up yet. I still plan to see you in March. I am so glad to hear that your husband has his job again. My best regards to him, you and the boys.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
c/o NAACP
12 Geary Street
San Francisco, California

[Nash]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 2, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

22-9-22

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. John Collier, is going to New York next week and is most anxious to have a talk with you. He has asked me to write you and tell you that he is coming and wants to draw on your deep knowledge of colonial and dependent problems.

I know he needs no introduction to you but I am very glad to write and do whatever I can to bring you together.

Sincerely yours,

Phillo Nash

PHILLEO NASH
Assistant to David K. Niles

Mr. Walton called to take you to lunch at his expense!
[illegible]

Lester A. Walton
2588 Seventh Avenue

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 2, 1946

21-20-82

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. John Collier, is going to New York next week and is most anxious to have a talk with you. He has asked me to write you and tell you that he is coming and wants to draw on your deep knowledge of colonial and dependent problems.

I know he needs no introduction to you but I am very glad to write and do whatever I can to bring you together.

Sincerely yours,

Philleo Nash
Assistant to David K. Niles

[The Nation]

26 July 1946

My dear Miss Kirchwey:

There is a situation developing at Fisk University which I think calls for some publicity. Fisk has always had white presidents, but a new president is being elected and the best man mentioned for the job is colored, Charles Wesley, a graduate and trustee of Fisk. He is a Doctor of Philosphy from Harvard, former dean at Howard with administrative experience for four years as president of Wilberforce and a writer of distinction. No other candidate approaches him in capability or availability. The alumni demand him almost unanimously. The trustee have not yet elected him apparently for three reasons: first, they hesitate to put a Negro in this job who will administer a college with an endowment of three million dollars; secondly, the alumni object to present financial policies which include annually $12,000 for "publicity" to the New York office and $22,000 for handling the investments; and thirdly, certain Southern leaders of the United Negro Endowment Fund and Southern white trustees of Fisk have said frankly that they do not want to encourage "radical" Negroes in such positions; and they have defined as radical any person who supports the FEPC or the CIO. These facts are clearly established.

22-9-41

This brings up a serious problem not only of race discrimination but as to interference of wealth with education. Wesley is not radical but he supported the FEPC and has written a sympathetic book on Negro union labor. I am wondering if you can find space in the Nation for a short statement of this sort which I would like to write. May I hear from you at your convenience?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Freda Kirchwey
The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York City, N. Y.

The Nation

July 30, 1946

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

2-19-54

Miss Kirchwey is out of the office today but she has asked me to tell you that she'd be glad to have you write a short article for The Nation describing the situation at Fisk University. For our purposes the article should not run to more than 1000 words - less, if possible.

Sincerely yours,

Caroline Whiting

Secretary to Miss Kirchwey.

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, New York.

21-19-12

2 August 1946

My dear Miss Kirchwey:

In accordance with the letter from your secretary of July 30, I am submitting an article. Cut it if you must.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Kirchwey
The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N.Y.

21-19-13

4 September 1946

Sir:

Will you please send me five copies of the September 5 issue of the Nation with my article on Fisk University? Please enclose bill.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York City

Organized 1896

National Association of Colored Women, Inc.

Incorporated 1904

Affiliated with the National Council of Women U. S. A. Inc. 1906
Maintains Frederick Douglass Memorial Home and Property—1916
Established National Scholarship Fund and National Headquarters

1114 O STREET, N. W. TELEPHONE DEcatur 8160 WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

2-21-27

Office of the President
MRS. CHRISTINE S. SMITH

September 25, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter of September 18th sent to my Washington office was handed to me what I was in that city the past weekend. I shall be most happy to attend the meeting scheduled for October 5th at 2:00 p.m. in the auditorium of the 135th Branch of the New York Public Library.

We shall be glad to endorse the petition which you are providing and will give whatever support possible to the work which you have in hand.

Very truly yours

Christine S. Smith

Mrs. C. S. Smith
President

CSS/mv

Organized 1896

National Association of Colored Women, Inc.

Incorporated 1904

Affiliated with the National Council of Women U. S. A. Inc. 1906
Maintains Frederick Douglass Memorial Home and Property—1916
Established National Scholarship Fund and National Headquarters

1114 O STREET, N. W. TELEPHONE DEcatur 8160 WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

Office of the President
MRS. CHRISTINE S. SMITH

October 17, 1946

C-18-24

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter of October 9th came promptly to my desk. I shall be most happy to appoint a representative of our organization to be present on the occasion for the presentation of the Petition to the United Nations. I am suggesting Mrs. Dora Needham Lee - 2415 Synder Avenue, Brooklyn 26, New York, who will be glad to represent us.

If the date of this important event does not conflict with other engagements I would like to be present in person. If it is possible for you to keep me informed I will be grateful.

With best wishes for you and the work committed to your care.

Very truly yours

Christine S. Smith

Mrs. C. S. Smith
President

CSS/mv

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1605 Lapsley Street
Selma, Alabama

October 22,1946

Dr.W.E.B.DuBoise
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

My Dear Dr. DuBoise:

Yours to hand and contents noted. In reply to the same I wish to say that:

First:Now as it relates to the organization for the furtherance of Negroes throughout America, and the foreign feilds as stated in your letter, I am saying that we are in hearty approval with the Movement and will do whatever we can to help push it to completion.

Second:You requested that in the event that I could not be present that I would appoint someone who would represent the National Baptist Convention, and the same will give you our full endorsement and cooperation. Therefore I am giving you the name of Dr.G.W. Sims,131West 131st Street,New York City.

If there is anything special that I can do to help foster this great work, I will pleased to do so.
With best wishes and kindest regards,

I am with appreciation,

D. V. Jemison

[NAT. BAR ASSOC]

21-21-31

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October 3, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is to inform you that I have appointed the following persons to represent the National Bar Association on the occasion of the meeting of the Pan African Congress set for October 5, 1946, at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library:

(1) Mrs. Sadie T. M. Alexander
40 South 19th Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

(2) Mr. George E. C. Hayes
613 F Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

(3) Judge Francis E. Rivers
52 Chambers Street
New York, N. Y.

These said persons are authorized to cooperate with you and your committee in the laudable steps you are taking to present the case of the Negro people, particularly the African people, to the United Nations.

Very sincerely yours,

Earl B. Dickerson
President

EBD:ON

[National Committee to Win the Peace]

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1220

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DL = Day Letter
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21-19-183

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Brigadier General Evans F. Carlson · Paul Robeson, Co-Chairmen

October 8, 1946

21-27-14

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Confirming our telephone conversation today, I should appreciate your advising me if you will be available to speak at a meeting sponsored by our Bronx County Committee to Win the Peace on Wednesday, October 30th, at 9:00 P.M., in the Concourse Plaza Hotel. They expect an audience of about 1,000 people.

Our Bronx Committee would like you to discuss America's foreign policy and the Wallace issue.

If you are free on that date, we hope you will accept this invitation.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Diana Perry

Diana Perry
Speakers' Bureau

uopwa-16

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14 October 1946

21-23-15

Dear Miss Perry:

I have your kind invitation of October 8th but regret to say that on October 30th I have an engagement in Nashville, Tenn.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Diana Perry
National Committee to Win the Peace
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

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July 31, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

42-8F-16

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In answer to your letter of July 24, I wish to state that I will be happy to cooperate toward obtaining the objective outlined in your communication. If possible, I will be glad to attend a meeting in New York to explore ways and means of implementing this plan. For the present, however, I would have to act in a personal rather than official capacity.

Sincerely yours,

George L-P Weaver

George L-P Weaver
Director

GLPW:as

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May 25, 1946

Lecture

21-19-114

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 42 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed are your tickets of admission to enable you and your guest to enter Madison Square Garden on the evening of Wednesday, May 29, 1946. We shall, of course, be pleased to send you additional tickets to the meeting if you will let me know the number you require.

A representative of the Council will be at the stage door entrance, 331 West 49th Street (between 8th and 9th Avenues) to show you to your seats.

As the meeting is due to begin promptly at 7:30 p. m., may we suggest that you try to get to the Garden not later than 7:45 p. m.

Please let us know if we can be of any help to you.

3 or 4

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91
encs.

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21-19-104

June 6, 1946

Dr. W. E. B, DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 42 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The occasion in Madison Square Garden the other evening was honored by the presence of a great leader as you stood before that audience. More than this, your forthright message putting the challenge to win freedom for men everywhere, I believe, made deep impression upon the audience. Your word of appreciation for the achievements of the Soviet Union in maintaining equal rights for all races was splendidly in line with the purposes to which the meeting was devoted.

Accept the sincere thanks of the National Council and its officers for your important contribution to American-Soviet friendship.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
uopwa 19-91

[National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.]

TOGETHER
"GET TOUCH WITH RUSSIA" MONTH

NOVEMBER 7—DECEMBER 7

SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.
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November 14th 1946.

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
20 West 40 Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Talk of a war which will unleash atomic destruction is widespread in the United States. We believe this talk to be utterly irresponsible.

We feel the time overdue for calling a halt to the hysterics which surround American-Soviet relations. The United States and the Soviet Union can live in peace together. In this conviction, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has inaugurated a Friendship With Russia Month from November 7th to December 7th, to be climaxed by a "Get Together With Russia" Rally, at Madison Square Garden, on Monday evening, December 2nd. Through celebrations, meetings, rallies, radio broadcasts, film showings and other means, we hope to dramatize this issue for millions of Americans, and mobilize an expression of their will for peace.

We believe that you, as a distinguished American and leader, will wish to support these activities which are being planned to reaffirm American-Soviet friendship - the keystone for maintaining the peace of the world.

Will you send us a brief statement endorsing the Madison Square Garden meeting? It would immeasurably enhance the success of our program for international goodwill.

May we hear from you?

Sincerely yours,

Wm Howard Melish

WHM:rs
uopwa 19/91

Wm. Howard Melish
Chairman

46-4-183

"GET TOGETHER WITH RUSSIA" RALLY
MADISON SQ. GARDEN • DEC. 2 • 8 P. M.

Reply to enclosure — National Council American-Soviet [illegible]

16 November 1946

My dear Mr. Melish:

I am enclosing a short statement in accordance with your letter of November 14.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. William Howard Melish
"Get Together with Russia" Month
American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.
114 East 52nd Street,
New York 16, N. Y.

The memory of mankind is extraordinarily short. How can we forget that it was the Russian people and their army which saved Western civilization in the Second World War? Britain and America repulsed Russia and drove her into Hitler's arms. If the combination between Germany and Russia had persisted, England, France and perhaps America itself would have inevitably gone to the wall. When however Germany turned upon Russia, it was Russia almost alone who saved the world; it would have been impossible for Britain and America alone to have accomplished this.

If, however, we with Russia fought together for freedom and democracy, there is only one reason why we cannot live together in peace; and that is, because America especially has gone back to that pre-war feud of the economic organization of Russia. We must remember that that organization has a right to trial its main objects have been advocated as strongly in the West of Europe as in the East; whether we will or not it is being tried. There is in it no threat to any kind of economic organization if that system can succeed in abolishing poverty and bringing real democracy. In God's name then let us have peace.

American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.
"Get Together with Russia"

National Council
[American-Soviet
Friendship Inc]

The memory of mankind is extraordinarily short. How can we forget that it was the Russian people and their army which saved Western civilization in the Second World War? Britain and America repulsed Russia and drove her into Hitler's arms as her sole refuge at the time. If the combination between Germany and Russia had persisted, England, France and perhaps America itself would have inevitably gone to the wall. When, however, Germany turned upon Russia, it was Russia almost alone who saved the world; against an attack whose fury and murderous destruction and genocide have never been equalled. While Russia poured out her blood in a vast stream, we had leisure to prepare a belated attack, impossible without this death of millions. It would have been impossible for Britain and America alone to have stopped Hitler.

If, therefore, we were willing to fight with Russia for freedom and democracy, there is only one reason why we cannot live together in peace; and that is, because America especially has harked back to that pre-war feud on the economic organization of Russia. Russia has won the right to conduct her own economy as she wishes even if her plans no longer allow foreign capital to reap 50% profit on her serf labor. Her main objects have been advocated as strongly in the past in the West of Europe as in the East; whether we will or not they are being tried. There is in them no threat to any kind of economic organization if that system can succeed in abolishing poverty and bringing real democracy. In God's name then let us have peace.

46-7-185

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
Founder-President

21-21-07

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
(Affiliated with the National Council of Women of the United States, Inc., and International Council of Women of the World)
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.
Telephone: COlumbia 4491

September 21, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The National Council of Negro Women, through me, is very happy to endorse the petition of the Pan African Congress to the Assembly of the United Nations. I am sorry that I shall not be able to be present myself at the meeting on October 5th, but we shall endeavor to have a representative of the National Council there.

May I congratulate you upon the contents of the petition and hope for it great success.

Sincerely yours,

Mary McLeod Bethune

Mary McLeod Bethune
Founder-President

FAST

DIRECT

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42-8F-2

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HAVE JUST RECEIVED YOURS JULY 29TH X BEEN AWAY ON NATIONWIDE TOUR ON BEHALF NATIONAL COUNCIL SINCE APRIL X HAVE COVERED NINE THOUSAND MILES X OBTAINING MANDATE AND MONEY FROM OUR CHIEFS AND PEOPLE IN ORDER SEND DELEGATION TO LONDON FIGHT AGAINST

Telephone: HAnover 2-1811

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42-8-E3

GBW 1890 DOC P/2

RICHARDS CONSTITUTION AND FOUR OBNOXIOUS ORDINANCES AFFECTING LAND TENURE AND STATUS OUR NATIONAL RULERS X HAVE COLLECTED OVER FIFTYSIX HUNDRED POUNDS SO FAR X AM WILLING COOPERATE IN THE ENTERPRISE AS PROPOSED BY YOU X YOU HAVE OUR UNLIMITED SUPPORT AND COOPERATION -

NNAMDI AZIKIWE ACTING PRESIDENT NATIONAL COUNCIL

Telephone: HAnover 2-1811

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112 TA 248-R

[NATIONAL COUNCIL (of Nigeria?) I

FAST

DIRECT

RCA

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RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

4-E 8-24

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Via RCA

FA

GBW859 TLWA187M G18H ONITSHA 89 8 =

NLT DOCTOR DUBOIS 20 WEST 40TH STREET NEWYORK =

REFERENCE YOURS SEPTEMBER EIGHTEEN X NATIONCO of NIGERIA COUNCIL SUPPORTS PROPOSED PETITION WITHOUT ANY QUALIFICATION X HAVE REQUESTED KINGSLEY MBADIWE OF AFRICAN ACADEMY SIGN SAME FOR AND ON OUR BEHALF X NATIONCO REPRESENTS 140 ORGANISATION INCLUDING TRIBAL AND TRADE UNIONS POLITICAL PARTIES PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS SOCIAL

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RADIOGRAM

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

42-8F-5

RECEIVED AT 64 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK 4. AT _____ STANDARD TIME

6BW 854 PAGE TWO

Via RCA

GROUPS X MEANTIME WE HAVE RECEIVED MANDATES FROM CHIEFS AND PEOPLE OF 110 TOWNS AND VILLAGES IN NIGERIA ET CAMEROON UNDER BRITISH MANDATE TO TAKE APPROPRATE ACTION FOR WELFARE AND PROGRESS OF ABOVE COLONIAL DEPENDENCIES -

NNAMDI AZIKIWE ACTING PRESIDENT

Telephone: HAnover 2-1811

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TA 248-R

Onitsha (Southern Nigeria
British West Africa)

Reference yours September 18. National Council of Nigeria supports proposed petition without any qualification. Have requested Kingsley Mbadiwe of African Academy sign same for and on our behalf. National Council of Nigeria represents 140 organization including tribal and Trade Unions political parties professional associations social groups. Meantime we have received mandates from chiefs and people of 110 towns and villages in Nigeria et Cameroon under British mandate to take appropriate action for welfare and progress of above colonial dependencies.

Nnamdi Azikiwe Acting President

8-21-21

National Federation of Settlements, Inc.

147 AVENUE B • NEW YORK 9

March 20, 1946

Lecture

21-10-22

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Miss Peck and I want to extend to you a heartfelt and urgent invitation to speak to the settlement group at our national meeting this spring. The Conference will be held at Niagara Falls, on the Canadian side, in the General Brock Hotel. The date is May, Thursday-Sunday, the 16th-19th.

We would like to devote the opening general session, that of Thursday evening the 16th, to the interracial question. Both because you pioneered in the international aspects of the races problem along with Felix Adler and a few others, and because of the present importance of the subject, I hope you will be willing to speak about the Negro as a world bloc, with interests to be considered in the United Nations Organization, and in general international thinking. It will be helpful to Americans, blonde and brunette, to develop a back-fire from the rest of the planet, so to speak, into our national situation. Your COLOR AND DEMOCRACY tackles the problem. The directors and staffs of settlements, who are more and more meeting Negro minorities in hitherto white neighborhoods, will be helped by seeing Negroes in as broad a manner as they do Irish, Italians, Jews, etc.

We have in mind to ask Horace Cayton of the Parkway Community House, Chicago, to speak at the same session on some of the implications of the Warner-Cayton researches to city, district and neighborhood planning.

This would allow an hour for each address, and we hope that you may be willing to join one round table Friday morning to discuss interracial matters.

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Dr. W. E. B. DuBois March 20, 1946

21-10-23

I regret that we are not able to pay fees for addresses, for the reasons that you have suffered under all your life from the U. of P. fellowship to now. We can reimburse you for all expenses of travel, and we will try to make conditions in Niagara as easy on your strength as possible. We would be glad to have you spend as much time at the Conference as you feel that you can give, whatever this may be.

Because I have so much admiration for the judgment and breath of vision that you have brought to the problems of both whites and Negroes during the years, I particularly desire that the younger workers of this generation may become acquainted with you, and with some of the things yet ahead, such as the Encyclopaedia. You might start us off as a second Niagara movement in a small way.

Yours very sincerely and hopefully,

Albert J. Kennedy

Albert J. Kennedy
Consultant in Research

AJK:n

27 March 1946

21-10-24

My dear Mr. Kennedy:

I have your interesting letter of March twentieth but have been uncertain as to what to say in answer. I should like to attend your meeting May seventeenth, but I am not sure that I can afford to. I have to depend upon my income, in part, from lecturing and writing and if this dates interfers with some other work, I could not afford to accept. If it does not, I will be glad to. I am sorry not to be more definite at this time.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Albert J. Kennedy
National Federation of Settlements
147 Avenue B
New York 9

National Federation of Settlements, Inc.

147 AVENUE B • NEW YORK 9

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

April 9, 1946

21-10-25

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Mr. Kennedy has given me your letter of March 27. We are willing to wait until a later date for your decision in the hope that you will be able to come to our meeting at Niagara Falls. It is on the 16th rather than the 17th. We hope you will stay throughout the Conference as our guest. We wish we could make a real payment for this but our resources are decidedly limited. It will mean a great deal to us if you could be with us.

I will get in touch with you again but please let me know if you come to a favorable decision.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillie M. Peck

Lillie M. Peck
Executive Secretary

LMP:ko

President CLYDE E. MURRAY NEW YORK
Vice-President FRANKLIN HARBACH HOUSTON
Treasurer ALBERT J. KENNEDY NEW YORK
Secretary LILLIE M. PECK NEW YORK

National Federation of Settlements, 147 Avenue B, New York 9, April 9, 1946

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Very sincerely yours,

Lillie M. Peck
Executive Secretary

21-10-24

I would be the better guest

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21-10-26

20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N.Y.
April 14, 1946

Miss Lillie M. Peck
Executive Secretary
National Federation of Settlements
147 Avenue B
New York 9, New York

Dear Miss Peck:

Unless something quite unexpected happens, I shall be with you May 16th at Niagara Falls.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Copy of Kennedy's letter sent

National Federation of Settlements, Inc.
147 AVENUE B • NEW YORK 9

4/30/46

21-10-30

Dear Dr. DuBois -

It is good news that there is high probability that you can be with us at Niagara Falls. You will find a room assignment at the Hotel, and I enclose a check for $45. to cover railway & pullman reservations which you will want to make in advance. If you come on the 16th you will have to take the Empire State Express 9 am A if you leave Wednesday night you can renew acquaintance with the Falls & I hope sit in with the Board of Directors for a little - I'm sure Bounds are no treat & probably a pain in the neck to you, except for occasional high moments.

We look forward with high anticipation to having you with us -

Faithfully yours

Robert F. Kennedy

2 May 1946

21-10-31

My dear Mr. Kennedy:

I shall leave on the Empire State at nine a. m., May sixteenth. You will please let me know where to go when I reach Buffalo.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Albert J. Kennedy
National Federation of Settlements, Inc.
147 Avenue B
New York 9, New York

7 May 1946

21-10-3R

My dear Mr. Kennedy:

I regret to say that it is going to be impossible for me to visit Niagara. I have got to do a considerable amount of revision on the book manuscript which I just handed my publishers and it will be impossible to leave my desk. I am very sorry to disappoint you and I was looking forward to the occasion. I am enclosing my ehck for $45.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Albert J. Kennedy
National Federation of Settlements
147 Avenue B
New York 9

THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS, INC.
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, FOUNDER
120 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

BASIL O'CONNOR
PRESIDENT

Request to write article

21-15-24

February 19, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We want you to know how very much we appreciate mention which you made in your column of the program and services of the National Foundation. Your support did much to aid our annual appeal and we are grateful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Charles H. Bynum

Charles H. Bynum
Director,
Interracial Activities

CHB:HB

[NATIONAL FRATERNAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO CHURCHES]

H. T. SIMMS, SECRETARY
WICHITA, KANSAS

M. BURGESS, TREASURER
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21-21-29

National Sunday School and B. T. U. Congress
U. S. A.

REV. W. H. JERNAGIN, PRESIDENT
1341 THIRD STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

10 September 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am inclosing your petition, signed, after having carefully read it.

It seems that you have set out in a very fine way the things that we want to do and as I see it now, there is nothing else to be added at this time.

I have been away quite a bit for the last few months, but I will be at home now.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Jernagin

WHJ:irl

Inclosure

(ENC.)

To the Assembly of the United Nations,
meeting in New York in September, 1946:

The undersigned organizations and individuals representing African Negroes and descendants of Africans in the West Indies and United States of America, united under the initative of the Pan African Congress respectfully submit:

1. The great need of the world today is intelligent citizenship capable of controlling the actions of men by democratic methods of government.

2. One of the greatest obstacles to this accomplishment is the poverty, ignorance and disease in colonies and especially in African colonies.

3. The most important step before us is to start the peoples of Africa on the path toward efficient industry, health improvement, education and self-government.

4. In spite all efforts in this direction by the colonial powers, by philanthropy and missions and by the efforts of the Negroes themselves, progress is hindered by the difficulties which these Negroes have in making known their needs and wants and the opposition that confronts them; and in addition to this, the widespread assumption that Negroes lack the intelligence to complain and can only be represented by the imperial governments or by exclusively white organizations.

Because of this situation which renders the problem of colonial Africa the least understood and most neglected of all colonial problems, it is of pressing importance that some method be found by which the Africans can freely express their grievances and their demands.

Already for nearly a half century peoples of African descent in Affica and overseas have been holding congresses. Their object has been to increase mutual knowledge of each other and cooperation among the various African peoples and their descendants in America. Such congresses have been held in London, 1900; Paris, 1919; London, Paris and Brussels, 1921; London, Paris, Lisbon, 1923; New York, 1927; Manchester, England, 1945. The organization of the Pan African Congress has been loose and only partially representative of all the elements interested. But it has had far-reaching and increasing influence among Negroes and has especiall brought persons of Negro descent in the Americas into sympathy and cooperation with their African brethren.

American and West Indian citizens of Negro descent regard it as especially appropiate that they should take part in this emancipation of Africa. They have already shown the world that they can help in government

government and contribute to progress in Art and Literature. Also the African Negroes themselves have made far more progress in modern culture than they are usually given credit for and have a growing class of educated persons capable of expressing their desires. Even those who lack modern education have the training of ancient and highly developed cultural patterns which render their opinions and desires of value.

Because of this situation:

1. The Pan African Congress and its affiliated organizations in Africa and America desire to be authorized to send a limited number of consultants to the Assembly of the United Nations.

2. That these consultants have the right to attend sessions of the Assembly of the United Nations and of such committees as may deal with Africa.

3. That these consultants may by conference, speech or by written statement express to the Assembly of the United Nations from time to time, their opinions and wishes and help voice the complaints and demands of African Negroes as they by study and investigation understand them.

The object and aim of this is to establish at the earliest moment the right of African peoples to freedom, self-support, intelligence and political autonomy and to counteract the still prevalent opinion that colonies exist primarily for the profit of private investors.

APPROVED: W. H. Jernagin, Director
Washington Bureau, National Fraternal
Council of Negro Churches

and

President, National Sunday School and
B. T. U. Congress

32-21-72

MEMBER'S TICKET

(NAT. INST OF ARTS + LETTERS)

The American Acadmey of Arts and Letters

and

The National Institute of Arts and Letters

CEREMONIAL AND EXHIBITION

Friday afternoon, May 17th, 1946, at 3 o'clock

Academy Auditorium

632 West 156th Street, New York City

32-21-69 NAT INST OF ARTS AND LETTERS
W. E. B. DuBois

The American Academy of Arts and Letters

&

The National Institute of Arts and Letters

CEREMONIAL

Friday Afternoon, May 17, 1946, at 3 o'clock

ACADEMY AUDITORIUM

632 West 156th Street

New York City

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32-21-71

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Robert P. Tristram Coffin
Lillian Hellman
Wallace Stevens
Simeon Strunsky

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Charles Ives
William Schuman

INDUCTION OF NEW ACADEMY MEMBERS BY THE SECRETARY OF THE ACADEMY — VAN WYCK BROOKS

Douglas Southall Freeman — Robinson Jeffers — Lee Lawrie

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE ARTHUR TRAIN, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE INSTITUTE, by — AUSTIN STRONG

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Louis Guglielmi	Norman Dello Joio	Kenneth Burke
Robert Gwathmey	Peter Mennin	Malcolm Cowley
Rosella Hartman	Robert Palmer	Peter DeVries
Jack Levine	Robert Ward	Langston Hughes
Harry Rosin	Otto Luening	Arthur Laurents
Concetta Scaravaglione		Marianne Moore
Zoltan Sepeshy		Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
		Irwin Shaw

Overture from "SUITE FOR STRING ORCHESTRA" — OTTO LUENING

Aria for CHAMBER ORCHESTRA — ROBERT WARD

Finale from "CONCERTINO FOR FLUTE, STRINGS AND PERCUSSION" — PETER MENNIN

John Wummer, *soloist* — (*Recipients of grants for music*)

ANNOUNCEMENT OF GIFT to the Edward McDowell Association, Peterborough, New Hampshire, of the "National Institute of Arts and Letters Fellowships" of $500 each in memory of Edward MacDowell and Edwin Arlington Robinson, by — DOUGLAS MOORE

PRESENTATION TO RALPH HODGSON, of "*The Institute Award for Distinguished Achievement*," given this year to an eminent foreign poet living in America, by — WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT

Acceptance for Mr. Hodgson, by Frank V. Morley

PRESENTATION TO VAN WYCK BROOKS, of the *Gold Medal of the Institute* for Essays and Criticism, by — LEONARD BACON

Acceptance by Mr. Brooks

PRESENTATION TO JOHN van DRUTEN, of the *Award of Merit Medal of the Academy*, to a Dramatist, by — DEEMS TAYLOR

Acceptance by Mr. van Druten

PRESENTATION TO ETHEL BARRYMORE, of the *Academy's Medal for Good Diction* on the Stage, by — WALTER DAMROSCH

Finale from "CONCERTINO FOR FLUTE AND STRING ORCHESTRA" — NORMAN DELLO JOIO

John Wummer, *soloist*

Aria from "CONCERTO FOR SMALL ORCHESTRA" — ROBERT PALMER

Film Suite, "NATIVE LAND" — MARC BLITZSTEIN

1. Mulberry Street 2. Hooded Legion 3. Parade (*Recipients of grants for music*)

ADDRESS "OUR FOREIGN POLICY", by — HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
United States Senator

This is the 25th address on the Evangeline Wilbour Blashfield Foundation

RECESSIONAL: FÊTE — PHILIP JAMES

HOWARD HANSON
Conductor of Chamber Orchestra from the New York Philharmonic-Symphony

HAROLD HEEREMANS, *Organist*

AUSTIN STRONG
Master of Ceremonies

Note: At the close of the Ceremonial the ushers will direct you to the Terrace where refreshments will be served. Please keep your ticket for admission to the Exhibition in the Art Gallery.

THE ARTS AND LETTERS GRANTS

1946

ART

TO RICHMOND BARTHÉ, born in Mississippi, in recognition of the strong and vigorous modeling of the human form and for the sculptural qualities and feeling for character displayed in his portrait busts.

TO LOUIS GUGLIELMI, born in Egypt, veteran of the U. S. Army, in recognition of his original vision, his sense of fine organization and draughtsmanship of rare distinction.

TO ROBERT GWATHMEY, born in Virginia, in recognition of a beautiful sense of color and pattern and a warm understanding of the life of the people he has chosen as his motif.

TO ROSELLA HARTMAN, born in Kansas, in recognition of a tender, beautiful vision of simple motifs expressed with sensitive appreciation and fine draftsmanship.

TO JACK LEVINE, born in Massachusetts, veteran of the U. S. Army, in recognition of unusual accomplishment in painting, his sense of character expressed in powerful design and color.

TO HARRY ROSIN, born in Pennsylvania, in recognition of his fine sense of form and the excellent craftsmanship displayed in the rendering of both the figure and the portrait bust.

TO CONCETTA SCARAVAGLIONE, born in New York, in recognition of the excellence of composition, the feeling for design and the sensitive quality of the modeling in all of her work.

TO ZOLTAN SEPESHY, born in Hungary, in recognition of high accomplishment in painting, done with masterful technique and original design.

LITERATURE

TO GWENDOLYN BROOKS, born in Kansas, in recognition of her admirable first book of poems, "A Street in Bronzeville," and her interpretation of the life of her race.

TO KENNETH BURKE, born in Pennsylvania, in recognition of the brilliant and difficult work he has done as a critical analyst of literature and life.

TO MALCOLM COWLEY, born in Pennsylvania, former literary editor of *The New Republic*, now engaged in a work on modern American literature, for his distinguished contributions to poetry and criticism.

TO PETER De VRIES, born in Illinois, editor of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, in recognition of his talent as a writer of stories, sketches and poems and of three novels distinguished by their grace of style.

TO LANGSTON HUGHES, born in Ohio, internationally known for his poems and plays of American Negro life, the inventor of characters whose drama comes from within them.

TO ARTHUR LAURENTS, born in New York, veteran of our Armed Forces, a new-comer to the theatre, whose play, "Home of the Brave," disclosed a genuine dramatic gift and added meaning and distinction to the current theatrical season.

TO MARIANNE MOORE, born in Missouri, in recognition of the wit and wisdom she has known perfectly how to imprison in poems of the rarest distinction.

TO ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, Jr., born in Ohio, veteran of our Armed Forces, one of a family of historians, teacher of American intellectual history and author of a brilliant study of the age of Andrew Jackson.

TO IRWIN SHAW, born in New York, for one of the outstanding plays in the modern theatre, for short stories that combine beauty and strength, revealing the modern city as it is, and modern warfare as it is, since Mr. Shaw is a veteran of the U. S. Army.

MUSIC

TO MARC BLITZSTEIN, born in Pennsylvania, until recently in the Armed Forces in Europe, for the vigor, timeliness, and dramatic power of his composition, especially as evidenced by works for the lyric theatre of which he is both author and composer.

TO NORMAN DELLO JOIO, born in New York, in recognition of his strong lyric and dramatic gift as composer, exemplified in "Western Star," and numerous other works in all musical forms.

TO OTTO LUENING, born in Wisconsin, composer, teacher, conductor, and greatly admired musical citizen, whose modesty and generosity to others have tended to obscure the extent and importance of his own accomplishments in the field of composition.

TO PETER MENNIN, born in Pennsylvania, until recently in the Armed Forces, in recognition of his youthful brilliance as composer and orchestrator, foreshadowing a future of great promise.

TO ROBERT PALMER, born in New York, in recognition of his intensive work in the field of chamber and orchestral music, resulting in deeply serious and finely wrought American compositions.

TO ROBERT WARD, born in Ohio, until recently a Warrant Officer in the Infantry, in recognition of his achievement and promise in musical composition which he has demonstrated in a symphony and many other works, both vocal and instrumental.

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THE GOLD MEDAL OF THE INSTITUTE may be awarded annually for distinguished achievement in arts or letters, and for the entire work of the recipient.

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK

October 29, 1946

To the Members of the Institute:

The next regular meeting and dinner of the Institute will be held on

Wednesday evening, November 27, 1946 at 7 o'clock
at the Knickerbocker Club,
2 East 62nd Street, New York City

for the purpose of discussing the candidates who have qualified for election in their respective departments, whose names will appear on the final written ballot.

The members will also be asked to vote upon an amendment which was duly proposed at a meeting of the Council of the Institute held on October 9th.

"RESOLVED, that the following paragraph be added to Section 4, ARTICLE II of the By-laws:

"When an Honorary Associate acquires American Citizenship he automatically becomes a member of the Institute, provided there is a vacancy. If no vacancy exists he would fill the first one that occurs in the department for which he is eligible."

Please designate on the enclosed card whether or not we may expect you.

Sincerely yours,

Henry S. Canby

Secretary

21-16

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

902 TWENTIETH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
DISTRICT 3205

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LOUIS F. McCABE, Pennsylvania

November 26, 1946

Prof. W. E. B. Dubois
NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York City

Dear Professor Dubois:

The National Lawyers Guild, the National Bar Association and the National Legal Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are planning a national conference of lawyers to be held at Howard University, Washington, D. C. on January 4th, 1947 to consider the legal aspects of Federal intervention in lynching cases. The following is a tentative outline of topics to be discussed:

21-14-2

A. Adequacy of existing Federal legislation

1. 14th Amendment - its background and purpose

X 2. Civil rights legislation - before and after the passage of the 14th Amendment

3. Interpretations by the United States Supreme Court

B. Administration of existing legislation

C. Proposals for new legislation

1. Directed against state officials

2. Directed against members of lynching mob

With the realization that recent events have shown the utter inadequacy of the several state governments in protecting minorities, particularly Negroes, or in apprehending and prosecuting the perpetrators of lynchings, we feel it to be of the utmost importance that the legal basis of action by the Federal Department of Justice be firmly established and that the constitutional basis for further Federal legislation be thoroughly considered.

We are extremely desirous of obtaining the most expert speakers on the foregoing topics in view of the extreme importance of the problems

raised at this time. Accordingly, we respectfully invite you to deliver the principal speech on the topic "Civil rights legislation - before and after the passage of the 14th Amendment."

It is proposed that section A of the foregoing outline be presented in a morning session, section B during the luncheon and section C in the afternoon session. Since there are three topics to be covered in the morning session, we are asking the speakers on these topics to limit their talks to a period of twenty to thirty mimutes. It is anticipated that discussion from the floor will follow the presentation of each speech.

21-14-3

If you plan to have a prepared talk, we would appreciate it if we could have a copy for duplication in time for the conference.

Because of the time remaining until the conference date, we should greatly appreciate your advising us by wire, collect, whether you will be able to accept.

Sincerely yours,

Robert W. Kenny, President
National Lawyers Guild

Earl B. Dickerson, President
National Bar Association

Charles H. Houston, Chairman
National Legal Committee, NAACP

RWK:EBD:CHH:hs

uopwa 27

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

Jne

November 27, 1946

Lectures

21-26-45

Robert W. Kenny
National Lawyers Guild
902 Twentieth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Will speak January four.

W.E.B. Du Bois

Sent R. L.

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

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DISTRICT 3205

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LOUIS F. McCABE, Pennsylvania

December 23, 1946

Prof. W. E. B. Dubois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Prof. Dubois:

This is with reference to the proposed civil rights conference, originally scheduled for January 4, 1947, at Howard University.

Upon reconsideration, it has been determined that that date would not attract as large an attendance as a later one. Accordingly, we have postponed the conference until January 25, 1947.

21-14-1

We trust that this date will be even more convenient for you than the original one and we shall assume so unless we hear from you to the contrary.

We should like to repeat our request that you let us have a copy of your talk if you intend to have a prepared speech. If you could submit it to us by about January 15th, we could have it duplicated for distribution at the conference.

Very truly yours,

Robert W. Kenny
Robert. W. Kenny, President
National Lawyers Guild

Earl B. Dickerson
Earl B. Dickerson, President
National Bar Association

Charles H. Houston
Charles H. Houston
National Legal Comm., NAACP

RWK:EBD:CHH:cc
uopwa 27

31 December 1946

My dear sir:

I have your letter of December 23 changing the date of the conference originally scheduled for January 4. I can come January 25th, but in such case, I would have to charge round-trip travel from New York and board in Washington. It is possible that the National Office of the NAACP would be willing to pay this bill but in that case, the request for it should come from you. May I hear from you at your convenience.

21-14-32

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Robert W. Kenny
National Lawyers Guild
902 Twentieth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
[redacted] 20 W. 40TH ST.
[redacted] NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

11 October 1946

My dear Dr. Robinson:

42-8F-61

At a meeting held on October 5, 1946 at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, the organizations mentioned in the enclosed list, either by direct representation or by letter or cablegram, indicated their willingness to sign the petition which I have sent to you. Will your organization, the National Medical Association, also sign?

It was decided at this meeting to ask the chairman to arrange with the secretariat of the United Nations for presentation of the petition. I am writing to ask you to appoint a representative of your organization to be present on that occasion. I shall let you know when a date is fixed.

It was also decided that a committee draw up a plan for a permanent federation of organizations interested in the emancipation of African colonies.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Emory I. Robinson, President
National Medical Association
2510 S. Central Avenue
Los Angeles, California

[NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOC.]

OFFICE PHONE
CENTURY 27417

RESIDENCE PHONE
RICHMOND 9768

E. I. ROBINSON, M. D.
PHYSICIAN & SURGEON
SUITE 202-4
2510 So. CENTRAL AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 11, CALIF.

October 16, 1946

21-21-20

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o N. A. A. C. P.
20 W. 40th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your communication directed to me as president of the National Medical Association has been forwarded to Dr. W. A. Younge, 2316a Market Street, St. Louis, Missouri, who is now president.

My term of office expired August, 1946. I am sure you will be hearing from him shortly.

Very sincerely,

E. I. Robinson M.D.

E. I. ROBINSON, M. D.

EIR:PB

[NAT. NEG. CONG. ROSS]

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

NATIONAL OFFICE
307 LENOX AVENUE, Room 204
New York 27, New York
112

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MOnument 2-4535

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MAX YERGAN

Executive Secretary
REVELS CAYTON

Treasurer
C. LeBRON SIMMONS

January 9, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

21-16-3

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The great victory of the Indian delegation to the United Nations on the questions of Southwest Africa and the Indian Nationals in South Africa gave new courage to democratic forces all over the world. It certainly established the precedent whereby the question of discrimination against minority groups in this country could be reviewed.

Our experience lead us to believe that in order for us to succeed in bringing the problems of the Negro people to the agenda of the United Nations, a petition is required which will include the problems of the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and other minorities; which is sponsored by a number of leading national organizations and organizations throughout the Americas. It is for this reason that we believe an important Conference such as outlined in the enclosed letter is essential at this time.

We should like very much to discuss the matter with you, however, before the letter is sent out. Would it be possible for you to grant us an appointment in the next few days. I can be reached at the above address from 10:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.; in the evenings at SLocum 6 0795. May I expect to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Edward E. Strong

Edward E. Strong
Director of Organization

EES:rj

uopwa 19-102

[Nat'l Negro Congress]

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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WILL YOU SPEAK AT FREEDOM RALLY TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS DETROIT FRIDAY MAY 31ST PURPOSE TO INAUGURATE NATIONWIDE DRIVE TO ORGANIZE UNITED LABOR NEGRO AND WHITE AGAINST JIM CROW THROUGHOUT USA OTHER PROMINENT NATIONAL SPEAKERS INVITED PLEASE WIRE REPLY

REVELS CAYTON EXECUTIVE SECY
NATL NEGRO CONGRESS 307 LENOX AVE NYC

555A MAR 28

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Nat'l Negro Congress]

30 March 1946

21-27-73

My dear Mr. Cayton:

Before leaving for California, Dr. Du Bois requested me to say in answer to your telegram of March twenty-seventh that he regrets very much that his schedule for speaking engagements during April and May is as full as he dare make it. He cannot, therefore, accept of your kind invitation for May thirty-first.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Revels Cayton
National Negro Congress
307 Lenox Avenue
New York City

Telephone: MOnument 2-4570

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DOROTHY F. FUNN, Labor Secretary
*On leave in the Armed Forces.

National Office:
307 Lenox Ave., Room 204
New York City
10

May 16, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Nat'l Assn. for Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Ave.
New York, N. Y.

21-13-40

My dear Dr. Dubois,

This is in accordance with our recent phone conversation, during which we discussed the establishment of a Cultural Division of the National Negro Congress. We hope the Division's work will focus attention upon the use and treatment of Negro people in the Cultural and entertainment field.

As at present contemplated, the Division will have the following primary purposes--

1. Examining the status of the employment of Negro talent in the cultural fields; the limitations which are placed on the use of Negro talent; taking necessary steps to correct any inequities found.

2. Considering the content of radio, movie, and theatre shows, and other popular media, in terms of their treatment of Negroes and other minorities and, wherever necessary, taking steps to correct prejudiced treatment.

3. Serving as a center for information about the history and status of the Negro people for writers and other artists interested in the theme.

We hope to have the Division sponsored by a representative group of influential people in the arts.

We would appreciate it immensely if you would serve as one of the initiating sponsors, who would sign the letter inviting others to participate in the sponsorship. This letter will in substance contain the purposes of the Division as outlined above.

We hope to set up the sponsoring committee by May 30th (when the N.N.C. will convene in Detroit). We would be most grateful, if we could hear from you at your earliest possible convenience.

Thank you.

Yours very truly,
Elizabeth Catlett
Elizabeth Catlett

20 May 1946

My dear Miss Catlett:

Answering your letter of May sixteenth I beg to say that I strongly sympathize with the project which you mention concerning Negro talent in the field of entertainment but I do not feel that I know enough about this matter to sponsor the undertaking which you have in mind.

I have to be careful in taking on new work and there is already considerable controvery as to just what steps can be taken in the case of Negro entertainer. I would not, therefore, want to take any stand or express any particular opinion unless I felt myself fully intelligent on the subject. I am sorry not to be able to consent to the use of my name.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Elizabeth Catlett
National Negro Congress
307 Lenox Avenue, Room 204
New York City

Telephone: MOnument 2-4570

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

MAX YERGAN, President
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*On leave in the Armed Forces.

21-13-42

National Office:
307 Lenox Ave., Room 204
New York City

May 25th, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I am enclosing a draft of the letter which, I understand from Shirley Graham, you had agreed to sign. We plan to send the letter out over the signatures of Paul Robeson, Carl Van Doren and yourself.

Please let us know whether you would liketo suggest any changes in this draft.

Would you begood enough to return it to us with your signature by return mail, since we plan to go to press with it immediately.

Thank you very much for your interest and cooperation.

Yours very truly,

Elizabeth Catlett

EC:JS

Elizabeth Catlett

[Nat'l Negro Congress]

307 Lenox Avenue
New York 27, N.Y.

W.E.B. Du Bois
Paul Robeson
Carl Van Doren

21-13-43

Dear _____,

You are invited to join us in sponsoring the Cultural Division of the National Negro Congress.

The National Negro Congress is dedicated to working for equal social and economic rights for the Negro people, as well as for other minority groups in this country.

The Cultural Division will devote itself to examining the status of employment and the use of the talents of Negroes in the arts and professions, and improving conditions wherever possible. It will, in addition, consider the content of plays, movies, radio programs, books etc., in terms of their treatment of minority groups, and where prejudicial material is used, take steps to correct them. And finally, we hope it will serve as an agency which can supply historically and socially accurate material regarding the Negro people to artists and writers interested in the theme.

We feel certain that you share our sympathy with these aims, and we look forward to your joining us in sponsoring the Division.

Naturally, we would appreciate your active participation in this work. However, your sponsorship involves no responsibility beyond acceptance of the aims of the Division.

We would a preciate your returning the enclosed card, upon which you can signify your decision as to whether to sponsor the Cultural Division.

Yours very truly,

(SIGNED) W.E.B. Du Bois

Paul Robeson

Carl Van Doren

[Nat'l Negro Congress]

May 27 , 1946

21-13-4/4

Dear Miss Catlett:

I have complete sympathy with the objects of the Cultural Division of the National Negro Congress, as expressed in your letter of May 25. But I am the paid executive official of the N.A.A.C.P., and one of its founders; as such it would not be ethical for me to sponsor the program of an organization in a similar field. I have the right to sympathize with your objects and publicly to express such agreement; but sponsorship implies at least some responsib ility for the realization of your program, which I have no right to take without express permission of the organization which I serve.

Very sincerely,

W.E.B. Du BOIS.

Please return

[NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS]

21-21-26

1 August 1946

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send me by return mail five (5) copies of the petition to the United Nations which was adopted at your last meeting? I shall be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

N.N. Campaign
Dorothy Funn

National Negro Congress
307 Lenox Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

P.S. I enclose twenty-five cents in stamps.

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

NATIONAL OFFICE
307 LENOX AVENUE, ROOM 204
New York 27, New York

Telephones: MOnument 2-4570
MOnument 2-4535

President
MAX YERGAN

Executive Secretary
REVELS CAYTON

Treasurer
C. LeBRON SIMMONS

August 22, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director, Department of Special Research, N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

42-8F-44

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am in receipt of your letter of August 19th, the contents of which the National Negro Congress is in full accord. Our one concern is the urgency of the meeting in New York which you have projected. The time is so short. Do you contemplate calling this meeting within the next ten days?

We would welcome an expression from you on our document presented to the United Nations on June 6, 1946.

Very sincerely yours,

Dorothy K. Funn

DKF:HL
uopwa
19 - 102

Dorothy K. Funn, Director
UN Petition Campaign

DEATH BLOW TO JIM CROW

[NAT. NEGRO CONGRESS]

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

NATIONAL OFFICE
307 LENOX AVENUE, Room 204
New York 27, New York
112

Telephones: MOnument 2-4570
MOnument 2-4535

President
MAX YERGAN

Executive Secretary
REVELS CAYTON

Treasurer
C. LeBRON SIMMONS

October 14th, 1946

21-16-2

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am answering your letter directed to Dr. Yergan on the appointment of a representative of the National Negro Congress to be present when your petition is presented to the United Nations.

The Executive Staff members of the Congress are spending most of their time in the field, so that it is impossible for us to name a particular person to represent the Congress until such time as the date of the appointment is made definite.

The Congress wishes to support this petition, and will have a representative of our National Staff, or of our National Board present whenever it is required.

We look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Very sincerely yours,

Thelma M. Dale

Thelma M. Dale
Field Secretary

TMD:SS
uopwa
19-102

(NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE - PORTLAND)

URBAN LEAGUE OF PORTLAND

6 S. W. Sixth Avenue
Portland 4, Oregon

September 30, 1946

21-18-12

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We thought you would be interested in this report. It will be helpful on the Race Relations front if you feel that any part of the report is worthy of Comment.

Sincerely yours,

Edwin C. Berry

Edwin C. Berry
Executive Secretary

The NATION'S SCHOOLS
ARTHUR B. MOEHLMAN, Editor
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICH.

April 16, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 3, New York

21-15-19

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will recall, no doubt, our correspondence relative to your writing an article based on the main thesis of your book, COLOR AND DEMOCRACY. I am only too well acquainted with the process of becoming so involved with commitments that something must be laid aside, and I presume that this is what happened with respect to your projected manuscript for The NATION'S SCHOOLS.

We are still very much interested in presenting your point of view to teachers and administrators of the public schools and shall be glad to have you send a manuscript in for early fall publication. Since we plan makeup several months in advance, it will be necessary to receive copy for September publication no later than June first. If this is convenient for you, I shall appreciate hearing from you within the next few days so that I can reserve a place for the article in my editorial schedule.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur B. Moehlman

ABM/s

10 September 1946

My dear Mr. Moehlman:

My wife has been seriously ill so I am far behind with my correspondence. I find in looking over my letters that you wanted an article on Color and Democracy by June first for September publication. It is of course far too late for that now. If, however, you still desire such an article, I might have it in your hands by October first.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Arthur B. Moehlman
The Nation's Schools
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

21-15-21

Negro College Quarterly

Wilberforce University

Wilberforce, Ohio

Editorial Office May 21, 1946

Dr W E B Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr Du Bois:

60-8-12

The editor of the Negro College Quarterly are interested in bringing to the public scholarly material on the higher education of Negroes. In this connection you have been recommended to us as one who is quite capable in the field of social science and who would willingly make a contribution to the journal. This letter is an invitation soliciting your cooperation inithis respect.

We would be pleased to have you do an article for us in your particular field of interest. You may treat the subject you decide upon asyou wish, but it might be well to keep in mind the type of audience we reach and that we emphasize general education. Aside from any researvh treatment you may make , we are interested in your original thinking on the subject and would like for you to bring our the particular importance of your material to higher education ofor Negroes, as well as to the general field of education.

Since we are anxious to bring new opinion and thought to and to introduce new contributors to our readers, we would appreciate receiving a contribution from you for our September issue. If you feel that you would like to do an article for this number, or for a subsequent one, please let us hear from you at your earliest convenience.

The Quarterly is an unsubsidized publication and is not in a position to pay for contributions. However, we pay for all postage used, and each contributor receives copies of the issue containing his work.

We hope you can find it convenient to accept our invitation and sincerely appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H Smythe

Hugh H Smythe
Associate Editor
A & I State College
Nashville 8, Tennessee

HHS
olp

Dear Doctor:— We know you are busy, but maybaps you can find time to honor us with a brief article... Mabel and I wished we could have been with you on May 12th, but hope our token gold salt n pepper shakers let you know how we felt on your 50th wedding anniversary. — Smythe

31 May 1946

21-27-34

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Here is a speech which I just made before the National Council of Smerican-Soviet Friendship in Madison Square Gardens. You are at liberty to use it in your magazine if you wish. I was glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
Tennessee A and I College
Nashville, Tennessee

Negro College Quarterly

Wilberforce University

Wilberforce, Ohio

Editorial Office

June 3, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Doctor: Thank you for your letter of May 31 with the enclosed article. It was good of you to reply so quickly to our invitation to contribute to the Quarterly. It is always an honor to bring your material to the attention of our readers. I am passing the article along to the editor.

8-3-2

We read of Miss Diggs fellowship. Please pass along our congratulations to her. I hope her sojourn abroad will not inconvenience you too much. Should you be in need of a temporary replacement in this regard, there is a member of the secretarial training faculty here, who will be in New York this summer, that I can recommend highly as a secretary.

Since I shall be in New York following the six weeks summer session, I shall look forward to seeing you. Mrs. Smythe joins me in regards.

Sincerely yours,

Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe
Associate Editor
A. & I. State College
Nashville 8, Tennessee

HHS:s

[Negro Digest]

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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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21-24-33

TELEGRAM TELEPHONED BY MRS. WHITE TO MISS WASEM
8/1/46 9:40 A.M.

Dr. DuBois, Walter White or Roy Wilkins
NAACP

WE HAVE ABOUT COMPLETED THE POLL ON GREATEST BOOKS ON RACE RELATIONS EXCEPT FOR YOUR SELECTIONS WHICH WE PARTICULARLY WANT. WILL APPRECIATE REPLY WIRE COLLECT.

Ben Burns
Executive ~~Xirxx~~ Editor
Chicago

Rcd. AUG 1 1946 9:40AM
Rfd. to WW (C 17)
Ack.
emw D. O. Phoned by Mrs White

NEGRO DIGEST

5125 SOUTH CALUMET AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS
Telephone: OAKland 4282

September 16, 1946

21-19-19

Dear Dr. DuBois: In less than another 20 years, Negroes will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. Up to the present, they have most certainly made great gains in every phase of American life and have made contributions to it as well. Yet they have not been accorded the dignity of a full citizenship. They continue to meet discrimination in almost all areas of American life, but, having come this far, we here at Negro Digest feel that Negroes are looking ahead to the time when they are really free in every sense and are wondering whether after one hundred years since the end of the Civil War they may hope to win full freedom.

We wish to invite you to contribute an article to Negro Digest on this subject, stating your views on whether the Negro can expect to win full freedom in America by 1965. What you might have to say in an article on this subject would have special significance and interest to our many readers, who know you as one who has devoted himself to the fight for freedom, not only for Negroes in America but for colored peoples over the world. We would be able to offer a token payment of $40 for the preparation of this piece, which need not be longer than 1500 to 2000 words in length.

Please be good enough to let us know by wire collect whether we may look forward to having you do this article for us, and the approximate date we can expect to have it.

Yours very truly,

Ben Burns

Ben Burns
Executive Editor

BB:mcc

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

26 September 1946

21-19-20

Dear Mr. Burns:

Answering your letter of September 16th, I beg to say that I can furnish you an article of about 1500 words on what the Negro can expect to win in full freedom by 1965. I can probably have it for you by the middle of October.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Ben Burns
Negro Digest
5125 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

NEGRO DIGEST

5125 SOUTH CALUMET AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS
Telephone: OAKland 4282

September 30, 1946

21-19-21

Dear Dr. DuBois: Thank you ever so much for your letter informing us that we can expect to have your article by the middle of October. We shall look forward with keen interest to receiving it by that time.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Burns

Ben Burns
Executive Editor

BB:mcc

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

NEGRO DIGEST

5125 SOUTH CALUMET AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS
Telephone: OAKland 4282

November 11, 1946

21-16-1

Dear Dr. DuBois: A recent note from Homer Smith in Moscow in a letter to us would be of interest to you, and I should like to quote from his letter:

> "For the sake of veracity and to keep the record straight, I thought you might work up the two following items into a "filler" in Negro Digest for the benefit of Dr. DuBois (see DuBois' article in "What the Negro Wants") and Leonard Lyons' "filler" in the Negro Digest for September.
>
> "...only did I know Radek well, and he died in the subsequent purges."
>
> "I was at Radek's trial and heard the court sentence him to ten years imprisonment. As far as anyone here knows, Radek is still alive and serving his term, with about two years to go.
>
> "Radek might, if he saw this sentence of DuBois, say with Mark Twain that "DuBois has reports of my death greatly exaggerated."

Sincerely yours,

Ben Burns

Ben Burns
Executive Editor

BB:m

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

[NEGRO NEWSPAPER PUB. ASSOC.]

21-21-22

Negro Newspaper Publishers Association

★

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418 S. FIFTH STREET
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Chicago Defender

OLIVE DIGGS
Chicago Bee

5th November 1946

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N A A C P
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Sorry to have delayed answering your letter, but I have been away from my desk.

I shall be personally happy to sign your petition.

Please advise if you have written any other publishers in this regard, because I plan circularizing the Board of Directors to get further support for your project.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Frank L. Stanley

FRANK L. STANLEY,
President

b

7 November 1946

My dear Mr. Nehru:

I cannot tell you how deeply I appreciate the gift of your book on "Gandhi, his life and work." I shall treasure it among my most valued possessions.

May I add that you have the sympathy of myself and my people in the great work that you are attempting to do for India.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-9-96

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru
Allahabad
India

[New Jersey, Labor Dept]

MISS GARNETT HENDERSON, Secretary

MRS. LENORA B. WILLETTE, President

THE NEW JERSEY WOMEN'S GOVERNMENT STUDY COUNCIL

137 STEPHEN STREET

BELLEVILLE, N. J.

BElleville 2-3245

Request for appointment

May 12,1966

21-20-78

Dr.W.E.B.Du Bois,
Morgan Park,
Baltimore,Maryland.

Dear Dr.Du Bois;

I have just been assigned to make a survey of conditions among migrants as it relates to health,education and work relationships inthe South,and in California,Oregon, the state of Washington and other points West. This survey will be under the direction of the Labor Department for the State of New Jersey,and much of the work will be among Negroes as regards the Southern area.

I shall hold several conferences with officials of the Labor Department at Washington next Monday,but I should also like to consult with you on many aspects of the trip which I feel you are better qualified to give than those I may consult with in the Department.

I shall leave here on Saturday,May 18th,and will stop off at Baltimore until Sunday afternoon,May 19th.If you can find it at all possible to see me either Saturday evening or any time on Sunday at your home,I should be very grateful. Kindly let me know by telephone what your decision in the matter may be,at my expense.The telephone number is:Belleville 2-3245,and I may be reached any evening after seven-thirty,except May 14th, when I have a radio broadcast.

With warm congratulations to you and Mrs.Du Bois on your golden wedding anniversary which is today,and trusting that I may have the benefit of your advice in the above matter,I am,

Sincerely yours,
Lenora B. Willette
Lenora B.Willette.
Member of Migrant Labor Board,
State Department of Labor.

[New Jersey, Labor Dept.]

21-20-77

July 9, 1946

Mrs. Lenora B Willette
137 Stephen Street
Belleville, New Jersey.

Dear Mrs. Willette:

It was impossible for me to arrange a conference with you in accordance with your letter of May 12. My wife has been ill in the hospital and that and with my other work has taken all my time. If it is not too late and you are going to be in New York any time this summer, I shall be glad to make an appointment with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

[New Masses]

Mr. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois + Guest

A reservation has been made for you

By 2 - Dias

21-20

for the

NEW MASSES DINNER

Monday, January 14, 1946 — 6:45 P.M.

Hotel Commodore

Present this card at door for your table number

209

[New Masses]

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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DR W E B DU BOIS, CARE JOHN SOMERVILLE=
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DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

:EDITORS WARMLY INVITE YOU JOIN BOARD OF CONTRIBUTING EDITORS THAT INCLUDES PAUL ROBESON, VITO MARCANTONIO, LOUIS ARAGON, SEN. NERUDA OF CHILE, ETC., WOULD MEAN OUR READERS WOULD EXPECT SEE CONTRIBUTIONS FROM TIME TO TIME IN MAGAZINE. WOULD YOU ACCEPT? PLEASE REPLY WIRE COLLECT. WARMEST REGARDS=

JOSEPH NORTH.

WU 4-10-46

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Re 6683

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

30 July 1946

My dear Mr. North:

In 1924, Boni and Liveright published two volumes of a symposium called These United States edited by Ernest Gruening. In the second series, I furnished chapter twenty-two on Georgia entitled "Invisible Empire State". I have just been reading it over and I believe it is worth re-publication in whole or in part. Will you kindly look at it and see if you can use it in the New Masses. If you have not a copy, drop in sometime and look at mine.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Joseph North
The New Masses
104 East Ninth Street
New York City

NEW MASSES

104 East 9th Street • New York 3, N. Y. GRamercy 3-5146

Editor: JOSEPH NORTH. Associate Editors: FREDERICK V. FIELD, BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLDFRANK (on leave with armed forces) A. B. MAGIL, VIRGINIA SHULL, JOHN STUART. Washington Editor: VIRGINIA GARDNER. West Coast Editor: MARJORIE DE ARMAND. Literary Editor: ISIDOR SCHNEIDER: Film, JOSEPH FOSTER: Drama, MATT WAYNE: Art, MOSES SOYER: Music, FREDERIC EWEN: Dance, FRANCIS STEUBEN. Editorial Assistant: BETTY MILLARD. Business Manager: LOTTIE GORDON. Field Director: DORETTA TARMON. Advertising Manager: GERTRUDE CHASE.

21-2-58

August 19, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Before leaving on vacation Mr. Magil referred to me the matter which you discussed with him about republishing your article on Georgia.

We all liked the piece very much and are anxious to publish it in an early issue. We contacted Liveright Publishing Corp., 386 Fourth Ave., for permission to reprint. In discussing terms with them we agreed to pay $15 for such permission. This offer was satisfactory with them but they stated that they would like to hear from you on this matter. We informed them that we would ask you to get in touch with them about it.

Because of its length we plan to run the article in two successive installments together with a brief editorial foreword which would indicate the trend of development in Georgia and the South which has followed the analysis and forecast which you made in 1924.

We will send you a set of galleys before publication.

Sincerely yours,
Lloyd L. Brown
Lloyd L. Brown
Managing Editor

20 August 1946

21-27-60

My dear Mr. Brown:

I have written Liveright Publishing corporation on re-publishing my Georgia article. I enclose a copy of the letter.

Please return to me the copy of the book at your earliest convenience. It is the only one I have.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lloyd L. Brown
New Masses
104 East Ninth Street
New York City 3

104 East 9th Street • New York 3, N. Y. GRamercy 3-5146

Editor: JOSEPH NORTH. Associate Editors: FREDERICK V. FIELD, BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLDFRANK (on leave with armed forces) A. B. MAGIL, VIRGINIA SHULL, JOHN STUART. Washington Editor: VIRGINIA GARDNER. West Coast Editor: MARJORIE DE ARMAND. Literary Editor: ISIDOR SCHNEIDER: Film, JOSEPH FOSTER: Drama, MATT WAYNE: Art, MOSES SOYER: Music, FREDERIC EWEN: Dance, FRANCIS STEUBEN. Editorial Assistant: BETTY MILLARD. Business Manager: LOTTIE GORDON. Field Director: DORETTA TARMON. Advertising Manager: GERTRUDE CHASE.

August 28, 1946

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed are the galleys of the first installment of your article (they are not as you'll see our proof-read set) which will appear in our next issue, dated Sept. 10.

Dr. Aptheker is writing an introductory foreward and I will send you a copy of it as soon as it is set.

Yesterday we mailed back your copy of the book. In view of the general interest in Georgia and the South these days, we are sure that our readers will appreciate this deeper insight on the subject.

Sincerely yours,

Lloyd L. Brown

Lloyd L. Brown
Managing Editor

46-7-217

[NEW MASSES]

29 August 1946

Dear Mr. Brown:

Here are corrected galleys.

Please get my name right!

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lloyd L. Brown
New Masses
104 East 9th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

New Masses

26 September 1946

My dear Mr. McGill:

Will you kindly send me with bill two copies of each issue of the New Masses which has my articles on Georgia? I shall be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-7-212

Mr. A. B. McGill
New Masses
104 East 9th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

[New Masses]

21 November 1946

22-9-103

My dear Mr. North:

Concerning a possible series of articles which I might furnish the New Masses in 1947, let me say that for sometime I have had in mind a small book which might be called "Prolegomena to a Science of Human Action" or more simply perhaps "Steps Toward a Knowledge of How Men Act". What I wanted in this book was to explore from my own thought and experience, the way in which we progress from Curiosity to Science, from Natural Science to Social Research; from Social Research to Plans for Social Progress; and from Ethics to Art.

I have laid down something like thirteen divisions which might make five or six magazine articles of not too great length.

Of course the real question is how far this kind of thing would appeal to the ordinary reader. I want however to bring it down from dry theory to my actual personal experience,- my early thinking of the problem of knowing and being certain; the lack of logic in doubt; my efforts to measure facts, especially social facts; and the whole idea of the working hypothesis and the willingness to change it in face of new facts.

Then I want to express the thesis, which I have always had, of regarding sociology as Science of the limits of chance in human conduct, and the concept of creative force as another expression of the old idea of free will: that is, the assumption that people can have some affect in changing their own destiny and the destiny of the world.

I am not at all sure that I can make this human and readable, but if you think that there will be a possibility of this filling your need, I might try a first cycle of say three articles and see how they will be received by your readers.

I will be glad to hear from you on this subject.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Joseph North
c/o New Masses
[redacted]

New Masses

13 December 1946

21-26-33

My dear Mr. North:

In accordance with our conversation yesterday, may I suggest the following six articles which I might write of the New Masses at the rate of one a month. They would be about two thousand five hundred words in length and I should expect, if possible, two cents a word.

1 — * 1. Jan Smuts: A Study in Character

This would be a statement concerning the people of South Africa and their economic problems as illustrated in the life of the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

2. The Negro in Egypt and Syria.

A statement concerning Negro blood and Negro cultural patterns in Egypt, along the shores of eastern Mediterrean and in Arabia; from the beginnings of Egyptian history down to our day.

3 — \ 3. Black Zymbabwe.

An interpretation of the remains of an ancient civilization discovered by the Portuguese and explored in our day. They lie in South Central Africa and include buildings, mines and irrigation and other proofs of culture.

2 — * 4. The Black Mahdi.

The story of the man who drove the British Empire out of the Sudan and very nearly disrupted European imperialsim in Africa in the nineteenth century.

5. Haiti and democracy in America

A story of the influence of Toussaint L'Ouverture and his followers in Haiti, on the development of democracy in the Americas.

6. Culture and art in West Africa

An account of the cultural forms and the creative art of the black folk of West Africa.

I shall be glad to have your reaction concerning this proposal at you convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-26-34

Mr. Joseph North
New Masses
104 East 9th Street
New York City

[notes for letter]

1. Jan Smuts: a Study in Character
2. Black Egypt + Syria
3. The Riddle of Zimbabwe
4. Bilâd-es-Sudan
5. The Black Mahdi
6. The Art of West Africa

21-26-35

480
150
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840
12
1680
840
1840

Mens 19 — 4 hrs
Meet DuPont
6 Dinner
8 Theatre (Evening
20 Breakfast (Evening
Shirley
Lv @ 10

1. The Negro in Egypt + Syria
2. Black Zimbabwe
3. The Mahdi
4. ~~Art~~ Creative Art in West Africa
5. Haiti and the U.S.
6. ~~Black South America~~
7. Smith: a Study in Character

21-26-28

NEW MASSES

JOSEPH NORTH, Editor

104 EAST NINTH STREET, NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK • • TELEPHONE GRAMERCY 3-5146

December 17, 1946

21-27-61

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Signed and sealed. We were all very happy to get your letter, and will be eagerly looking forward to the series.

I should, for reasons of promotion, like to know when you can give us the first of the series. Needless to say, we are eager to have it at your earliest. Smuts' recent performance at the UN makes him a most pertinent, and timely, subject.

It was a real pleasure, the other day at lunch, and one I'd like to repeat at your convenience.

With deepest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph North

Joseph North

PS: We've written Burnham for your address at the Columbia Conference.

JN

21-7-23

The New Republic
40 East 49 Street
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen: Will you please change my

address from:

Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

to the following:

2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:hhs

Copies to: Nation, 20 Vesey St., N.Y. 7
The Union, 238 East 4 St., Cincinnati, Ohio
Southern Negro Youth Congress, 514 Masonic Temple Bldg
Birmingham, Alabama
American Sociological Review, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.
Netherland's Information Bureau, 10 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20
Oxford University Press, 114 5th Ave., N.Y. 11
Amer. Assoc. for the Adv. of Science, Smithsonian Institute
Washington 25, D. C.
French Press and Information Service, 501 Madison Ave.
New York 22,

Write articles

3 December 1946

21-7-25

Gentlemen:

There are three matters concerning Africa in which I am greatly interested and I hope you will be.

First there is the full story of Southwest Africa especially the incident of the Bondelschwartz. I have just had a letter from Mr. Bellegarde from Haiti concerning his part in bringing that situation before the League of Nations. I think that the whole matter is pertinent today. Secondly, I have a series of letters from the Belgian Congo also of present interest. Very little is being said about the Congo and the assumption is that things are going, quite well. But the situation is in many respects very bad. Third, there are letters and documents from Portuguese Africa showing that the exploitation of natives is even worse today than in the past.

I wonder if you would have space for a short article on one or more of these topics?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Editors
The New Republic
40 East 49th Street
New York City

EDITORS
BRUCE BLIVEN
GEORGE SOULE
MICHAEL STRAIGHT
STARK YOUNG

The New REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street,
New York 17, N.Y.

BRUCE BLIVEN
PRESIDENT
DANIEL MEBANE
TREASURER

21-7-24

December 23, 1946

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We are always highly interested in receiving information from you and your organization on the topics on which you are so well informed.

However, none of the three suggestions made in your letter of December 3 strike us as possessing quite the general interest that would merit a full article in the magazine.

Should you have material that might lend itself to "behind-the-news" items, I suggest you contact our news editor, Mr. Penn Kimball.

If you have further topics that might lend themselves to more extensive treatment, do let me know.

Sincerely yours,

William Harlan Hale

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

WHH:mvw

339

[NEW STATESMAN...?

Subscription

26 September 1946

Sir:

I have not for some time now received a copy of your journal. What is the trouble? I do not think that my subscription has yet expired.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-24

~~The Nation~~
~~20 Vesey Street~~
~~New York City~~

Publisher
New Statesman and Nation
10 Gt. Turnstile
London, W.C. 1
England

The New York Age

230 WEST 135th STREET • NEW YORK 30, N. Y. • EDGECOMBE 4-3640-1

LUDLOW W. WERNER
Editor

Request to write article

January 2, 1946

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois,
Director, Research Department
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

21-19-29

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Several months ago The New York Age expanded its editorial program to feature a Guest Editorial column, written by outstanding business and professional people. I would appreciate it if you would be our guest columnist for the issue of June 29th, 1946.

The topic may be of your own choosing, but it must be in this office two weeks before the date of publication. The article is to be one and a half pages of typewritten material, double spaced, and not more than 500 words.

On the front page of the issue carrying your article will be your photograph along with a short biographical sketch. Will you kindly supply us with the necessary biographical material and a recent photo (black and white glossy print) along with your article?

Hoping to receive a favorable response, I am.

Sincerely yours,

THE NEW YORK AGE

Ludlow Werner

LWW:MEF

Ludlow W. Werner
Editor

22 January 1946

21-19-30

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of January second, I beg to say that I could be your guest columnist for June twenty-ninth. I would, however, have to charge for my services.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Ludlow W. Werner
The New York Age
230 West 135th Street
New York 30

[New York City]

BOARD OF TRANSPORTATION
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
250 HUDSON STREET
NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

TELEPHONE CANAL 6-6600

October 2,1946

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
c/o Color and Democracy Colonies & Peace
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Dear

This will acknowledge your communication

dated September 25,1946

The matter referred to is one which comes within the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commission, 233 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y. and therefore your letter has been referred to that Commission for attention.

Wm. Jerome Daly
Secretary

21-12

[N.Y.C.]

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON UNITY
OF NEW YORK CITY
MUNICIPAL BUILDING, ROOM 705, BROOKLYN 2, NEW YORK
TRIANGLE 5-7100, EXT. 290

July 11, 1946.

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Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

21-19-100

I have just called your office and they said you had gone for the day. I am writing you this note to ask you if Tuesday morning, July 16th, would be acceptable as the time for you to come to the Workshop on Intercultural Education at New York University.

The group meets from 9:00 to 11:00 a.m. and you could stay for the entire period if you like or feel free to leave after the first hour or so. Of course, we would like to have you the entire time if you can afford to be that generous with your time.

There are two things we would like for you to do if you can put them together. The first is to give us the benefit of your rich experience on how to attack these problems of intergroup relations.

As I remember, from your Dusk of Dawn, you started with an implicit faith in education backed up by research but changed your emphasis after the Atlanta lynching which stimulated you to write Litany of Atlanta. Then, your work with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the early years was social action primarily. You then returned to the classroom and are now devoting your efforts to research.

From the benefit of this rich experience, perhaps you can give us some guidance on how we attack these problems and where does research and education fit in with social action and pressure techniques.

The other thing which Professor Arndt is particularly interested in is for you to tie up your latest book Color and

Democracy with the social scene at the present time particularly as it relates to the function of classroom teachers. Dr. Arndt is from the Office of Education in the International Division and is going to devote the last three weeks of the Workshop to that problem.

I realize, of course, that to cover all of this in an hour or two hours or three hours or a week is impossible but you will know how to proportion your time. Some time should be left for questions if you can spare it.

The meeting place is Room 705 of the Main Building at New York University on the East Side of Washington Square in the same building in which you addressed a class for me some two years ago. I shall call your office tomorrow for a confirmation of the date.

21-19-101

Sincerely,

Dan W. Dodson

Dan W. Dodson,
Executive Director

P.S. I note that our mutual friend, Shirley Graham, has her book on Paul Robeson off the press today.

dwd/m
dictated but
not signed.

WHITE / BLACK

INTER-NATION

REASON > EMOTION

INCOME

SCIENCE

PROPAGANDA

ECONOMICS

WARS

WORLD

GROUPS

Whole = Block or US

Interwoven

Logic + emotion

Personal reason

income

Science in 19°C

aggression

Propaganda + fighting

direct action

Economics

> others

Wars

World groups

broad work

[N.Y.C.]

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON UNITY
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TRIANGLE 5-7100, EXT. 290

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ASSOCIATE DIRECTORS

July 16, 1946

Lectures

21-19-102

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am indeed sorry that I did not have funds to provide some small stipend for your services this morning. They could never be adequately compensated for in money, however.

I had been looking forward to the session with you for a long time and am just sorry that the press of making arrangements caused me to be out the few minutes of the session.

It was certainly kind of you to take the time to come down to meet with us. I am sure, however, that those present were deeply appreciative and will carry away insights which will be of tremendous value to them in their work.

Again let me thank you for your kindness in assisting us.

Sincerely yours,

Dan W. Dodson

Dan W. Dodson
Executive Director

DWD:fs

[N.Y.C. Public Lib.]

********** 20 West 40th Street

16 January 1946

21-12-09

My dear Dr. Reddick:

Miss Diggs and I have gone over carefully every line of the Encyclopedia and we are sending it this morning to the printer. Meantime we have had a letter from Syracuse University which suggests that the papers of Gerrit Smith ought to be included in your list of special collections. Will you think this over and communicate with Dr. Stokes or the printer? I have heard that this collection is very valuable.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

[New York City, Public Library]

28 February 1946

21-12-08

My dear Dr. Reddick:

Miss Diggs and I were coming up this week to work in the Schomburg Collection but we cannot leave on account of the installation of our new steel bookcases.

Under these circumstances I wonder if you could stretch your rules again and let us use here two books:

Ibn Battuta, TRAVELS IN ASIA AND AFRICA
translated and selected by
H. A. R. Gibb

John W. Blake, European Beginnings in
West Africa.

I hope you can do this.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York City

The New York Public Library

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
135TH STREET BRANCH
SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

New York, April 15, 1946

21-12-06

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I know Miss Ruth Brall as a splendid sculptor. Her project seems to me quite worthwhile. I hope that you agree.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick

L. D. Reddick
CURATOR

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Nat'l Assoc. for Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

LDR:RRT
Enc. 2

(Copy)

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
103 West 135th Street

21-12-25

June 8, 1946

Dr. W.Burghardt Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I read, with great interest, your preparatory volume of Encyclopedia of the Negro. May I offer the following suggestions: corrections

a- In listing the bibliography from the New York Public Library, "The Negro, a selected reading list", the latest edition is February, 1945 instead of 1935.

b- May I offer, as a suggestion for inclusion in your bibliography the list of children's books, namely: "Books about ~~the~~ Negro for children," N.Y.P.L. - 135th St. Branch, Children's Room - 103 W. 135 St. - 10 cents.

Yours truly,
Augusta Baker
Children's Librarian

Author Baker.
name
date 1943, 1944, 1946

ABA:ej

[N.Y.P.L.]

21-12-26

July 9, 1946

Miss Augusta Baker
Children's librarian
The New York Public Library
103 West 135 St.
New York City, N.Y.

My dear Miss Baker:

Thank you for your letter of June 8, concerning the Encyclopedia of the Negro. I hope we may be able to incorporate your two excellent suggestions but I am afraid it is already too late for the revised edition which has been going through the proof-readers hands for some months. If we can get the matter in, we shall be glad to.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

The New York Public Library

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
135TH STREET BRANCH
SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

New York, August 27, 1946

42-8F-40

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Following our telephone conversation of this morning, I am sending along this note.

Among other things I believe we should discuss the following three items at the Saturday conference:

1. As soon as possible we should build up a list of organizations interested in what we might call the Negro struggle with which we may communicate regularly. It would be easy enough to have a list for this country; but what about the West Indies and Africa?

2. We need an exchange of news, particularly as among Africa, the West Indies and the Negro press of this country. This could be done rather simply and cheaply. One person could prepare a weekly or bi-weekly news summary for use by the press in this country by reading the African and West Indian newspapers which come into the Schomburg Collection and I am sure other places. In exchange a weekly or bi-weekly news summary based upon a reading of the Negro papers in this country might be sent abroad to publications in Africa and the West Indies.

3. If we could agree upon a basis for doing so, we should wage a public campaign to mobilize mass spirit behind a move for direct representation in UN of non-self-governing peoples (colonials).

The merits of these proposals, I believe, are so obviously necessary that they do not require much elaboration for the kind of group we expect at the conference.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
CURATOR

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N A A C P
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

LDR:RRT

The New York Public Library

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

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PHOTOSTAT

71

21-7

Received from M.Y. DuBois

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W R Bennett

for The New York Public Library

form 522b [iv-8-43 2m]

Leaflets

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
203 West 115th St.
N.Y. 26, N.Y.

21-20-41

September 11, 1946

Sept 25

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Regina: I read your letter to Mr. Marshall & he asked me to say Sept 25

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In order to bring the residents of this community into closer contact with the program of the United Nations as it affects each individual American, we are planning a public meeting to be held during the week in September which was originally proposed as the one during which the General Assembly would convene.

Mrs. Roosevelt has consented to be the guest speaker for this occasion which will be Wednesday evening September the 25th at 8 o'clock in this Branch of the New York Public Library. The general theme of the meeting will be "United Nations and Our Nation's People" to be related of course to the United Nations and the minority groups in our country.

May we extend to you an invitation to give one of the two addresses following Mrs. Roosevelt? It is hoped that Mrs. Roosevelt's talk will be connected with smaller countries and minority groups as related to the United Nations, and that Mr. James Marshall will discuss the larger nations and broader aspects of the United Nations program. We would like to ask you to discuss the Colonials, the American Negro and the United Nations.

There will be a brief reception for Mrs. Roosevelt and the officials of the New York Public Library promptly at 7:30.

May we look forward to your being our guest at this time.

Sincerely yours,

Regina

Regina M. Andrews
Branch Librarian

RMA:hr

I am leaving the City Thursday for a Library Convention in Saratoga - I should like to call you on the telephone before 1 go

21-27-45

13 September 1946

Dear Regina:

I received your letter only this morning. I will be glad to speak September 25, 1946.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Regina M. Andrews
New York Public Library
203 West 115th Street
New York 26, N. Y.

[NY Public Library]

The New York Public Library

115th Street Branch

has the honor to invite you to hear

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Director, Department Special Research for the N. A. A. C. P.

Frederic Ernst

Associate Superintendent, New York City High Schools

Channing Tobias

Director, Stokes-Phelps Fund

speak on

The United Nations and Our Nation's People

on

Wednesday, September the 25th

at 8 P. M.

115th Street Library - 203 West 115th Street

This Invitation is Your Card of Admission.

Admits One

B5C-4-94

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
203 West 115th St.
N.Y. 26, N.Y.

21-22-44

October 1, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Yours was the perfect part of our program - the introductory remarks tuned all library ears - and the address itself should stir a few more of us to serious thought if not action.

I am to see Mr. St. John on Thursday in regard to definite plans on the part of the N.Y.P.L. in connection with a Library Department of Intercultural Education. The result of this interview will be the basis for my decision in regard to a future personal opportunity with U.N.E.S.C.O.

I will discuss this with you when I see you - again - a very sincere "thank you".

With Best Wishes,

Regina

Regina M. Andrews
Branch Librarian

RMA:hr

The New York Public Library

Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
135TH STREET BRANCH
SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

21-26-09

New York, November 30, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As you may know, I have the responsibility for organizing a course on the Negro in American Life that will be given this Spring at the New School. We are enclosing a tentative listing of topics and our first choice as lecturers.

We would like very much for you to do the lecture on "Trends in Leadership" which comes on Friday, March 21, 1947. We could get together on the details a little later. However, let me say now that though our budget is limited, we could supply railroad fare and a modest honorarium of $25.00.

Please let me hear from you by return mail, if possible, so that we will be able to do the necessary printing very soon.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
C U R A T O R

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Nat'l Assoc. for Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

LDR:RRT
Enc. 1

[Reddick]

3 December 1946

My dear Mr. Reddick:

I will not be able to lecture at the New School before April. I am going South and West during February and March and my last engagement is March 30 in Detroit. If you could rearrange so as to give me a date in April, I should be glad to serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-14-33

Dr. L. B. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York City

The New York Public Library

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CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
135TH STREET BRANCH
SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

New York, December 10, 1946

21-26-10

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is to confirm our telephone conversation of Monday afternoon in which we agreed to shift the date of your appearance in the New School lecture series from March 21 to April 25. The subject remains the same: "Trends in Leadership."

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
CURATOR

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N A A C P
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

LDR:RRT

[N.y City, Public Library]

21-7-27

31 December 1946

My dear Regina:

I have received the enclosed letter from Francis R. St. John. I am enclosing a proposed answer. Will you kindly tell me if that would be the proper thing or how you would like it changed?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Regina Andrews
115th Street Branch
New York Public Library
New York City

[Enclosure]

21-7-26

31 December 1946

My dear sir:

I have your letter of December 20 concerning Mrs. Regina Andrews, Librarian of the 115th Street branch of the New York Public Library. I am glad to have this confirmation of my own estimate of Mrs. Andrews' work. I have known her over twenty years and was in some small way instrumental in making the fight by which the barrier against appointing a colored woman, even as first assistant much less librarian of a branch, was begun. My own impression has been that she was and is a most valuable worker, and for that reason I cannot understand why her salary should be the lowest paid any branch librarian; or why there is apparently no immediate prospect of her earning more in the near future.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Francis R. St. John
Chief of Circulation Department
New York Public Library
Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street
New York 18, N. Y.

9 December 1946

To the Editor of the Herald Tribune:

Would it be out of place to inform the United Nations that when they think of Philadelphia as a permanent site they should remember that in Philadelphia, the color line is drawn by practically all hotels, by most of the best restaurants, and in some of the theatres, and other places of public entertainment? There is a Civil Right bill in Pennsylvania but it is loosely drawn and seldom enforced. Therefore those nations whose citizens show any pigment in their skin would not, in all probability, be comfortable or safe from insult, in the City of Brotherly Love.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Editor
Herald Tribune
230 West 41st Street
New York City

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MARCH 11, 1946

81-7

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21	S FRAN TLGRM		68
23	BALTO		75
24	"		45

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[FEB, 1946]

Total U. S. Tax (*Tax Schedule on reverse*)	148
Total Carried to Bill	741

A-1305 7-44

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21-7

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Total		6 75 ✱

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-72
6 03

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JAN				
21		MCCULLOH TLGRM		31
4		BALTO TLGRM		41
FEB				
2		PHILA		55
7		UNIONVL	20	

127

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Total U. S. Tax (*Tax Schedule on reverse*) 35

Total Carried to Bill 182

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JUNE 11, 1946

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Additional Local Calls to Date of Bill (See back of stub)			★
Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams (List enclosed)		11 78	
Other Charges or Credits (Explanation enclosed)			
Balance Due from Previous Bill (Please disregard this amount if paid)			
Total		16 71	★

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MAY			
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18	FROM BALTO		1 15
25	FROM CANTON		2 70
	BALTO		55
27	CANTON TLGRM		71
30	BALTO		75
JUN			
1	PRINCETN		35
3	CITY TLGRM		37
	CITY TLGRM		37
	"		37
5	BALTO		1 35

—

[JUNE 1944]

Total U. S. Tax (*Tax Schedule on reverse*) 236

Total Carried to Bill 1178

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JANUARY 11, 1946

21-7

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Balance Due from Previous Bill (Please disregard this amount if paid)		
Total		10 37 ★

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DEC	22	BALTO		45
	23	"		45
	30	BALTO		65
JAN	1	"		45
		"		75
		PHILA		95
	3	"		65

—

Total U. S. Tax	(*Tax Schedule on reverse*)	109
Total Carried to Bill		544

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C

Local Service for One Month in Advance	Local Calls Included	66	4 93 ★
Additional Local Calls to Date of Bill (See back of stub)			★
Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams (List enclosed)			2 74
Other Charges or Credits (Explanation enclosed)			
Balance Due from Previous Bill (Please disregard this amount if paid)			
	Total		7 67 ★

★ **Includes 15% U. S. tax and 1% N. Y. City tax.**
See other side for method of determining amount of tax.

NEW YORK TELEPHONE COMPANY

Out-of-Town Calls and Telegrams

EDG 4 9837

		Subject to 15% Tax	Subject to 25% Tax
JAN			
21	BALTO TLGRM		31
4	BALTO TLGRM		41
APR			
6	CITY TLGRM		20
13	NORTHFLD		70
30	LONCOLN TLGRM		28
MAY			
1	CHESTER TLGRM		29

—

Total U. S. Tax (*Tax Schedule on reverse*) 55

Total Carried to Bill 274

A-1305 7-44

NEW YORK TELEPHONE COMPANY

Pd Oct 28

Addresses: See Back of Stub
Telephone: Dial 811 or Call "Business Office"

OCT. 11, 1946

21-7

EDG 4 W E B DU BOIS
9837 409 EDGECOMBE AVE 32

LOCAL SERVICE for One Month in Advance . . . . . Local Calls Included 66	4 98	★
ADDITIONAL LOCAL CALLS to Date of Bill (See back of stub for explanation)		★
OUT-OF-TOWN CALLS AND TELEGRAMS (List enclosed)	5 20	
OTHER CHARGES OR CREDITS (Explanation enclosed)		
BALANCE FROM LAST BILL (Please disregard this amount if paid)		
TOTAL	10 18	★

★ *Includes 15% U. S. tax and 2% N. Y. City tax.*
See other side for method of determinina amount of tax.

To determine U. S. or N. Y. City taxes included in Local Service Charge or Additional Local Call Charge:

1. Divide amount shown on bill by 1.17. This gives the Telephone Company charge within 1¢ excluding both taxes.

2. Take 15% of the Telephone Company charge. This is the U. S. tax.

3. Take 2% of the Telephone Company charge. This is the N. Y. City Sales Tax within 1¢.

[NY Theosophical Society]

21 February 1946

21-27-74.

My dear Mr. Kunz:

This is regarding the telephone conversation which you had with my assistant. I can speak for you Sunday, March twenty-fourth, on the subject of the development of Negro culture in Africa and America.

If the lecture is in the city my charge would be fifty dollars.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. S. L. Kunz
Hillandale Road
Portchester, New York

[New York Theophysical Society]

Lectures

21-10-16

March 4, 1946

Dear Mr. Dubois,

I owe you an apology, not only for this belated acknowledgement of your letter of acceptance, but also because I did not take care to explain that the New York Theosophical Society is not in a position to pay proper lecture fees to speakers.

We quite realise that we should have gone into this at first. Under the circumstances we shall have to abandon the idea of having you with us, for the present.

With renewed regrets over this, and regret also that we shall not have the pleasure of hearing you in our March series,

I am,

Yours sincerely

Dora Kunz

Dora Kunz, President,
New York Theosophical Society,
9 East 40th Street,
New York.

[N.Y. TIMES]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
[redacted] AVENUE
20 W. 40TH ST.
[redacted]
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

1 November 1946

To the Editor of the New York Times:

Now that the silence of the Press and of Liberal thought on Africa and its problems has broken briefly, may I venture to stress the critical importance of these matters.

In the San Francisco conference, I remember the young Nigerian who arose in a meeting of American consultants to voice the needs and demands of his nation. The representative of the State Department reminded him courteously that we could not listen to him since he was not a national. He sat down, knowing as we knew, that not only was his 25 millions of people silenced there, but that nowhere else in that conference did they have voice or hearing. The six millions people of Australia could talk to the world from the highest seats of publicity, but black Africa, save for two small areas, was silent.

152-4-94

Most readers will say that this was a logical result for backward and uncivilized nations. But they are wrong; since the First World War, Africa has been appealing to the world for hearing and redress, in clear logic and modern phrase; and with disappointing unanimity, the world has refused to listen, the press has failed to notice and forward-thinking people have been content to remain ignorant.

In 1915, the Congress of British West Africa, attended by representatives of chiefs, professions and business from four colonies, made a plea for democratic institutions, which deserves to be called a great document. They said in part:

"The people having their own natural representative system and the Government assuming the power of passing measures against the solid vote fo the members of the Legislative Council, nominated by Government and put forward by Government as representing the people; it is a standing grievance and in the interest of the people the time has come when this particular disability should be removed. It has become imperative, therefore, now for the people by constitutional agitation to bring home to the British Government the absolute necessity of removing such disability and granting the franchise to the people of British West Africa."

During the San Francisco conference, the Non-European Unity Committee of The Union of South Africa addressed "A Declaration to the Nations of the World", to which neither our free press nor any member of the conference paid the slightest attention. It said in part:

"The Non-European is debarred from education. He is denied access to the professions and skilled trades; he is denied the right to buy land and property; he is denied the right to trade or serve in the army - except as a stretcher-bearer or servant; he is prohibited from entering places of entertainment and culture."

Dr. A. B. Xuma, a Native practising physician of Cape Town, President of the African National Congress of South Africa has recently cabled to the United Nations saying:

"We Africans of South Africa protest and oppose the incorporation of South West Africa into the Union. The Africans of South West Africa have no share in the Government and therefore are no party in the incorporation negotiations. South Africa itself denies political and economic rights to her 8,000,000 Africans. 83 per cent of the land is reserved for 2,000,000 Europeans, only less than 17 per cent for 8,000,000 Africans. Only 40 per cent of African children are accommodated in Mission schools. I would also like to add that there are no Government schools for African children... 95 percent of the African prison population is imprisoned for discriminatory regulations used against Africans only... African trade unions are not recognized. Africans are excluded from skilled work. In short, Africans are underfed, underpaid, under-educated, under-employed, poorly housed and poorly and indirectly represented. The 8,000,000 Africans have no direct representation there and no influence on the policy of the country."...

Not only has no notice been taken of this document, but when Dr. Xuma tried to come to the United States to present his plea in person, he was long refused a visa by the Union of South Africa and has only just arrived.

This same tactic came to light in the plea of an African chief to travel to Britain and America to represent his people. Only one copy

46-7-252

of his printed protest of 24 pages has apparently reached America. It begins:

"Chief Tshekedi Khama, Regent of the Bamagwato, whose territory spreads over about 1/3rd of the 275,000 square miles of Bechuanaland, was authorised by five other chiefs to approach the British Government on behalf of their people to oppose the incorporation of the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa in the Union of South Africa. On instructions from the British Government he was refused shipping priority to travel to Britain with his legal adviser for this purpose...

"We humbly submit that though the Territory of South-West Africa may have a strategic value to Great Britain in the hands of the Union Government, this value must not be esteemed greater than the life blood of more than 10,000,000 African Peoples in Southern Africa."...

The Negroes of Angola, Portuguese West Africa, could not get their protest printed and dared not sign their names; it was sent by nine African leaders, marked "Strictly Confidential", and entrusted to an American of highest integrity. It declares:

"The conditions under which Africans live in Angola are now almost unendurable..."

It goes on to explain in detail that laborers earning 1½ angolares a day, pay 100 angolares annual tax; that defaulters become contract laborers for 3-5 years; that the death rate of laborers is 50-75%. Girls are conscripted for the use of contract laborers, and there are no government schools or health service.

The Cameroon Native Council, over the signature of Etia Moumé Leopold appealed to the United Nations in October, 1946:

The undersigned Organization and the Cameroon Spokesmen representing the rights of the Cameroon, strongly endorse to the submission of the following proposals initiated by The Cameroon Native Council, The Trade Unions, The Cameroon Youths Association, and Political State Men.

(1) The Cameroons need is, to be placed directly under the United Nations Organisation; until the State is ripe to take over the responsibility, entirely.
That the Cameroon should have a free trade pact with the four Powers, and that the land grabbed by foreign Capitalists be returned to all owners.
That the Cameroons students be allowed to enter the four Powers' universities, and free educational facility and free medical treatment be supplied.
That the African Statemen be allowed to attend sessions of the Assembly of the United Nations Organization.

The President of the Nyasaland African Congress writes demanding:

"Abolition of the present total discrimination for Africans to participate in any social and political matters and free acceptance that the race is entitled to speak ftself on all matters which concern their country..."

46-4-253

In Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Rhodesia, and South Africa, strikes against alleged starvation wage, aggravated by sharply rising prices have been made, but neither the world press nor philanthropy has made any adequate effort to inquire into cause and results. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a native Nigerian, on whom Lincoln University, Penn., has just bestowed an honorary degree, reports in a pamphlet:

"The General Strike in Nigeria lasted for 44 days beginning from June 22, 1945. The West African Pilot and the Daily Comet, two daily newspapers printed and published in Lagos, Nigeria, British West Africa, were suppressed for 36 days."

All these matters are not isolated phenomena. They are part of a definite policy, originating in South Africa and in its daughter state Kenya, to separate African colonialism from Asiatic and perpetuate in Africa that slavery, serfdom and exploitation of labor and materials, which the wiser world is trying to abolish, as the one and only path to democracy. In 1923, the plan was clearly enunciated in the pamphlet published in Nairobi, "The Thermopylae of Africa". It said:

"Assuming that White Political control will be gradually withdrawn from Asiatic countries, two classes of territories will remain; those which are definitely the permanent homes of the White Race, and those non-Asiatic countries where the White Race has established itself by firmly rooted settlement among indigenous peoples...

"Africa is the most important unit of this [latter] group of territories. Her immense area, her fertility, her numerous primitive populations, her geographical position, and the present isolation of her White Race settlements have combined to attract Asiatic invasion. So great are her potentialtities that control of them may prove to be the decisive factor in the coming conflict of the primary Races...

"Her position, her many harbours, and her numerous and brave native populations give her great possibilities as a military base, - advantages which were fully recognised in the German 'Mittel Afrika' scheme. Her soil fertility, aided by a wide range of climates, promises a vast output of many kinds of raw materials, needed by crowded, industrialised countries. Her native population of 120 millions, the quickest breeding race on earth, assures the means for developing her resources, and promises a huge demand for imports."...

The plan developed during the First World War by the capture of German East Africa, was pushed further in the Second World War in the attempt to put Kenya and its leaders over Ethiopia; it still persists in the re-

46-7-254

fusal to give Ethiopia access to the sea, by depriving her of Eritrea, and seizing Ogaden, its granary; by garrisoning Ethiopia with British soldiers and airman, and by the proposed transfer of British military bases to East Africa.

I am calling attention to all this, not simply as a plea for Africa, but as a warning to the United Nations. Is it possible to build One World, free and democratic, on the foundation of a continually enslaved Africa? Of an Africa, whose labor at twenty cents a day is in direct competition with the free labor of the world?

Three problems lie before the United Nations, with no obvious or straight-forward way of apporaching any of them:

1. The general problem of Colonies.
2. The special problem of the former colonies of Germany, now mandated to various countries and treated as their property.
3. The problem of minorities, within the confines of various nations.

How shall colonies, like Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Angola, Mozambique, Uganda, the Sudan, French West and Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo and others, make effective their demand for freedom, education and political power, if they are deprived of the right to free speech and of open impartial investigation?

What shall mankind do in face of the demand of South Africa to add South-West Africa to its caste-ridden state, where already two million whites are enslaving ten millions of blacks and browns, and denying them a fair chance to speak in their own behalf? Have we forgotten the Bondelsschwarz? At the very inception of the mandate of South-West Africa by South Africa, the Union imposed a tax of $5 a sheep-dog on the natives which they in their poverty refused to pay. South Africa bombed them killing over a hundred men, women and children; and then refused facilitate anyinvestigation

by the League of Nations. The helpless Mandates Commission after months of fruitless effort could only report the "tax measures were unduly severe"; and not a cent of damages were paid nor any remedial action taken. This is the nation headed by the most sinister and paradoxical figure in World Politics that asks today complete control over Southwest Africa.

Finally what shall fifteen millions of Negroes in the United States, many more than the population of the Argentine, and of Belgium and Holland combined, do to secure recognition of their rights as human beings at the hands of the peoples of the world? They are in majority disfranchised; their rights of travel, domicile, use of public facilities, and right to work are widely infringed. 5,000 of them have been lynched by mobs without trial in fifty years and no lyncher has been punished; because as the Attorney-General of the nation admits, the law gives him no adequate ground on which to prosecute. What shall we American Negroes do in the presence of the World? Shall we keep silent? Shall we petition for redress of grievances? Whom, where, and when? I have inquired diligently at headquarters, and got but vague answers.

Is this the way to build a new world? Is even the Atomic Bomb of greater importance than the freedom and manhood of two hundred million black men?

Remember that it was five hundred years ago almost to a day, when in the midst of the Renaissance of European culture, the Spanish peninsula came into direct contact with West Africa; an Africa whose art and social organization are among the great accomplishments of mankind. This contact, which might have merged with the vast Sudanese cultures to unite a re-born Europe and an ancient Africa, degenerated, in the slow course of two hundred and fifty years, into a horror which forged fetters of slavery on the wrists of modern toil; implemented it with race hate, and made the Industrial Revolution found its empire on colonial slavery

even more than on free democratic labor. The contradiction and paradox grew and festered until it flamed in the conflagration of two world wars and exploded at Hiroshima.

What shall we do today in this desperate effort to save civilization? Shall we again ignore and despise Africa, in an attempt to rebuild the world?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-7-257

Editor
New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York City

[NYTIMES]

The New York Times
Times Square

November 5, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of November 1st. Unfortunately, it is far too long for use in the Letters column.

If you think it would be possible to cut it down to three typewritten double-spaced pages, or even a bit less, I should be interested in seeing it again.

Would you be good enough to let me hear from you within the next day or so as to whether such a cut would be possible.

Sincerely yours,

L. P. Huger

L. P. Huger
Letters to the Editor

46-4-155

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

[NY Times/Letter]

6 November 1946

To the Editor of the New York Times:

Now that the silence of the Press and of Liberal thought on Africa and its problems has broken briefly, may I venture to stress the critical importance of these matters.

Since the First World War, Africa has been appealing to the world for hearing and redress, in clear logic and modern phrase; and with disappointing unanimity, the world has refused to listen, the press has failed to notice and forward-thinking people have been content to remain ignorant.

46-4-154

In 1915, the Congress of British West Africa, attended by representatives of chiefs, professions and business from four colonies, made a plea for democratic institutions, which deserves to be called a great document.

During the San Francisco conference, the Non-European Unity Committee of The Union of South Africa addressed "A Declaration to the Nations of the World", to which neither our free press nor any member of the conference paid the slightest attention.

Dr. A. B. Xuma, a Native practising physician of Cape Town, President of the African National Congress of South Africa now in New York writes:

"We Africans of South Africa protest and oppose the incorporation of South West Africa into the Union. The Africans of South West Africa have no share in the Government and therefore are no party in the incorporation negotiations. South Africa itself denies political and economic

rights to her 8,000,000 Africans. 83 per cent of the land is reserved for 2,000,000 Europeans only: less than 17 per cent for 8,000,000 Africans. Only 40 per cent of African children are accommodated in Mission schools; there are no Government schools for African children... 95 per cent of the African prison population is imprisoned for discriminatory regulations used against Africans only... African trade unions are not recognized. Africans are excluded from skilled work. In short, Africans are underfed, underpaid, under-educated, under-employed, poorly housed and poorly and indirectly represented..."

A South African chief sends this appeal:

"Chief Tshekedi Khama, Regent of the Bamagwato, whose territory spreads over about 1/3rd of the 275,000 square miles of Bechuanaland, was authorised by five other chiefs to approach the British Government on behalf of their people to oppose the incorporation of the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa in the Union of South Africa. On instructions from the British Government he was refused shipping priority to travel to Britain with his legal adviser for this purpose...

"We humbly submit that though the Territory of South-West Africa may have a strategic value to Great Britain in the hands of the Union Government, this value must not be esteemed greater than the life blood of more than 10,000,000 Africa Peoples in Southern Africa..."

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"The conditions under which Africans live in Angola are now almost unendurable..."

The Cameroon Native Council, over the signature of Etia Moume Leopold appealed to the United Nations in October, 1946 to be placed under United Nations trusteeship.

The President of the Nyasaland African Congress writes demanding:

"Abolition of the present total discrimination for Africans to participate in any social and political matters and free acceptance that the race is entitled to speak itself on all matters which concern their country..."

In Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Rhodesia, and South Africa, strikes against alleged starvation wage, aggravated by sharply rising prices have been made, but neither the world press nor philanthropy has made an adequate effort to inquire into cause and results.

All these matters are not isolated phenomena. They are part of

46-7-158

a definite policy, originating in South Africa and in its daughter state Kenya, to separate African colonialism from Asiatic and perpetuate in Africa that slavery, serfdom and exploitation of labor and materials, which the wiser world is trying to abolish, as the one and only path to democracy. In 1925, the plan was clearly enunciated in the pamphlet published in Nairobi, "The Thermopolae of Africa".

This plan developed during the First World War by the capture of Germ East Africa, was pushed further in the Second World War in the attempt to put Kenya and its leaders over Ethiopia; it still persists in the refusal to give Ethiopia access to the sea, by depriving her of Eritrea, and seizing Ogaden, its granary; by garrisoning Ethiopia with British soldiers and airmen, and by the proposed transfer of British military bases to East Africa.

I am calling attention to all this, not simply as a plea for Africa, but as a warning to the United Nations. Is it possible to build One World, free and Democratic, on the foundation of a continually enslaved Africa? Of an Africa, whose labor at twenty cents a day is in direct competition with the free labor of the world?

41-2-159

How shall colonies, like Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Angola, Mozambique Uganda, the Sudan, French West and Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo and others, make effective their demand for freedom, education and political power, if they are deprived of the right to free speech and of open impartial investigation?

Finally what shall fifteen millions of Negroes in the United States, many more than the population of the Argentine, and of Belgium and Holland combined, do to secure recognition of their rights as human beings at the hands of the peoples of the world? They are in majority disfranchised; and their disfranchisement in the South makes democracy unworkable in the nation and a third party movement impossible; their rights of travel, domicile, use of public facilities, and right to work are widely infringed. 5,000 of them have been lynched by mobs without trial in fifty years and no lyncher has

has been punished; because as the Attorney-General of the nation admits, the law gives him no adequate ground on which to prosecute.

Is this the way to build a new world? Is even the Atomic Bomb of greater importance than the freedom and manhood of two hundred million black men?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-74-160

Editor
New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York City

[NY TIMES]

6 November 1946

My dear Mr. Huger:

I have tried again and almost met your limitation. You are at liberty to omit enough lines to bring this letter within your space limit.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-7-156

Mr. L. P. Huger
Letters to the Editor
The New York Times
Times Square
New York City

Please reply to Oceana Publications, 500 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y.

H. NEWMAN

PUBLICATIONS:
"THE REAL JEW" (Edited)
"LIFE IS WORTH WHILE"
"TALK IT OUT"
"GENTILE & JEW"
"MONEY MEANS NOTHING"

EDITOR:
"THE JEWISH YOUTH" (Weekly, 1928)
"THE JEWISH STANDARD" (Weekly, 1933/4)

YOUNG JUDEAN OF "THE JEWISH WORLD" (1928/1933)

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT AND CONTRIBUTOR TO THE

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Telephone: GERrard 1496

77, BERWICK STREET,
LONDON, W.1.

May 21, 1946

21-15-22

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director
National Association for Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am on a mission to the United States for a purpose in which I invoke your cooperation.

The tragedy of the Jewish problem has reached such an intensity that it demands a feasible and immediate solution. The impact of Fascism with its legacies of prejudice, discrimination, and hatred is such that the world cannot afford to allow a continuance of the issues. The situation, however, is such that there is a strong possibility of a recurrence of active persecution.

You will agree, I am sure, that racial and religious hatred is the antithesis of democracy and of the American conception of life, and is one of the underlying causes of wars and destruction. Hence, upon grounds of public and national policy there arises the paramount urgency for the eradication of this menace altogether apart from the association with the Jewish question as such.

Recently I published in England a Symposium to which many leadingmen and women in varied phases of life and thought have contributed, giving their opinion of how this problem that the world has made of the Jews can be solved. I am now engaged in producing an American edition of this work and for this purpose I am inviting you and other leaders of American thought to contribute to the Symposium.

Each contributor is permitted to express entirely his own views, and the length of the contribution is at your own discretion. These have ranged from 300-3000 words.

I feel that, in this attempt to create a better understanding, to dissipate unreasoning prejudice and to build a formative American opinion, as well as to create an easement in the minds and the hearts of the Jews, I will have your valued good will.

I shall very much appreciate hearing from you in this regard.

Respectfully yours,

Haim Newman

Haim Newman

21-15-23

3 October 1946

My dear sir:

I am very late in answering your kind letter of May 21st but may I say that you have my sympathy in your work for the Jews. They have gone through the most outrageous persecution which modern civilization has known and it is the least that any thoughtful human being can do to say a word and do any possible deed to help the survivors and insure a decent future for the Jewish people.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Haim Newman
Oceana Publications
500 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

ESTABLISHED 1880

PHONE, MULBERRY 0277

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DEALERS IN
AWNING FABRICS
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AND SUPPLIES
COTTON DUCK

10 May 1946.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
2302 Montebello Terrace,
Baltimore 14, Md.

21-11

Dear sir:

We wish to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your letter and check covering your order for awning. We will erect this awning prior to June 1st as you requested.

Although your pre-payment of this account is much appreciated we want you to feel that it was not necessary in order to get your awning when you want it under the circumstances. Our long and pleasant relations in the past were our incentive to do a little something extra for you in the matter of delivery.

We do hope that when Mrs. DuBois returns home that she will have fully recovered from her illness and that she will find everything in good order and as cheerfully arranged as possible. We shall do our part to make this true.

Thanking you again and with the writers kindest personal regards, we are

Yours very truly,

Jas. A. Nicholson & Son, Inc.,

By James F. Nicholson.

JEN:e

Enc. 1

Jas. A. Nicholson & Son, Inc.

ESTABLISHED 1880

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Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
2302 Montebello Terrace,
Baltimore 14, Md.

10 May 1946
No. 17047

TERMS: Net

21-11

To	recovering and erecting one stationary awning	76.00
	Baltimore Home	
	To be erected prior to June 1st, 1946.	

JAS. A. NICHOLSON & SON, INC.
RECEIVED
MAY 10 1946

from the Rev. I. R. Mahabane,

NON-EUROPEAN UNITY COMMITTEE,

Boichoko Parsonage,

KROONSTAD, O.F.S.,

South Africa.

August 30th 1946.

Dr W.E.B.DUBOIS,

National Association for the ADVANCEMENT

of COLOURED PEOPLE,

NEW YORK.

6-F 8-24

Dear Dr DUBOIS,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo. on the subject of the forth-coming General Assembly of UNO. to be held in New York, U.S.A. in Sept.

At this late hour all I can do is to give you and your Committee an assurance of the wholehearted Co-operation of Members of the above Committee, in the great EFFORT you are making to present the CASE of the Non-European Peoples of Africa in general and of Southern Africa in particular.

Our CASE has been set forth in the Statement contained in The DECLARATION To The NATIONS OF The WORLD issued last year about this time, a Copy of which, no doubt, you have. Suffice just to mention a few of The Disabilities from which we are suffering at this very juncture.

1. The iniquitous Indian Land Tenure and Representation Act of 1946, passed by the Union Parliament in the teeth of the strongest opposition put up by the Indian people, both of the Union of S.A. and those of India herself. This Act has given birth to the cruel Prosecution and Imprisonment of hundreds of Indian men and Women,
2. The Native Pass Laws with their disastrous effects on the Labour conditions of African people,
3. The Refusal of the Government of the Union to give Official recognition to Native Trade Unionism, one of the consequenses of which has been the barbarous Smashing of the attempt of African Miners to stage a Strike of work by reason of the fact that their representations for Improvement of Wage levels and working conditions have been ignored,
4. The attempted Deportation of Mr Jas. Sofasonke MPANZA of Orlando Shanty Town fame.

etc., etc., etc.

Assuring you of our wholehearted support in your efforts,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Very Sincerely yours,

I. R. Mahabane

CHAIRMAN,

NON-EUROPEAN UNITY COMMITTEE

"UNITE FOR FREEDOM"

OFFICIALS:

Chairman:
REV. Z. R. MAHABANE,
"Boichoko Parsonage,"
Kroonstad,
O.F.S.

Treasurer:
MR. E. C. ROBERTS
Tasman Street,
Claremont,
Cape.

Joint Secretaries:
E. RAMSDALE & S. A. JAYIYA,
P. O. Box 3475,
Cape Town,
South Africa.

c/o Boichoko Parsonage,
B Location,
Kroonstad
~~P. O. BOX 3475, KROONSTAD~~, O.F.S.
~~CAPE TOWN~~, South Africa.
SOUTH AFRICA.

~~October 28, 1946.~~

42-8F-11

Dr W.E.B.DUBOIS,
President, Pan African Congress,
NEW YORK.

Dear Dr Dubois,

In acknowledging receipt of your letter of the 18th ultimo., which came rather late, I have to assure you that you have my authority to sign on behalf of the above Committee the Petition to be presented to UNO. Assembly asking for the Representation, in some form or other, of the Colonial peoples of the world in general and of Africa in particular.

Further, I desire to inform you that the Central Committee of the Non-European Unity Movement is totally OPPOSED to the Proposal for the Incorporation of South West Africa or any Territory into the Union of South Africa. By its Policy of Discrimination against the Non-European races of the country, its obnoxious Colour Bar Legislation, which operates detrimentally against the interests of the Non-European Groups, and designedly in the interests of Europeans, the Union Government has proved to be absolutely incompetent to rule the so-called undeveloped or disfranchised peoples of the country.

I enclose Cutting from The Guardian re attitude of my Committee to S.W.Africa Case.

I am,

Yours very Sincerely,

Z. R. Mahabane

CHAIRMAN.

Form E

1946

42-8-F-27

Dear Mr. Jabavu:

Enclosed is a proposed petition which the Pan African Congress and its supporting organizations are going to present to the Assembly of the United Nations. We wish very much to have the support of the Non-European Unity Movement, All African Convention. Can you advise me as to what steps we ought to take and as to the possibility of getting such an endorsement?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois,
President of the Pan African Congress

Prof. D. D. Jabavu
Non-European, Unity Movement, All African Convention
Fort Hare, Alice C.P.
Union of South Africa

(NON PARTISAN ...)

B 1

21-21-06

NON PARTISAN INTERFAITH CITIZENS COMMITTEE

132 WEST 138 ST., NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

AUdubon 3-1176

August 20, 1946.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York 32, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

1 The Non-Partisan Interfaith Emergency Mass Meeting of nearly 3,000 persons assembled at Mother A.M.E. Zion Church, New York City, unanimously endorses your proposal to have the darker peoples of the world petition the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization to redress their grievances.

The Continuations Committee is instructed to express the desire of the persons attending the meeting to co-operate with you in this noble effort and urges that the plight of the Negro in America be included in the petition.

Very sincerely yours,

B 1

C. B. Powell

Dr. C. B. Powell and

A. C. Powell Jr.

Dr. A. Clayton Powell, Jr.
Co-Chairmen

HOWES NORRIS JR.
VINEYARD HAVEN, MASS. U.S.A.

June 17. 1946.

Dear Sir;

I trust I am not asking too much in making a respectful request for some sentiment and autograph from you for my collection.

Yours faithfully

Howes Norris Jr. age 79.

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Esq.

12-13-01

Very Sincerely

W. E. B. Du Bois

18 June 1946.

[Encl.]

A literary friend residing in Boston suggested that I enclose a printed slip describing my collection alittle, and giving a few of the names of the people who had so kindly favored me; for, as he said, "People like to know in what sort of company they are." I realize that the autograph fiend must be something of a nuisance, but it is the only way we can obtain the contemporary celebrity.

I began my collection by overhauling my father's papers and finding a good many letters and documents with public men's names attached, among them a document signed by John Hancock, commissions signed by Governors of Massachusetts, and some letters from people of note. They interested me very much, so I decided to try to obtain a complete collection of the Governors of Massachusetts, my native state, the Presidents of the United States, and as complete a collection of other noted people as I could make.

I began writing for autographs in March, 1893, and have received about ten thousand interesting letters, sentiments, poems, sketches, or music in reply at this writing I have added about four thousand by purchase, a few of the prominent names I have bought are: Liszt, Mendelssohn, Greig, Franck, Verdi, Wagner, Brahms, Napoleon, Wellington, the Brownings, Bjornson, Carlyle, Lowell, Dickens, Geo. Eliot Walter Scott, Mark Twain, Emerson, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Weber, Mascagni, T. Hardy, Tennyson, Thackeray, Shaw, Whittier, Isben, Tschaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov A. Daudet, Zola, Bizet, Balzac. Joshua Reynolds, Martha Washington.

Among the people who have written something personally for me beside their name are O. W. Holmes Jane G. Austin, T. B. Aldrich, E. E. Hale, Julia Ward Howe, Charles W. Eliot, Lyman Abbot, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Reginald DeKoven, Edward J. Poynter, G. W. Cable, G. W. Chadwick, John Fiske "Joaquin Miller," Mary Pickford, George Inness, Jr., E. C. Stedman, Samuel Francis Smith, Marshall Foch, Lord Dunsany, Elie Metchnikoff, Eugene Field, Hall Caine, John Masefield, H. La Fontaine, John Burroughs, Victor Gillam, John Hay, Lewis Morris, John Tenniel, A. G. Bell, Whitelaw Reid, Joseph H. Choate, F. de Croisset, George T. Ladd, Henri Bergson, Leonard Wood, Maria Jeritza, F. Marion Crawford, Charles A. Dana, H. C. Lodge, "Rita," Brander Matthews, Briton Riviere, Owen Wister, Francis Parkman, J. T. Trowbridge, Amelia E. Barr, Lawrence Hutton, Amelie Rives, M. Maeterlinck, Booth Tarkington, Douglas Fairbanks, John K. Bangs, Emil Waldteufel, ... W. E. Norris, T. H. Huxley, Alfred Austin, J. Forbes Robertson, F. Max Muller, Goldwin Smith, F. P. Tosti, George Du Maurier, Jules Verne, "Anthony Hope," I Zangwill, Paul Bourget, ... Justin McCarthy, Laurens Alma Tadema, F. C. Burnand, Eugene O'Neill, ... John Sherman, Paul Hymans, Julian Pauncefote, Admiral Beattie, ... Carl Schurz, Childe Hassam, Julia Bartet, Daniel Huntington, ... John F. Weir, Wm. S. Sims, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Leonard Merrick, Jean Sibelius, J. J. Jusserand, Wu Ting Fang, Hamlin Garland, Kenyon Cox, Wm. Gillette, Seth Low, John W. Griggs, John La Farge, Arthur T. Hadley, George Kennan, Alfred G. Robyn, Henri Rochefort, F. B. Opper, Henry Van Dyke, Giovanni Papini; PRESIDENTS: Harrison, Cleveland, T. Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, F. D. Roosevelt; John Bigelow; JUDGES: Holmes, Brewer, Shiras, Brown, Gray, Harlan, Moody, McReynolds, Frankfurter, Brandeis, Clarke; Andrew Carnegie, Eastman Johnson, Adelina Patti, P. S. Gilmore, Max Alvary, Olive Thomas, Lord Roberts, Frederic Mac Monnies, Jules Levy, John K. Paine, I. J. Paderewski, Emma Eames, E. A. MacDowell, Ethelbert Nevin, Emma Calve, Rene Viviani, Albert Shaw, H. W. van Loon, Wilson Barrett, Sarah Bernhardt, C. Coquelin, Maxine Elliott,.....De Wolf Hopper, Henry Irving, Richard Mansfield, Helene Modjeska, Olga Nethersole, Ellen Terry, Edmond Rostand, Fitzhugh Lee, Joel Chandler Harris, Homer C. Davenport, Richard J. Gatling, John J. Pershing, Murat Halstead, Victor Herbert, H. H. Huss, George Ade, A. Beernaert, ... Simon B. Buckner, Edna May, Mme. Rejane, Louis Raemaeker, ... "Gyp," Adolf Harnack, Henri, Houssaye, Frederic Harrison, Josef Israels, Joseph Joachim, ...Gustav Luders, Mary Garden, Max Nordau, Walter Parratt, James K. Pyne, Camille Saint-Saens, Baroness Bertha von Suttner, V. B. Ibanez, R. Leoncavallo, W. D. Howells, Cass Gilbert, ... F. S. Converse, Bettina Von Hutton, J. H. van't Hoff, Max Pemberton, Ronald Ross, Lord Reay, L. Tetrazzini, John W. Alexander, Rudolf Eucken, Jules Massenet, Ira Remsen, ... Cecile Chaminade, Mary Johnston, Theodore Martin, Meredith Nicholson, R. S. Woodward, ... C.M. Loeffler, T. Eakins, D. C. French, E. W. Redfield, Elihu Vedder, G. G. Barnard, Paul Ehlrich, T. Cole, S. A. Arrhenius, Arthur Bird, Granville Bantock, Rene Bazin, Carolus-Duran, Cesar Cui, Dagnan-Bouveret, Claude Debussy, Baron Kuroki, Selma Lagerlof, Oliver Lodge, ... I. P. Pawlow, Emile Wauters, Ch. Widor, R. U. Johnson, Leon Daudet, A. C. Benson, Pierre Loti, Emmy Desntin, A. Glazonnow, C. Golgi, David Gill, Ernest Haeckel, Max Liebermann, Ellen Key, Alfred Noyes, Max Schillings, Theodore Dubois, Arthur Nevin, G. Puccini, John Galsworthy, ... H. A. Lorentz, E. Humperdinck, Sir Chas. Tupper, Robert L. Borden, Arnold Bennett, A. S. Hardy, Alfred Fried, Emile Picard, Sir Wm. Ramsay, Paul Vidal, CARDINALS: Gibbons Farley, Logue, Sartolli, Falconio, and Dougharty. Anotole France, F. Nansen, Thomas Mann, Sinclair Lewis, R. Tagore, Paul Valery, Clara Bow, The Barrymores, Ruth Chatterton, Ann Harding, Norma Shearer, Jeannette MacDonald, Greta Garbo, George Arliss, Bert Thomas, Gene Elderman, Herbert Johnson, Cole Porter, Bette Davis, Ginger Rogers, Katherine Cornell.

I have all the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, members of the Cabinets, all the Signers of the Constitution, 45 Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and all but 3 of the Supreme Court.

I also have 84 members of the French Academy, 205 of the Royal Academy, 440 of the National Academy of Design, 260 N. I. of A. & L., and 595 National Academy of Science.

21-13

Howes Norris

[Norfolk Journal and Guide]

13 December 1946

21-15-3

My dear Mr. Young:

Will you kindly return to me the article by Irene Diggs?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. P. B. Young
Journal and Guide
711-723 East Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

F. D. BLUFORD, PRESIDENT

E. R. HODGIN, SECRETARY-TREASURER

The Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina

GREENSBORO, N. C.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 8, 1946

21-27-96

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
C/o The Crisis Magazine
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am extending an invitation to you to speak at our Forum on Sunday, February 17 at 3:30 P. M., and on Monday morning, February 18 at 10:00. The remuneration for this service will be $125.00 and local entertainment.

I trust that you will find it convenient to be with us.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Bluford
President

FDB:etb

********** 20 West 40th Street

10 January 1946

21-27-97

My dear President Bluford:

Thank you for your invitation of January eighth. I am sorry to say, however, that I could not come February seventeenth. This would involve a special trip and round-trip railroad fare with pullman alone would cost $75 or more. I might be able to serve you later in March as I expect to be in the West and South. I will let you know if that is possible.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Bluford.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President F. D. Bluford
The Agricultural and Technical College
Greensboro, North Carolina

F. D. BLUFORD, PRESIDENT

E. R. HODGIN, SECRETARY-TREASURER

L

The Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina

GREENSBORO, N. C.

21-27-98

January 16, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I regret that you cannot be with us on February 17; however, I am glad to know that you are planning to come this way sometime in the Spring. Please let me know when you will be in this vicinity so that we can arrange for you to visit us.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Bluford
President

FDB:etb

21-24-99

********** 20 West 40th Street

27 March 1946

My dear President Bluford:

I am going to speak in Knoxville June tenth. I imagine that would be too late for me to speak at your school anywhere near the same date. If not, let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President F. D. Bluford
A and T College
Greensboro, North Carolina

F. D. BLUFORD, PRESIDENT

E. R. HODGIN, SECRETARY-TREASURER

The Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina

GREENSBORO, N. C.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

21-27-29

April 1, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter has been received. I am sorry that you will be coming this way too late for us, as our school closes on June 3. I hope, however, that we can have you come here at some other time.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Bluford
President

FDB:etb

26 November 1946

21-14-26

My dear Mr. Bluford:

I am planning a lecture trip in the South chiefly at the colleges during February and March, 1947. My subjects would include the "United Nations and the Negro", "Africa", and "Russia". I could speak in Greensboro the 9 or 10th of February or on both dates. For one lecture my charge would $100 for the two, $125. I should be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President F. B. Bluford
A & T College of North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina

F. D. BLUFORD, PRESIDENT

E. R. HODGIN, SECRETARY-TREASURER

The Agricultural and Technical College
of North Carolina

GREENSBORO, N. C.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 4, 1946

21-14-27

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are very anxious to have you visit us this year, but we are filled up during February. I wonder if you could come to us sometime in March? If you can, please let me know about the time that you can be here.

I hope that you will have an opportunity to speak to our students and friends in the City sometime during the year.

I trust that you are getting along nicely.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Bluford
President

FDB:etb

Dear ———
my only opportunity to visit Greensboro
this year would be in February; unless I made a
special trip in the
Spring which would
cost $20.00

21-14-28

6 December 1946

Dear Mr. Bluford:

My only opportunity to visit Greensboro this year will be in February; unless I make a special trip in the Spring which would cost $200.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President F. D. Bluford
The Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina

[North Carolina College for Negroes]

26 November 1946

My dear Mr. Shepard:

I am making a series of lectures in the South in February and March, I could speak in Durham ~~March~~ 13, 14 or 15. My charge would be $100. Kindly let me hear from you at your convenience.

February

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-14-8

President James E. Shepard
North Carolina College for Negroes
Durham, North Carolina

Lecture 47

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE FOR NEGROES

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

November 29, 1946.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Ckm

21-26-11

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th St.,
New York City.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter.

February 14 will be agreeable with us for your lecture.

You will have a larger audience if the lecture is scheduled during the day. Will this be agreeable with you?

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

James E. Shepard,
President.

JES:s

21-26-17

11 December 1946

Dear Dr. Shepard:

This is to acknowledge my engagement to speak at the North Carolina College for Negroes, February 14th, sometime during the day. My best regards to you and Mrs. Shepard.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President James E. Shepard
North Carolina College for Negroes
Durham, North Carolina

13 February 1946

21-17-151

My dear Madam:

I am writing again concerning my granddaughter, Du Bois Williams, for whom application has been made to enter your school next fall. I want her and her mother to come up and visit the school this spring. I am wondering if some time around Easter, when I presume you have vacation, would be a good time for them to come.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Margaret T. Davis, Director of Admissions
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Massachusetts

NORTHFIELD SCHOOL FOR GIRLS
EAST NORTHFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF ADMISSIONS

February 14, 1946

Ida Bois Williams

Mr. William E.B. DuBois, Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

2-11-31

My dear Mr. DuBois:

We would be very happy to have DuBois and her mother visit the school this spring. We suggest, however, that they plan not to come during the period from March 21 through April 2, since we will be having our spring holidays at that time.

If Mrs. Williams will drop me a line two or three days ahead of the time when she and her daughter can come to the school, some member of the Admissions Committee will be free to see them.

We are a little confused about the name of the school that DuBois is in at the present time. Could you drop us a card giving us that information so that we can send for the school report?

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Margaret T. Davis

Director of Admissions

MTD/wc

[Northfield School for Girls]

20 May 1946

My dear Madam:

Enclosed is my check for ten dollars which is the enrolment fee for Du Bois Williams of 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore 14, Maryland.

I am very glad indeed to learn of the acceptance of my granddaughter for enrolment at Northfield. When I first began correspondence with you concerning her I hoped to contribute considerable to the expense of her education. Since then, however, my wife her grandmother has been ill from cerebral hemorrhage and has already spent over six months in the hospital. She will probably never fully recover. This means that I will not be able to contribute as much as I had wanted to my granddaughter's education but I shall certainly help so far as I can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-19-129

Miss Mira B. Wilson, Principal
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Massachusetts

21-19-141

11 December 1946

My dear Madam:

I shall be glad if you would let my granddaughter Du Bois Williams, leave East Northfield on the 10:33 a.m. train December 18, for New York. I will meet her at the station and take her to our home in Baltimore. I am enclosing a check for five dollars and fifty cents which I think will pay her fare and give her something for lunch in Springfield. Will you write, or wire me collect, if this arrangement is satisfactory.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Daboll
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

11 Dcemb

[NYASALAND AFRICAN CONGRESS]

Nyasaland African Congress

P.O. Box 148,
BLANTYRE.
NYASALAND? B.C.A.
20th October, 1946

21-10-45

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
President, Pan African Congress
20 W. 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Doctor Du Bois,

Iam in receipt of your letter of 18th September, 1946 enclosing a copy of the petition the Pan African Congress is proposing to send to Assembly of the United Nations, in new York. A

As our Nyasaland African Congress is affiliated to the Pan African Congress, through Dr. Banda, we agree that our organisation be included in the list of all the Negro and African Bodies asking for the rights to be heard on matters affecting their welfare. It is the constant wishes of our Congress that all educated class in our Protectorate be given the right to represent the interests af the mass.

For this reason we beg to inform you that in as far as this colony is concerned at present, our immediate wishes are therefore:- Improved and advanced educational facilities with a view to bring literacy to all people in the country within a very shortest possible time and thus remove ignorancy among the African races. Adequate medical facilities for improvement of the health of the people. Full share for all African Produce which we are able to present to open markets. Right to represent the community on all bodies within the Protectorate established to advance the African welfare. Majority representation on the Legislature Council of the country, and in the Executive. and-

Immediate abolition of the system of recruiting labour for work abroad and to allow free movements of the African population to any country in African where they wish to sell their labour to the best advantage. Abolition of the present total discrimination for Africans to participate in any social and political matters and free acceptance that the race is entitled to speak itself on all matters which concern their country. Introduction of modern Agricultural implements with a view to save the continual employment of manual labour.

This letter, I am sending a copy to Dr. Hasting K. Banda, c/o 18 Ridley Road, Herlesden, London N.W.10. He is our Resident Representative in Europe and for any urgent matters you wish to consult us, please refer to him in future as he is kept informed of any development taking place in Nyasaland and will also give you any informations you may wish to know about Africans in Nyasaland.

Yours very sincerely,

C. Matinga (President-General).

[N.A.A.C.P.]

Dear Mr. White:

Parsons case

Answering your letter of December 21st, may I say:
1. The Department of Education of Dayton quoted not from a letter of mine but from my statement on segregation as made in my Autobiography published in 1940. A member of the Dayton Branch wrote to ask me if I was correctly quoted. I replied with a statement of my general attitude but was careful to add that I was passing no judgment on the current controversy.
2. The committee on Foreign Affairs of the U. S. Senate invited me to testify on the proposed U.N.O. Charter. They did not mention the N.A.A.C.P., and in my first sentence I stated that my testimony represented my personal opinion and not that of any organization. Mr. White was also asked to testify and my appearance in no way hindered him from so doing.

X-6-22

3. I rejoined the N.A.A.C.P. at the request of the President of the Association, the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Secretary. I had not before then dreamed of returning nor ~~had~~ asked to do so. I hesitated in accepting ~~the N.A.A.C.P. offer~~ until ~~I thought~~ I had thorough understanding with the officials above and with a special committee. By personal conference and correspondence we came to apparent agreement and that agreement I finally put in writing and sent to the officials and the committee as embodying my understanding of the conditions upon which I was to rejoin the organization.

I had ~~[illegible]~~ at the time three other offers of employment, & preferred the N.A.A.C.P., but

One of the requests that I made of the committee was that I should have for my work two offices: one for myself and my books and one for my assistant and other clerical help. I asked this because I have a library of two thousand five hundred volumes ~~collected over long yea~~ collected over long years and at considerable cost, which in its line is unequalled ~~in the world~~ and which is absolutely necessary to my work; I have also an accumulation of letters, papers and pamphlets covering fifty years of active life.

When I reported for work in September, 1944, I was assigned a single office eight feet wide, separated by thin board partitions from two of the busiest and noisiest offices in the building. The Secretary explained that this assignment was temporary, and that he was searching for suitable accommodations, outside the building if unobtainable within. I waited three months, ~~and~~ finally was assigned the Secretary's office in addition

9

to my own, while he was absent in the Pacific. I had temporary book-cases built, unpacked about half of my books and settled down to work.

In ~~May~~ April the Secretary returned permanently to occupy his office. I was worse off than before. My books and part of my files were in the Secretary's office, ~~I could not have~~ access, ~~to them~~. I made written and urgent appeal to the Secretary and received no reply.

Thereupon I secured an office outside the building to be used in conjunction with my own. I notified the Secretary of my action, offering to pay part of the rent if he considered one hundred dollars a month too high. The Secretary replied refusing to consent to my removal. I considered this a direct repudiation of the ~~provisions of the~~ understanding upon which I had entered the service of the Association, therefore moved a part of my books and files to the new office, leaving the rest in the old. I appealed to the Board of Directors asking to be heard personally in my defense. The Board met in Cincinnati and without permitting me to appear before them declared that in moving I had "exceeded my authority," and that the Association would not pay the rent of the new office. I considered the decision unjust, but I paid out of my own funds four hundred dollars for four month rent, seventy-six dollars for moving expenses. ~~When the new building was completed again I asked adequate office space~~ I visited the old office daily for mail and consultation until, after two months, the Secretary turned that office over to his new Assistant. My books and files remained piled at one end, ~~and I visited the office only for mail.~~ When the new building was occupied I again asked for adequate office space. The Secretary declared that he could furnish only one of the smaller offices. I submitted again, moved into the office and have been trying since to adjust myself to its limitations. ~~From the first time I asked for office furniture, the Secretary told me to order it when it was installed in my room, he complained of its cost.~~

The Secretary now asks me in view of my actions ~~in this case~~ what attitude I propose to take toward his decisions in the future. I wish to make my answer clear:

I will in the future comply as I have complied in the past with any request or decision of the Secretary which I consider in reasonable accord with the understanding on which I consented to

join the staff of the N.A.A.C.P. If, on the other hand, the action of the Secretary seems to me in clear contravention of this understanding I shall appeal from his decision to the Board of Directors.

I can best illustrate my meaning by referring to the new demand of the Secretary to open and censor my mail. I will not permit anyone but myself to open my personal mail. No suggestion of such demand was made when I was consulted as to the conditions of my return. Had it been made I should have refused to assent. My mail is not personal in the narrow sense but it has grown up from fifty years of life and covers my whole career of activity, research and writing. I shall be glad to turn over to the Secretary any correspondence that concerns him or the work of the association. But I will not allow him or anyone else to open mail addressed personally to me.

In view of this serious difference of opinion, I agree with the Secretary that it is time for a careful reconsideration of my position in the organization. During my incumbency of this office I have strained every nerve to serve the Association to the best of my ability: I have refrained from interfering in any way with the policy of the organization; whenever I have written or spoken I have made it clear that I was expressing my own opinions; I have lectured on subjects which lay within the scope of my department and my recognized fields of knowledge.

22-9-6

In the last year and a half, I have delivered over forty lectures in fourteen states and two foreign lands; I have published one book and contributed chapters to four others, I have taken part in six international conferences and in three of these active part, including the Colonial Conference in New York and the Pan-African Congress in London, over both of which I presided. I have written in this time over one hundred articles and reviews and answered correspondence from every continent and nearly every state in the union.

I have recognized from the start that in the case of one who for so long a time has expressed frankly and aggressively opinions on controversial subjects, there would inevitably arise the problem as to how far I could talk and write without compromising the N.A.A.C.P.

I have sought earnestly to avoid any such misunderstanding and yet to preserve, as in justice to myself I must, my freedom of expression. I am gratified that only in one case, that of Dayton, have I even been accused of misrepresenting the Association. And in that case, as I have shown, the accusation was untrue. I want to emphasize the fact that in sixteen months of employment in New York I have not been furnished office accommodations which ~~to enable~~ give me even a fair chance of functioning properly in my work.

Unless I have failed to carry on my work in accord with my promises, or unless the agreements made with me were invalid and misunderstood by those who engaged me, it is obviously unjust to change them without consultation and new understanding. I am sending copies of this correspondence to the President of the Association and the Chairman of the Board and demanding a hearing before the Board of Directors.

Very sincerely,

22-9-7

[N.A.A.C.P.]

3 January 1946

My dear Mr. White:

Answering your letter of December twenty-first, may I say

1. Persons in the Department of Education of Dayton quoted not from a letter of mine but from my statement on segregation as made in my autobiography published in 1940. A member of the Dayton Branch wrote to ask me if I was correctly quoted. I replied with a statement of my general attitude but was careful to add that I was passing no judgment on the current controversy.

2. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States Senate invited me to testify on the proposed UNO Charter. They did not mention the NAACP, and in my first sentence I stated that my testimony represented my personal opinion and not that of any organization. Mr. White was also asked to testify and my appearance in no way hindered him from so doing.

3. I rejoined the NAACP at the request of the president of the Association, the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Secretary. I had not before then dreamed of returning nor asked to do so. I had at the time three other offers of employment. I preferred the NAACP, but I hesitated in accepting until I had thorough understanding with the officials above and with a special committee. By personal conference and correspondence we came to apparent agreement and that agreement I finally put in writing and sent to the officials and the committee as embodying my understanding of the conditions upon which I was to rejoin the organization.

22-9-1

One of the requests that I made of the committee was that I should have for my work two offices: one for myself and my books and one for my assistant and other clerical help. I asked this because I have a library of two thousand five hundred volumes collected over long years and at considerable cost, which in its line is unequalled and which is absolutely necessary to my work. I have also an accumulation of letters, papers and pamphlets covering fifty years of active life.

When I reported for work in September, 1944, I was assigned a single office eight feet wide, separated by thin board partitions from two of the busiest and noisiest offices in the building. The Secretary explained that this assignment was temporary, and that he was searching for suitable accomodations, outside the building if unobtainable within. I waited three months. Finally, I was assigned the Secretary's office in addition to my own, while he was absent in the Pacific. I had temporary bookcases built, unpacked about half of my books and settled down to work.

In May the Secretary returned permanently to occupy his office. I was worse off than before. My books and part of my files were in the Secretary's office, to which I had no right of access. I made written and urgent appeal to the Secretary and received no reply.

Thereupon, I secured an office outside the building to be used in conjunction with my own. I notified the Secretary of my action, offering to pay part of the rent if he considered one hundred dollars a month too high. The Secretary replied refusing to consent to my removal under any condition and offering no other relief or solution. I considered this a direct repudiation of the understanding upon which I had entered the service of the Association. I therefore moved a part of my books and files to the new office, leaving the rest in the old. I then appealed to the Board of Directors asking to be heard personally in my defense.

22-9-2

The Board met in Cincinnati and without permitting me to appear before them declared that in moving I had "exceeded my authority", and that the Association would not pay the rent of the new office. I considered the decision unjust, but I paid out of my own funds four hundred dollars for four months rent and seventy-six dollars for moving expenses. I visited the old office daily for mail and consultation until, after two months, the Secretary turned that office over to his new assistant. My books and files remained piled at one end.

When the new building was occupied I again asked for adequate office space. The Secretary declared that he could furnish only one of the smaller offices. I submitted again, moved into the office and have been trying since to adjust myself to its limitations.

The Secretary now asks me in view of my actions what attitude I propose to take toward his decisions in the future. I wish to make my answer clear: I will in the future comply as I have complied in the past with any request or decision of the Secretary which I consider in reasonable accord with the understanding on which I consented to rejoin the staff of the NAACP. If, on the other hand, the action of the Secretary seems to me in clear contravention of this understanding I shall appeal from his decision to the Board of Directors.

I can best illustrate my meaning by referring to the new demand of the Secretary to open and censor my mail. I will not permit anyone but myself to open my personal mail. No suggestion of such demand was made when I was consulted as to the conditions of my return. Had it been made I should have refused to assent. My mail is not personal in the narrow sense but it has grown up from fifty years of life and covers my whole career of activity, research and writing. I shall be glad to turn over to the Secretary any correspondence that concerns him or the work of the Association. But I will not allow him or anyone else to open mail addressed personally to me.

In view of this serious difference of opinion, I agree with the Secretary that it is time for a careful reconsideration of my position in the organization. During my incumbency of this office I have strained every nerve to serve the Association to the best of my ability: I have refrained from interfering in any way with the policy of the organization; whenever I have written or spoken I have made it clear that I was expressing my own opinions; I have lectured on subjects which lay within the scope of my department and my recognized fields of knowledge.

In the last year and a half, I have delivered over forty lectures in fourteen states and two foreign lands; I have published one book and contributed chapters to four others, I have taken part in six international conferences and in three of these active part, including the Colonial Conference in New York and the Pan African Congress in England, over both of which I presided. I have written in this time over one hundred articles and reviews and answered correspondence from every continent and nearly every state in the union.

22-9-3

I have recognized from the start that in the case ofone who for so long a time has expressed frankly and aggressively opinions on controversial subjects, there would inevitably arise the problem as to how far I could talk and write without compromising the NAACP. I have sought earnestly to avoid any such misunderstanding and yet to preserve, as in justice to myself I must, my freedom of expression. I am gratified that only in one case, that of Dayton, have I even been accused of misrepresenting the Association. And in that case, as I have show, the accusation was untrue. I want to emphasize thefact that in sixteen months of employment in New York, I have not been furnished office accomodations which give me even a fair chance of functioning properly in my work.

Unless I have failed to carry on my work in accord with my promises, or unless the agreements made with me were invalid and misunderstood by those who engaged me, it is obviously unjust to change them without consultation and new understanding. I am sending copies of this correspondence to the President of the Association and the Chairman of the Board and demanding a hearing before the Board of Directors.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP
New York City

54

Craacpj

Copy

20 West 40th Street

3 January 1946

My dear Mr. White:

Answering your letter of December twenty-first, may I say

1. Persons in the Department of Education of Dayton quoted not from a letter of mine but from my statement on segregation as made in my autobiography published in 1940. A member of the Dayton Branch wrote to ask me if I was correctly quoted. I replied with a statement of my general attitude but was careful to add that I was passing no judgment on the current controversy.

2. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States Senate invited me to testify on the proposed UNO Charter. They did not mention the NAACP, and in my first sentence I stated that my testimony represented my personal opinion and not that of any organization. Mr. White was also asked to testify and my appearance in no way hindered him from so doing.

3. I rejoined the NAACP at the request of the President of the Association, the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Secretary. I had not before then dreamed of returning nor asked to do so. I had at the time three other offers of employment. I preferred the NAACP, but I hesitated in accepting until I had thorough understanding with the officials above and with a special committee. By personal conference and correspondence we came to apparent agreement and that agreement I finally put in writing and sent to the officials and the committee as embodying my understanding of the conditions upon which I was to rejoin the organization.

One of the requests that I made of the committee was that I should have for my work two offices: one for myself and my books and one for my assistant and other clerical help. I asked this because I have a library of two thousand five hundred volumes collected over long years and at considerable cost, which in its line is unequalled and which is absolutely necessary to my work. I have also an accumulation of letters, papers and pamphlets covering fifty years of active life.

(over)

(0025)

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(next page)

S 54

[1946?]

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Very Sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP
New York City

[NAACP]

4 January 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

1. On November thirtieth you approved my memorandum concerning new furniture for my office and re-building and extension of my temporary wooden bookcases. You suggested a reliable firm with whom I might deal. You left it apparently to my discretion as to how much I should spend.

2. Office furniture today is scarce and most of the ordinary models are not on the market. The desk model which I wished is larger than the ordinary small desk because the desks in this small office must serve both as desks and tables. I chose medium priced desks among those available. The same is true of the other furniture.

3. After consulting with the firm whom you recommended and with Mr. Wilkins, I concluded that in the long run, and taking into account possibilities of removal, steel bookcases were nearly as cheap as building and re-building these wooden cases. I asked bids from your firm and also from the firm recommended by Mr. Wilkins. The latter firm to whom I wrote December eleventh has not yet replied. I, therefore, ordered the shelving from the firm whom you recommended. I am told that there could not be much difference between the bids of the two firms as the shelving comes practically from the same sources.

22-9-8

4. I do not think my expenditure for office equipment is extravagant according to present conditions, but if this expenditure is larger than you wish to allow and since what I have ordered is practically a matter of contract which we are bound to carry out, I suggest that the NAACP pay such part of this expenditure, as you consider reasonable, and I will undertake to pay the balance.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP
New York City

[N.A.A.C.P.]

7 January 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Herewith is a brief report of the Department of Special Research for the year 1945. I have had no notice as to whether it is due or not, but am sending it to you in case it is.

May I have a copy of the minutes of the December meeting of the Board?

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

[enclos.]

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL RESEARCH FOR THE YEAR 1945

N. A. A. C. P

7 January 1946

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

PUBLICATIONS

Prefatory volume of the Encyclopaedia of the Negro edited by the Director with the collaboration of the Research Assistant

Three articles on Colonies in the New York Post

Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace, Harcourt, Brace and Company (United States Navy buys 2,400 copies)

Chapter for commemorative volume to Dr. Albert Schwetzer edited by A. A. Roback of Harvard University

Weekly articles, Chicago Defender

Preparation of a manuscript for a chapter in a book on the American Negro edited by Dr. L. D. Reddick

46-6-146

CONFERENCES

Bretton Woods, Washington
United Negro College Fund
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Colonial Conference, April 6; 49 persons present from ten colonies and seven organizations
April 19 - May 26, Associate Consultant, UNO Conference, San Francisco
With Liberian, Haitian and Ethiopian delegations, San Francisco
With John Foster Dulles on colonies
Press conference with fifteen representatives, Harcourt, Brace and Company
October 13 - November 26, presided over Fifth Pan African Congress in Manchester, England and was elected President. Two hundred delegates were present from sixty different countries
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, as unofficial observer, London
World Youth Congress, London
With Harold Laski and H. G. Wells
Press conference with twenty-two representatives of the international Press, London
with Parliamentary Committee on Ethiopia

1945

LECTURES

Schomburg Collection, New York
St. James Church, New York
Bethel Church, Buffalo
Intercultural Workshop, New York
Carnegie Hall - Roumain Rolland
Cooper Union
New London Interracial Council, Connecticut
Oakland, California
San Francisco
Los Angeles
University of Denver, Colorado
Du Sable High School, Chicago
Department of Sociology, University of Chicago
Pilgrim Baptist Church, Chicago
Commencement Address, Virginia State College, Norfolk Branch
Commencement Address, Virginia Union University, Richmond
First Congregational Church, Atlanta
Alabama State College, Montgomery
Testimony before Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States Senate on Charter of the UNO
St. James A. M. E. Church, Newark
American Teachers Association, Greensboro, North Carolina
Summer School, Howard University
English Friends Organization, London
Indian Organization, London
Old South Meeting House, Boston

Dr. Diggs on leave without salary taught sociology and anthropology in the Lincoln University summer school, Missouri; received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Letters, University of Havana, Cuba.

W. E. B. Du Bois

96-6-147

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7 January 1946

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W. E. B. Du Bois

65-E-94

January 7, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM M.R. WHITE:

Thank you for your Report for 1945. As is our custom and as was done at the Annual Meeting la st year, Department Heads will be called on for brief reports. Because there are so many to report this year, we are asking each department head to make his report within 3 minutes.

It is our determination to get the Annual Report out this year as soon as the auditor has made his examination of our books. We are therefore asking all Department Heads to have their full report ready for printing and in the hands of Mr. Wilkins no later than the 15th of January.

We are attaching copy of minutes of December meeting of Board, the mimeographing of which has only been completed within the last few days.

WW:emw

59-1-65

[naap]

January 7th, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO MR. ARTHUR SPINGARN
MR. WILKINS
DR. DU BOIS
MR. MARSHALL
FROM MR. WHITE:
(Copy to Mr. Crum)

Bartley Crum of San Francisco telephoned me from Washington yesterday. He is, as you know, a member of the United States Delegation on the Problem of Displaced Persons in Europe. Hearings begin Tuesday, January 8th in Washington and will continue through Monday, the 14th or Tuesday, the 15th.

As soon as the hearings are completed, Mr. and Mrs. Crum are coming to New York to sail on the Queen Elizabeth on January 18th for England, Germany, Czechoslavakia, Poland and other countries.

Mr. Crum feels strongly that the decisions which will be reached on displaced persons will or can be made to influence in the right direction the international position on Trusteeship and Colonies.

Unhappily I shall be on the west coast when he comes to New York. I am asking him to let Mr. Wilkins know when he reaches New York with the hope that he may have a few minutes to spare in which he could talk with the four of you.

WW:emw

691-7-94

[n.a.a.c.p.]

21-17-36

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LONGACRE 3-6890

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Please direct reply to:
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100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.
Telephone National 5794
Walter White, *Director*
Leslie S. Perry, *Administrative Assistant* — Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr., *Secretary, Veterans' Affairs*

January 8, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am enclosing herewith criticisms on the summary of the petition which was inadvertently left out of my correspondence to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie S. Perry

Leslie S. Perry m.t.

Encl/

LSP:mt

For Mathan Jones

We ask the abolition of the colonial system as a contradiction of democracy and a perpetual threat to peace. We demand international trusteeship of all colonial peoples and the use of their land and resources primarily to educate themselves for self-government, organized industry and participation in modern civilization.

W. E. B. Du Bois

9 January 1946

36-7-42

21-22-7

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TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

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Administrative Assistant
Leslie S. Perry

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January 14, 1946

Special Delivery

My dear Dr. DuBois:

With further reference to my letter of January 12, I am advised by the State Department that the principal speaker for the meeting on January 17th will be Mr. Clare Wilcox, Director of the Office of International Trade Policy. There will also be present representatives of the Treasury and Commerce Departments. After the speeches by the Government Officials the meeting will be thrown open for a general discussion to representatives of the various organizations which have been invited to attend.

I believe in my earlier letter I indicated that the principal points to be dealt with were the British-American Loan and the International Trade Policy. I have not be able to get more specific information regarding the scope of these discussions, but I assume that it will be substantially along the lines that obtained in the discussion of Bretton Woods, etc.

Please let me know if you plan to attend. With warmest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Leslie S. Perry

Administrative Assistant

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director, Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

LSP:mt

[naacp]

15 January 1946

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I regret to say that my work is so planned that it will be impossible for me to accept any further lectures for February.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Roy Wilkins
The Crisis

Chapter 3

January 17, 1946

From Walter White

MEMORANDUM TO DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
FROM MADISON S. JONES

You will recall that some days ago, you were kind enough to write a paragraph on colonies and dependent peoples for submission as an additional part of the proposed "Petition for a World Government" for the President of the United States.

I have just received the attached letter, and I thought you would like to read what Mr. Rex Stout, Chairman of the group, had to say.

Perhaps you would like to make some comment or answer the letter. I would appreciate your views.

Attachment

MSJ/er

46-7-120

[NAACP]

18 January 1946

Memorandum to Mr. Jones:

I do not believe that any point is so essential to the preservation of world peace as the emancipation of colonial peoples and I do not believe that a world government is in itself necessarily the most effective method to achieve the abolition of the colonial system. I think that the real reason for omitting the colonial question from Mr. Stout's petition was because his committee did not dare face the question of colonies.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Madison S. Jones
NAACP

[46-7-191]

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
N. A. A. C. P.

January 1 to February 5, 1946

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

The director and his assistant have spent most of their time this month in preparation of the manuscript for the book "The World and Africa" for the Viking Press.

The director has lectured as follows:

2 January Radio broadcast for Brooklyn College on the Pan African Congress

8 " lecture on Africa before the Press Club, New York City

14 " New Masses Award Dinner

19 " Lecture for the African Academy, American Museum of Natural History

2 February lecture for the East and West Association's Institute of Librarians, New School for Social Research

3 " lecture, McDowell Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia on the Pan African Congresses

The American Library Association has named Color and Democracy as one of the fifty best books of 1945.

The director as president of the Pan African Congress is going to call a meeting and report on the movement in March. He will be glad to have the NAACP take part and share in the expense to the amount of one hundred dollars.

[n.a.a.c.p.]

25 February 1946

Memorandum to Miss Freeland:

The material for the steel shelving which is to be put up in my office has arrived. In order to install it the books and wooden cases will have to be moved to one side of the office and then afterwards moved back, put on the shelves and the other books and cases moved to the other side. Finally the wooden cases will have to be taken out.

The men will be ready to begin work on Wednesday. Can you furnish labor for this work, or is there available labor in the building, or shall I secure labor from the outside?

W. E. B. Du Bois

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Official Organ: The Crisis

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March
1st
1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am herewith informing you of your appointment for the calendar year beginning January 1st as Director of Special Research. I regret my absence from the city has delayed this formal notification.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

WW:RJW

89-t-94

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
N. A. A. C. P.

February 6 to March 8, 1946

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

Dr. Diggs and myself have been putting most of our time on the preparation of the book "The World and Africa" which is to be handed to the publishers in the spring.

The plight of the African colonies is receiving almost no attention as compared with the colonies and quasi-colonies of Asia. It is both our duty and our opportunity to see that the African colonial question is kept before the public.

The office of the Pan African Congress in London is preparing a report for which I am writing a preface giving the history of the Pan African Movement.

May I renew my request to the Board for an appropriation of one hundred dollars toward a public meeting this spring with regard to the Pan African movement?

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LESLIE S. PERRY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT,
WASHINGTON BUREAU

21-25-14

March 14, 1946

A-7821 MAR 18 '46

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am attaching hereto material released by the State Department incident to an off-record meeting which was held yesterday. Because of another meeting I arrived too late to intelligently participate in the discussion.

Very sincerely yours,

Leslie S. Perry

Leslie S. Perry

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Encls/

LSP:mt

[n.aacp.]

20 March 1946

Memo to Miss Freeland:

I have three or four hours work for a copyist in straight typing. I wonder if you have some one you could assign to me for this?

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Du Bois [naacp]

March 20th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO ALL EXECUTIVES FROM MR. WHITE.

I wish to direct your attention to an alarming shrinkage of income during January and February. We were budgeted to take in $54,000.00 during these two months. We took in only $28,681.00, which, you will note, is just about half. The amount we took in this year is more than $14,000 less than the $43,144.76 which we took in during the two months in 1945.

This is all the more distressing because we spent $52,966.22 during the first two months of 1946, which is nearly $12,000.00 more than the expenditure for January and February, 1945, of $41,022.36.

This probably reflects the cutbacks in employment from which Negroes have suffered since VJ Day. It may also reflect weaknesses in the NAACP structure.

I call these figures to the attention of the staff because they mean that we have got to put forth redoubled efforts to stop what may develop into a trend. I don't want to be an alarmist but we must face the facts. It is freely predicted that the unemployment situation, particularly so far as Negroes are concerned, will be even worse later in the spring.

46-7-173

L

[naacp]

21 March 1946

21-16-5

Memorandum to the Secretary:

I have been invited to lecture in the West but have postponed decision until I could be sure of finishing my book. As I think the book will be finished, I am proposing to lecture during the month of April at the YMCA in Detroit; under the auspices of the Chicago Defender in Chicago; at Occidental College before the interracial group and at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles; at the University of California and South Berkley Community Church in San Francisco.

If any of the California branches of the NAACP wish lectures, I might make a few dates. I should of course charge them only a proportionate share of the expenses of the trip.

During my absence Dr. Diggs will finish arranging my books and papers and continue her work on Colonial Demands for Freedom in the Twentieth Century.

W. E. B. Du Bois

CN AACP I

21 March 1946

Memorandum to the Secretary:

I have been invited to lecture in the West but have postponed decision until I could be sure of finishing my book. As I think the book will be finished, I am proposing to lecture during the month of April at the YMCA in Detroit; under the auspices of the Chicago Defender in Chicago; at Occidental College before the interracial group and at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles; at the University of California and South Berkley Community Church in San Francisco.

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During my absence Dr. Diggs will finish arranging my books and papers and continue her work on Colonial Demands for Freedom in the Twentieth Century.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

41-7-180

[naacp]

March
23rd
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

I would like to have recommendations from you as to what action or recommendations, if any, you think we should make to the UNO Conference opening next week at Hunter College with respect to the colonial human rights or any other issues on which we should act.

46-7-149

WW:RJW

[N.A.A.C.P]

March
26th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO MISS DIGGS FROM MR. WILKINS:

Miss Freeland has referred to me your request for a clerk to do some copying.

She states that when the request was first made it was for a girl to do some copying of "three or four hours." With that in mind she offered the services of a typist this morning, and inquired whether the work could be finished by about noon. She tells me that you replied that it could not be finished by that time because you now had "a whole manuscript."

I would like to inquire whether this manuscript is of Dr. DuBois' new book to which he referred in a recent memorandum to Mr. White. If so, I refer once more to a memorandum written to Dr. DuBois on January 27, 1945, containing the following paragraph:

"With respect to the typing for 'Color and Democracy' I am not clear on whether the NAACP agreed to share the expenses of books and pamphlets which are not issued officially by the Association. In other words, if 'Color and Democracy' is an agreement between you and the publishers, and the book is to be sold in the usual commercial manner with the usual agreements as to royalties between publisher and author, then items of expense incidental to its preparation would not seem to me to be a legitimate item in the budget of this Association."

Judging by "Color and Democracy" the books which Dr. DuBois writes are commercial items as a result of an agreement between Dr.DuBois and his publishers. Since this is the case, and since all monies for the books go to Dr. DuBois and not to the NAACP, it remains my belief that the cost of typing the manuscript is not a proper cost for this Association to bear, but one which Dr. DuBois as a private author should bear.

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19

[naacp]

26 March 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

There are three things that we ought to put before the UNO conference:

1. a strong demand for trusteeship not only of mandated colonies but of all colonies; and for quick decisive action toward this end

2. we should ask that the NAACP be given a chance to represent the peoples of Africa before the UNO and to speak for their interests

3. we ought especially to arraign South Africa for the way in which she has treated the mandates of South Africa; for lack of education or of social uplift; and for deliberate policy to ignore and degrade black people. We should contend that the United Nations ought to recognize that no nation with the background of South Africa has any right to control black people.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

[illegible] [illegible] (NAACP)

March 28th, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

Thank you for your memorandum of March 26th. May I suggest that with respect to Item 2 that we request that the NAACP be given a chance to speak for Negroes everywhere, including Africa, I doubt that we should use the word "represent" since they would promptly ask us if the colored peoples of Africa, West Indies or any other part of the world had authorized or requested us to do so.

Would you draft a statement, if possible, today so that we can include it in the press releases.

WW:emw

46-7-146

28 March 1946

Memorandum to the Secretary:

Supplementing my memorandum of yesterday concerning the UnO, I am convinced that there is not much we can dowith the Security Council except, of course, we ought to have been given a seat in the audience along with other organizations following the pattern laid down at San Francisco.

Our real work should be with the Assembly which meets in September and we should make every effort to be called in consultation not only as representing American Negroes but more especially as representing the peoples of Africa through our work for the Pan African Congresses.

I am appending an invitation just received. I am disposed not to accept this but would be glad of any comment.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

MARCH
28th
1946

46-7-172

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

I agree with your decision regarding the invitation from the National Negro Congress.

WW:RJW

(Excerpt)

A SUGGESTED STATEMENT TO THE UNO

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People believes that because it represents a large section of American citizens and because of the age and experience of its organization that it should have recognition from the UNO as a consulting body on the same basis as the national organizations which have been recently given seats for the public meetings. It believes that the pattern set at San Francisco meeting in the matter of consultants should not be changed.

In addition to this, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claims the right to represent before the UNO the colonies of Negro Africa in so far as they cannot be directly represented either on their own initiative or through the colonial powers. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as far back as 1918 has promoted a Pan African movement. In the five Congresses held nearly all the black peoples of Africa have been represented and have spoken for their rights through this Association. At the Fifth Pan African Congress held in England in the fall of 1945, an official of this organization was elected president and demands formulated for the freedom and social uplift for colonial peoples in Africa. We do not claim through this act to be the only organization interested in Africa or worthy of hearing, but we do think that we ought to be the next friend of the African peoples and to have some recognition in consulting capacity before the Security Council, the General Assembly and especially before the Economic and Social Council.

W. E. B. Du Bois

28 March 1946

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

N. A. A. C. P.

March 8 to April 11, 1946

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

I am lecturing in the Middlewest before several institutions and universities on the colonial question especially in Africa.

During the last month I have finished the manuscript of my book "The World and Africa". During April I shall make final revisions of the manuscript.

I have prepared an article which will appear in the Christian Register on the causes of the world wars.

May I suggest that special effort be made to have this Association represented before the General Assembly of the UNO which meets in the fall and will be of more immediate interest to us than the Security Council. Especially we should make effort to be recognized as the mouthpiece of the African colonies because of what we have done for Pan African Congresses. It was for this and other reasons that I have repeatedly asked the Board for an appropriation to publicize this aspect of our work. I repeat this request and also would be glad to have authority to make representations to the UNO for our recognition in this work.

During my absence Dr. Diggs will finish arranging my books and papers and continue her work on Colonial Demands for Freedom in the Twentieth Century

W. E. B. Du Bois

[Isaac P]

10 May 1946

21-23-8

My dear Mr. Perry:

I have been absent on the Pacific Coast and consequently have not acknowledged the material which you have sent me. I want you to know I appreciate it and hope you will continue sending me matter in which you know I am interested.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Leslie Perry
100 Massachusetts Avenue Northwest
Washington 1, D. C.

(naacp)

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

N. A. A. C. P.

April 11 to May 10, 1946

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

During this period I have delivered the following lectures on Africa and colonial questions:

YMCA, Detroit
Metropolitan Community Church, Chicago
Church of Christian Fellowship, Los Angeles
Occidental College, Los Angeles
The Woman's Club, Pacific School of Religion, Oakland
Lecture for three interracial organizations at Vallejo including the Vallejo Branch of the NAACP
St. James Forum, Cleveland
An invitation to speak at the University of California had to be refused due to inability to remain longer on the west coast
I also acted as consultant at the pre-inaugural conference of objectives at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania

I have delivered to the Viking Press a manuscript of seventy-five thousand words on THE WORLD AND AFRICA. Dr. Diggs has been helping in getting ready for the press a second revised edition of the Prefatory volume of the ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NEGRO.

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-3-43

[Enc, Ralph Bunch to Walter White, c. May 13, 1946]

Walter:

It seems to me that among the things you might wish to emphasize would be the following:

1. The special problem of human rights with relation to minority groups.

2. The approach to the question of the effective application of the provisions of a bill of human rights, once drafted, in specific countries.

3. Means of obtaining the views of representatives of important minority groups.

4. Consideration of the special position of colonial peoples with respect both to the substance and the application of a bill of human rights.

5. Representation for colonial peoples.

I suggest these points at this stage since the commission is now only nuclear and is concerned mainly with organizational questions now.

I am running out to Hunter this A. M., and will pick up the document you sent me out there. Will read it on my way back and give you additional comments at this afternoon's meeting.

s/ Ralph

81-16

[NAACP]

May
13th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DRS. BUNCHE AND DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

21-16-5

I enclose self-explanatory copy of correspondence with Messrs. Roger N. Baldwin and Clark M. Eichelberger regarding a hearing for this morning before the UN Commission on Human Rights. Copies of the letter of May 2nd to Mrs. Roosevelt and of the summary of discussions by group of representatives of interested organizations were sent me, I am told, but did not reach me. I did not know about the hearings until I was telephoned on Thursday just before I was getting ready to leave the city. I did not think it wise for me to attempt to speak this morning until I had had opportunity to get from each of you the suggestions of what should be said. I, therefore, sent Mr. Eichelberger the following telegram this morning:

"DEEPLY REGRET ABSENCE FROM CITY AND SHORTNESS OF NOTICE PREVENTED COMPLETION OF SUFFICIENTLY DOCUMENTED PRESENTATION I WOULD WISH TO PRESENT AT HEARINGS TODAY. MAY WE HAVE PERMISSION TO SUBMIT A BRIEF WRITTEN STATEMENT?"

As you know the preliminary meeting of the Commission on Human Rights is to adjourn shortly. I would appreciate, therefore, your advising me by return mail what you think should go into the statement if we are granted permission as requested in the telegram to file a statement. May I hear from you immediately?

WW:RJW
Enc.

[Enc.]

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC.
(Formerly: The League of Nations Association, Inc.)

Research Affliate:
COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE * NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 45 E. 65th St.
New York 21, N.Y.
Telephone: BUtterfield 8-8000

May 9, 1946

Dear Friend:

In reply to the suggestion made in our letter of May 2nd to Mrs. Roosevelt, chairman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the Commission has fixed a public hearing for next Monday at ten-thirty A.M. Room 324 Gillett Hall, Hunter College. The hearing will be confined to representatives of American agencies and will be in charge of Clark M. Eichelberger.

21-16

The following persons have been requested to speak as representatives of various sections of public life:

Roger N. Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union
James B. Carey, Congress of Industrial Organizations
Clark M. Eichelberger, American Association for the United Nations
O. Frederick Nolde, Federal Council of Churches
Joseph M. Proskauer, American Jewish Committee
William L. Ransom, American Bar Association
Rose Schniederman, Women's Trade Union League
Walter White, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The time of the hearing is limited to two hours, including translation. Each person will therefore speak very briefly. If any agencies not represented by the above wishes to add material it shall be submitted in writing at that time. It may be possible to add one or two additional speakers on the subject of communications. Any inquiries in regard to the hearing should be made by telephone to Miss Margaret Olson, BUtterfield 8-8000.

Sincerely yours.

Roger N. Baldwin

Clark M. Eichelberger

[Encl]

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC.

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Research Affiliate:
COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE * National Headquarters, 45 E. 65th St.
New York 21, N.Y.
Telephone: BUtterfield 8-8000

May 9, 1946

Mr. Walter White
Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. White:

The enclosed digest of some of the discussions during the meetings of the Commission on Human Rights is being sent to some of the individuals who will be present at the hearing at their request. I thought that perhaps you might be interested in seeing it.

While the views expressed do not, of course, represent the final recommendations which will be made to the Economic and Social Council, the digest may be helpful as an indication of the general trend of the discussions.

I am also enclosing an extra copy of the letter to Mrs. Roosevelt for your reference and a copy of the letter which is going to all interested organizations who were invited by Mr. Baldwin to the informal conference on April 10.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Winslow

AW/ai

Encl.

[Enc.]

Following is a brief summary of the discussions of the Commission on Human Rights in regard to the points covered in the latter of May 2nd to Mrs. Roosevelt requesting a h earing.

Implementation -- Measures to insure respect for human rights throughout the world.

(1) There was unanimous agreement that implementation was essential and a recommendation will go forward to the Economic and Social Council to the effect tha t the drafting of the Bill of Rights and of other documents by the Commission would not fulfill its obligation imposed by the Charter unless accompanied by adequate implementation.

(2) The question as to the formation of a subcommission on implementation was discussed but the consensus of opinion seemed to be that it was impossible at this early stage to be dogmatic as to methods. It might indeed be desirable for the whole commission to itself act as an implementation group on the basis of information submitted to it regarding special areas or subjects by working groups, experts or subcommissions. Any recommendations regarding implementation could then be submitted to the Economic and Social Council and through it to the Assembly, and in exceptional cases presenting either a present or future threat to the peace of the world to the Security Council.

21-16

Peace Treaties and Trustee Areas

It was felt that it was not the province of the Commission to specify provisions to be included in peace treaties or in trusteeship arrangements, but that there should be a recommendation that basic human rights be included in all international agreements.

Subcommissions

The general feeling was that it would be unwise at this time to recommend to the Economic and Social Council the formation of, at most, more than one or two subcommissions. It was felt that the plenary Commission should not be bound by the nuclear Commission in its methods of operating. In some instances subcommissions might be desirable; in others, working parties or experts might be utilized or indeed the whole commission might itself u ndertake a study and formulation of specific projects. At the last nuclear Commission meeting, there was some indication that it might possibly recommend a subcommission on freedom of press and of information because of the highly technical nature of this subject.

Rights of Minorities

It was the consensus of opinion that it would be most inadvisable to create a subcommission on the rights of minorities which would by implication recognize a double standard; one for humanity in general, and one for minorities. Any provisions for human rights should be equally applicable to minorities as well as to all other groups or individuals. Should any breach of human rights among some minority group or groups be brought to the attention of the Commission, it should then be treated as any other breach of human rights.

We call particular attention to the desirability of prompt action in regard to the pending peace treaties and the provisions shortly to be adopted affecting trustee areas under the United Nations. These we regard as immediate tasks on which the Commission on Human Rights appropriately might make recommendations to the governments concerned.

In addition to the Subcommission on Women already appointed, we suggest the organization of subcommissions on:

(a) Freedom of international communications, covering the press, radio, motion pictures and the right of travel. This is an obligation apparently imposed upon the Commission by agreements reached at the San Francisco Conference and by later references to the Commission. It is evidently a field in which practical action can be taken within a relatively short time.

(b) Rights of minorities, covering the problems of racial, religious and national minorities.

(c) International bill of rights, covering those guarantees of personal and group liberties which in the long run would presumably be recommended to the nations of the world for incorporation in their substantive law. This is evidently a task which should be done at once, though it is obvious that formulation and means of effecting results will take considerable time.

While the Commission will necessarily be confronted with a multitudinous task in selecting items which appear to be most urgent and pressing we venture the observation that no definite priorities can be given. It would appear that as work is undertaken directly or through subcommissions priorities will emerge as these subcommissions complete their studies and make their recommendations on one subject or another. Some involve more clearly than others long-range efforts.

We are submitting copies of this letter to all of the associations which have indicated their interest in the work of the Commission on Human Rights asking them to communicate to you directly their views on these recommendations.

We are, with great respect,

Sincerely yours,

ROGER N. BALDWIN
CLARK M. EICHELBERGER
JOHN R. ELLINGSTON
THOMAS K. FINLETTER
DOROTHY KENYON
ROBERT M. MAC IVER
ALEXANDER PEKELIS

[Enc.]

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New York 21, N.Y.
Telephone: BUtterfield 8-8000

May 2, 1946

COPY

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Chairman, Commission on Human Rights
United Nations
Hunter College
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

21-16

The undersigned were designated as a committee to represent the common interest of a large number of American organizations committed to the general principles underlying the work of the Commission on Human Rights. We have considered the problems which apparently confront the Commission and desire to make the following suggestions:

1. That one or two hearings be fixed by the Commission between now and the time of your report to the Economic and Social Council so that both American and other organizations may have the opportunity to present directly to the Commission their views and recommendations. We shall be very glad if such hearings are fixed to take the responsibility for organizing them, and presenting in the most concise form possible the views of the organizations who have given the various problems considerable thought.

2. That in organizing thw work of the Commission you give consideration to the appointment of the following subcommissions:

First and in our judgment most important, the appointment of a subcommission on what for lack of a better word may be called implementation: that is the practical measures to be taken to make effective in practice the substantive rights agreed upon, to establish the relation of the Commission on Human Rights with other agencies of the United Nations working in the same or similar fields. It is evident that the Commission already has a mandate in its reference to "prevention of discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, language or religion." Since this principle is already adopted in the United Nations Charter it would appear to justify an immediate approach to promote measures for implementation.

International Bill of Rights

The prevailing feeling regarding subcommissions in other fields was also held with regard to a subcommission on an International Bill of Rights. It was felt that this might best be carried out by a subcommission, by experts, by working parties or by the whole commission itself. The Commission is, however, in favor of taking immediate steps to lay the foundation for such a project. The first step to be recommended to the Economic and Social Council is that the Secretariat shall collect all available information including human rights provisions in national constitutions, laws, proposals concerning human rights, written and oral statements of non-governmental bodies representing public opinion, procedures, testimonies and conclusions effecting human rights in the Nuremberg and Tokyo War Crimes Trials and any other material bearing upon the history of human rights. The second step which was proposed was that either by conference, by mail or other wise, the suggestions and ideas of the European nations and of the Asiatic and African nations be solicited. These expressions and opinions would then be considered along with the human rights proposals of the twenty-one American nations at the Inter-American Conference of War and Peace in Mexico City. If by this time the plenary Commission had not been constituted, the nuclear Commission felt that it could at least start the preliminary drafting of an International Bill of Human Rights. Upon the completion of a preliminary draft, it was suggested that it would be desirable to circulate it among all the fifty-one nations for comment before formal presentation of the final draft.

Copy — you may keep this
WEBD

May 14, 1946

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, N.Y.

Dear Walter:

I am submitting herewith my resignation as Director of Branches and as a member of the staff of the National Office of the N.A.A.C.P. to become effective July 15, 1946.

42-60-9

I have known since the Spring of 1944 that this would eventually be necessary, and more than a year ago I decided upon February 1, 1946, the end of five years of service, as the final date; but postponed it to conduct a second series of leadership training conferences for comparison. Then the 1946 leadership meetings led into the membership campaign.

My reasons for resigning are basically three: I feel that the Association is falling far short of its present possibilities; that the full capacities of the staff have not been used in the past; and that there is little chance of mine being utilized in the immediate future. Neither one, nor all of these reasons would induce me to resign if I felt that objective and honest discussion were possible and that remedial measures would follow. Unfortunately I find no basis for expecting this. My reactions are not sudden but accumulative, and are based upon my own experiences during the past five years, and the experiences of other staff members both present and former.

The need for revamping the Association's organizational structure and procedure is fairly obvious and to a degree accepted. Hence, I shall limit my observations to the more personal aspects of staff morale and effectiveness.

First, the manner in which I was appointed, or rather "drafted" as Director of Branches indicated a thought pattern that does not lend itself to healthy staff relations. It may be recalled that the appointment was made in April 1943 when I was in Alabama conducting membership campaigns. Almost simultaneous with the letter to me giving notice of the appointment, a story was released to the press. At no time had we discussed the directorship either in respect to myself or to anyone else. The fact that the department had been without a director for almost two years, and the fact that the Secretary had been personally directing it since October 1941 led me to question the sudden rush in making an appointment.

There seemed to have been but one possible conclusion. Namely, that I had served as "ram in the bush" to save face for someone and that my right to an opinion in the matter was completely discounted.

I accepted the appointment because there was no graceful alternative. Had I been given a chance to discuss it before it was announced, I would have probably declined, largely because I had already observed the practice of appointing persons to positions without clear-cut and well defined job specifications, setting forth the responsibilities and the authority of the position. As a result, no objective yardstick was provided by which the appointee might measure his approach to maximum efficiency, or be certain of the limits of his right to exercise his own judgment; and this frequently leads to one's efficiency being rated in terms of whether one is or is not persona grata.

42-6C-10

No directive on the status of the branch department or on the proposed program was given me. You may remember that there was a brief discussion in June '43 when I came in from the field, dealing primarily with my concept of the job rather than with what was expected of a director of branches. The one written directive received was an unfinished memorandum of two short paragraphs which was apparently begun on April 14, 1943 and which was given to me by Miss Washington on June 10, 1943. In an attempt to meet the need of something specific to work towards, I submitted a list of proposed objectives to the Committee on Branches at our initial meeting on July 8, 1943; and within its limitations the department has worked towards these objectives.

It might also be recorded that the department has been without constant, adequate, and/or efficient help almost fifty percent of the past three years. Perhaps I should have called louder for help; but my will to do a job and the amount of work to be done led me to expend my energies in trying rather than complaining. Furthermore, the delay in having requests for help acted upon, and the seeming lack of appreciation for the need of help on the part of those who might be expected to be familiar with the work-load of all departments has been disconcerting to say the least. For example, the clerk-typist that was requested in November was not secured until a few weeks ago after considerable involvement. This delay was occasioned not so much by the lack of available help as by the lack of clarity in procedure governing requests for help and the unattractive salary offered. Yet help was most needed the first of the year when branch elections, leadership conferences, field schedules and special projects were added to the work-load of the one stenographer in the branch department.

There seems to be a tendency towards creating one-man departments and then expecting a first class job to be done. Hence, the person appointed must necessarily spread himself very thinly to cover the detailed requirements of the job, finds little or no time for self-improvement, and accomplishes whatever he does in spite of circumstances. This is not healthy and tends to breed small, in-grown or frustrated people.

The inclination to disregard the individual's right to an

opinion even on matters in which he is involved was experienceed again last February when I found myself referred to as the Speakers Bureau. How or why I was so designated I do not know. I only know that I was not consulted on, nor advised of it. After protesting to the switchboard operator on the number of telephone calls, not only requesting speakers from the Association but also such sundry information as Paul Robeson's current address, Mrs. Bethune's speaking ability, and biographical sketches of outstanding Negro speakers, I learned that she had been instructed to refer all inquiries about speakers to me. The need for a central clearance of requests for speakers is obvious; but it is not so obvious why this should be assigned to me in February when the requests from other organizations are heaviest, and when I was in the midst of preparation for four leadership training conferences, Spring schedules and several special projects.

42-9-11

An almost complete lack of appreciation for the collective thinking of the staff seems to prevail. Most of us work better when we feel that we are an integral part of a well-coordinated program and when we can share and exchange thoughts with our co-workers. Yet staff meetings have been the exception rather than the rule. As critical and portentous as were the past several years, no full staff meetings to evaluate what had been done and to plan future action were held in either 1944 or 1945. With the exception of last summer, I have personally suggested such a meeting each summer since being on the staff. Last summer a special request was made for a staff meeting to discuss Miss Jensen's progra; it was repeated in January. Several staff members have expressed the need for staff thinking on the proposed regional office and related matters.

Too frequently, one is blamed for failing to observe a practice or procedure of which he has not been previously informed. Two incidents come to mind. The branch director was told of the established ruling governing reports of Board committees more than a year after being appointed and after a mistake had been made. Again there was blame for the difficulties almost created at the 1946 Annual Meeting as a result of the new election methods. Although it had not been the practice to make the National Constitution of the Association available to branches (in fact not even to new staff members), and although no directive was received on the matter it was logical to have included a constitution in the letter sent out by the Secretary, it gave rise to an unfounded generalization on the mailing of material to branches.

Another demoralizing aspect of our staff relations is an indirectness that is too much akin to espionage. Members of the staff are asked leading questions about the work of other staff members. For example, by indirection I learned of your inquiry concerning Mr. LeRoy Carter's presence at the March meeting of the Board. Yet a direct call to me could have readily established the fact that he availed himself of the opportunity to attend the meeting between engagements and did not leave a campaign to do so as the inquiry implied. Again, needless delay and worry were experienced by Miss Jensen in securing an O.K. of her travel request for $100. to cover her current trip. Had the request been denied and the reason stated or even had it been denied without a stated reason, one could have appreciated it since all trips are subject to the Secretary's final approval; but it was most difficult to

appreciate the delay and the fact that other staff members were questioned as to whether Miss Jensen's schedule was drafted by me.

I have delayed replying to several recent memoranda because I could not have conscientiously done so without recognizing what seemed to have been between the lines. Much of what was said seemed more designed to build up a case than to analyze or remedy an existing one. However, I have known what to expect since receiving your memorandum of May 17, 1944, questinning my vote at the January 12th meeting of the Committee on Administration dealing with the Sydenham Hospital issue. Much was revealed when this was the only direct interest manifested in what the branch department had done during an absence of several months. What has followed has been considered an enlargement of the picture.

42-6c-12

The total effect of the attitudes and the practices to which I have referred is that a disproportionate amount of staff energy is consumed in fighting a sense of futility and frustration. I came to the Association because I felt that I could make a contribution to the struggle for human justice and equality. I am leaving because I feel that there must be some way to do this without further jeopardizing one's integrity and sense of fair play. In every possible way I shall keep faith with the basic principles of the NAACP and with the faith vested in it by the people. I shall be happy to give my successor all the information I have in addition to the written reports that are planned to cover the status of the department through June 15, 1946.

Copies of this letter are being sent to the chairman of the Board and the members of the Committee on Branches whose help has been so invaluable.

Sincerely yours,

ELLA J. BAKER

(Begun May 8th, submitted May 15, 1946)

15 May 1946

Memorandum to the Secretary:

Several times since the San Francisco Conference you have asked my opinion on various subjects concerning colonies and I have given you some memoranda concerning whose use and disposition I have not heard. I think it would be much wiser for us to lay down a broad plan of dealing with the colonies and influencing the United Nations. I should be glad to propose such a plan but I would want to be sure what the plans of the NAACP are and what my place in them would be. I should want to know what power or responsibility I had in such a movement.

My own idea which I have touched upon several times to you and the Board has been that my Department of Special Research should be especially busied with colonial questions, collecting data, preparing statements, giving lectures and proposing plans. Connected with this I have several times proposed certain pamphlets and other publications which are sorely needed at this time. I should be glad to further elaborate on these plans.

It would be both unfair to me and the Association for me to attempt blindfolded to give advice on so broad and important a matter, without knowledge of the developments in mind.

I shall be glad to hear from you in regard to this subject at your convenience.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

15 May 1946

Memorandum to the Secretary:

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W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

[Naacp]

May 21, 1946

Memorandum
From: Mr. Walter White
To: Dr. Du Bois

I think it an excellent idea that we confer as soon as possible on representatives and other action which we can take with respect to the U. N., as suggested in your memorandum of May 15th.

My memorandum to you of several days ago, however, dealt specifically with a request, the details of which I sent you, that I appear before the Human Rights Commission of the U. N., which I was unwilling to do until I had secured from you, Dr. Bunche, and others, information and guidance.

Here is self-explanatory copy of a memorandum Dr. Bunche gave me at a meeting we both attended last Friday. Dr. Clark Eichelberger asked me last Thursday evening to get this memorandum in this week if possible, as the colonial issue was the only one not touched on at the hearing we had on May 13th. Can you, Dr. Bunche, and I get together some day this week to draft a memorandum? I think it would facilitate matters if you would combine with Dr. Bunche's suggestions your own and make a draft which we can put into shape for presentation. I would like also to suggest that on such day of next week as is convenient for you and Dr. Bunche, we get together on the plans set forth in your memorandum of the 15th. Unfortunately, I have to speak in Buffalo this week and go to Indiana to testify in a NAACP trial, which will take me out of town from Wednesday morning until Saturday.

Secretary

ww/mdj

21-16-6

Lloyd Brown of the New Masses wishes an appointment

[naacp]

June 3, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MADISON JONES:

We are in the process of drafting a set of resolutions for the guidance and information of the Resolutions Committee when the Annual Convention opens in Cincinnati on June 26th. Of course the Resolutions Committee does not have to follow the draft or the format which we submit, but we do feel in letting them have this information it will facilitate their work in what is a pretty large task considering all of the other business going on at the convention.

We contemplate having a resolution on world peace and colonialism. We would like very much to have you draft this for us so that the resolution can be submitted to the Committee for its consideration and guidance as to the essential points to be considered.

MSJ:dp

A persistent cause of war in the nineteenth century, and the underlying cause of the devastating wars of the twentieth, is the ownership of colonies, the monopoly of their raw materials and enslavement of their labor. The far-reaching consequence of this exploitation of colonial labor is to force down wages and labor conditions the world over. The worst colonial conditions in the world today obtain in Africa. We therefore call on the United Nations and the philanthropy of mankind to proceed with all speed to the implementation of the trustee provisions of the Charter, not only for former mandates but for all colonies of all nations. We vehemently protest the impudent demand of the Union of South Africa for annexation of Southwest Africa, to a country which of all nations in the world has proven itself shamelessly incompetent to treat darker peoples decently or even with elementary justice. We commend the efforts of the black folk in British West Africa to secure civil freedom and political power and we promise continued aid and ccoperation to the Pan African movement which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has fostered for a quarter-century. We commend the trade Union movement everywhere, but especially in the West Indies. We congratulate Burma, Indonesia and all India on their approaching emancipation from European domination; and to the democratic movement of the Chinese people against dominant Fascism and the interests of Western investors and imperialists in the Pacific we reach out hands of sympathy and hope.

June 3, 1946

Resolution for March 1946 meeting

created

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH

N. A. A. C. P.

May 10 to June 4, 1946

Personnel: W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

The Albert Schweitzer Jubilee Book edited by professors in Harvard and Colby Colleges has appeared. My chapter on the "Black Man and Albert Schweitzer" appears in Part I, Chapter 4.

I have undertaken to write six short biographies of Negroes for the American Peoples Encyclopaedia which is being edited in Chicago by Walter Dill Scott, President-emeritus of Northwestern University.

Since my last report I have lectured for

The Dunbar Community League, Springfield, Massachusetts and
The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, for

whom I spoke briefly at their meeting held in Madison Square Gardens to honor three Soviet visitors.

I am maturing plans for a Colonial Exhibition of African Countries to be ready in time for the meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations in September.

Dr. Diggs has received notice that she has been selected by The American Republics Section, Division of International Education Relations, United States Department of State to study race relations in South America. She is awaiting definite plans from the Department.

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-7-54

[NAACP]

20-12-19

July 9, 1946

Mr. Leslie S. Perry
Administrative Assistant
NAACP Washington Bureau
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, 1, D.C.

My dear Mr. Perry:

Thank you very much for your communication and the printed matter which you are sending me concerning the United Nations. I shall hope sometime in the near future to get my work better settled with regard to these important movements. In the meantime keep on sending me any matter that you come across.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

File W. White Grace
Under old file

15 July 1946

Memorandum to the Secretary:

At the request of the Department of State, Dr. Diggs went to Washington last weekend to receive information and instructions as to her South American trip. She was told that out of forty-nine candidates, she was one of the nine chosen, of whom only two were women. On the committee of selection were Dr. Stephen Duggan, Dr. Waldo Leland and a representative of the American Council on Education. The Department wishes Dr. Diggs to leave for Uruguay as soon as she can secure passage before August thirty-first. She plans to be gone three months.

I should like to suggest that one of these months be regarded as her vacation for which she should be paid; that for the other two months she be granted leave of absence without pay.

During the two months of her unpaid absence, I should like to have authority to engage the services of a person trained in the classification of books and manuscripts. I wish to arrange my considerable collection of letters and papers so that they will be readily available for my own use and that of others. The Yale Library and the Schomburg Collection are anxious to receive some of the manuscripts when I can select them. My library of two thousand volumes needs immediate arrangement so as to be more readily available for reference and research than at present. I think that a trained assistant working these two months of Dr. Diggs' absence would be able to do much toward accomplishing these objects. I would like to offer a suitably trained person not less than the salary Dr. Diggs is receiving.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

811-4-118
46-4-98

walter White
20 W 40
ny 18, ny

24 July 1946

signed Padmore
under W

My dear Mr. White:

Next September there will assemble in the United States the first session of the Assembly of the United Nations. The peoples of earth will meet to discuss openly and face to face the problems of human progress. All nations will be directly represented. But Colonial peoples will, for the most part, be represented either by the nations owning and governing them or at best by representatives chosen by these master nations. Particularly in the case of Africa it is quite possible that not a single person of Negro descent will have any voice save in the case of Ethiopia and Liberia, which are free nations. There will be at least 150,000,000 Africans who will be unrepresented and unheard, and will be denied all opportunity to plead their own cause, complain of injustice or defend themselves from calumny and attack.

This is not only unfair, it is dangerous for the peace and progress of the world. Despite all assumptions to the contrary, the Negro peoples are today to no inconsiderable degree ready to plead their cause before the peoples of the world. Six times during the twentieth century, African peoples have met in Pan African Congresses and sued for redress of grievances. It is true that these Congresses were only partially representative of the mass of Africans, and that this mass is not today, by reason of poverty and ignorance, capable of clear and coherent expression. Nevertheless black Africa has leaders and thinkers, and black Africans despite their handicaps in the modern world, are increasingly able to discern their needs and ills. They must and will be heard if this world advances from war and exploitation to peace and progress for all mankind.

Therefore as President of the Pan African Congress which met last October in its Fifth Congress in the city of Manchester, England, with two hundred delegates from East, West and South Africa and the West Indies, I am asking you to join me in seeking a way by which the people of Africa may be represented in the United Nations Assembly, at least as observers, if not participants. While this concession is of fundamental importance in any real democratic world, its accomplishment will be beset with difficulties. The empires - Britain, France, Holland, Belgium; even the United States of America - are going to contend that representation of colonial peoples is an invasion of national sovereignty and that these people are not capable of intelligent expression; and that the empires are governing them for their good and know their condition best. This argument can only be countered by close and intelligent cooperation among the African peoples, their descendants and their friends, and by insistence on the obvious fact, that the countries profiting from

the ownership of colonies are not the best judges of the interests of colonial peoples; and that there is no human group incapable of voicing at least in some degree its distress, if the world is willing to hear and makes. reasonable effort to know the truth.

As a movement toward this, the suggested committee would be a logical first step. Especially could it voice the almost universal feeling of mankind at the utterly indefensible position of the Union of South Africa in its treatment of Africans and Indians and its demand for absorption of Southwest Africa.

I suggest, therefore first, that a petition to the Assembly be prepared, consisting of a careful survey, with charts, maps and plans, setting forth, the extent, population, health, work, production, income and social condition of the African colonies; secondly, that a record be made of the complaints and demands of these colonies as expressed in the last hundred years by spokesmen of these people; third, a demand be drafted signed by Africans, descendants of Africans the world over, and all friends of humanity of whatever color and race, to have appointed in some equitable way, a small committee, which should have the right to attend all meetings of the Assembly, with the right to discuss all matters pertaining to African colonies.

Assuming, as we surely may, that many of the nations with colonies are seeking the welfare of colonial peoples, nevertheless there is no reason that the elementary basis of democracy - the right of peoples to speak for themselves - should be entirely ignored in international consideration of African questions.

For this purpose I am asking you to write me saying

1. if you are willing to cooperate in this enterprise;
2. if you will send representatives to a meeting in New York in August to explore ways and means of implementing this plan.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York City

P. S. The above letter has been sent to the heads of the following organizations: The Council on African Affairs, The African Academy of Arts and Research, The Federation of Negro Churches, National Council of Negro Women, The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, the Improved order of Elks of the World, The Grand Lodges of Masons, Prince Hall Jurisdiction; The Nigerian Youth Council, The National Council of British West Africa, The Native Congress of South Africa, The Native Congress of East Africa, The Soudanese Nationalist Organization, The Federated Trades Unions of The West Indies, the Governments of Ethiopia, Haiti, Liberia, and other persons and bodies interested in freedom and self-rule in Africa.

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
1519 Jackson Street Northeast
Washington, D. C.

Rev. John Haynes Holmes
10 Park Avenue
New York City, 16, N.Y.

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard
79 East 79th Street
New York City

Mr. Lewis S. Gannett
The Herald Tribune
230 West 41st Street
New York City, 18, N.Y.

Mr. George L-P Weaver
National CIO Committee to Abolish
Racial Discrimination
718 Jackson Place Southwest
Washington, D.C.

Attorney Harry E. Davis
202-206 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

W. H. Jernagin

A. Philip Randolph

L. D. Reddick

Arthur Spingarn

Louis T. Wright

Lester Walton

Bishop R. R. Wright

Henry Lee Moon

H. A. Wieschhoff

Mr. Nnamdi Azikiwe
National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons
Spokesman Building
Onitsha, Nigeria
Africa

Reverend Z. R. Mahabane
Non-European Unity Committee
P. O. Box 3475
Cape Town
South Africa

H. E. Ras Imru, Minister
Ethiopian Legation
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Mae Downs
Mrs. Bertill Wright
Public Affairs Committee of the
Delta Sigma Theta
42 Park Place
Newark, New Jersey

Dorothy Funn
National Negro Congress
307 Lenox Avenue
New York City

Mr. Charles A. Petioni
West Indies National Council
114 West 131st Street
New York City

Mr. Richard B. Moore
143 West 125th Street
New York City

[n.aa.cp]

26 July 1946

21-16-13

Memorandum to the Secretary:

The Columbia University Press is agent for the International Documents Service of the United Nations. I enclose the list of these publications. I think that my department ought to have the published documents of the United Nations from March twenty-fifth through September thirtieth, 1946 and the official records of the United Nations in English. These could be had at a total cost of twenty dollars. I should be glad to have your consent to this subscription.

Will you please return the publication list?

W. E. B. D.

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

naacp]

29 July 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Following up my memorandum concerning Dr. Diggs' absence may I say, Lorenzo Graham is available for the work which I mentioned. He is a graduate of Virginia Union and has done graduate work at Columbia and at the University of Paris. He has served as clerk at the United States Legation in Liberia and for one of the commissions to Haiti. He was educational director of the CC camps in Virginia and until he came to New York was supervisor of the Negro housing project at Newport News. He is a carpenter by trade and an author having three books already accepted and to be published this year and next by Reynold and Hitchcock.

At present he has no work except his writing which he wants to pursue. I hired him to arrange my books, letters and pamphlets in the basement. He did an excellent job. Mr. Pleasant and Miss Branch think that he would be just the person to arrange your basement. I have gotten in touch with him and he is willing first to work with me during Miss Diggs' absence and after that to arrange the material in the basement. Of course for the latter job he would need help for the heavy moving.

I would be glad if you would consider this matter and the matter of my previous memorandum at your earliest convenience.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

Copies sent to: Louis T. Wright
Arthur B. Spingarn

On the Negro Petition to United Nations

1 August 1946

[NAACP]

Memorandum to the Secretary:

I believe that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People should direct a petition to the Assembly of the United Nations when it meets in September, touching the situation of American Negroes. The National Negro Congress has made such a petition and it is well done but it is too short and not sufficiently documented.

It would be no duplication of effort if we did an impressive and definitive effort in this respect. The petition ought to begin with a concise statement of grievances, followed by an explanation, carefully arranged by legal experts, of the action which the United Nations under its charter and decisions already made, might take; then each one of our grievances should be very carefully and factually documented with historical examples. Finally, there should be a bibliography and index.

This petition ought to be at least one hundred and not more than two hundred printed pages, and it should be distributed to every member of the Assembly of the United Nations and to the libraries and distinguished leaders of the various countries of the world.

I should be glad to undertake in this department a document of this sort, if I could have the necessary clerical help and expense account. I can make an estimate of what this expense would be.

The necessity of a document of this sort is emphasized by the fact that other groups of people, notably the Indians of South Africa, the Jews of Palestine, the Indonesians and others are making similar petitions. I have on my desk a letter from Dr. Ambedkar of the Untouchables of India, in which he intimates that they may make an appeal ~~of that sort~~. It would be, I am sure, an omission not easily to be explained if the NAACP did not make a petition and statement of this sort.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

146-7-138

[illegible]

August
1st
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

I think it is of the highest importance that we should file a petition to the United Nations and it should be given the widest possible publicity and circulation. I would like to know what the expenses would be for clerical help. If you will let me have that, I will take it up immediately. I assume the sum will not be very great.

I would like also to suggest that we get the advice of experts like Dr. Ralph Bunche and Governor Hastie on the document as soon as the first draft is prepared.

46-7-139

WW:RJW

[N.A.A.C.P.]

1 August 1946

2Y-16-10

Memorandum to Mr. White;

Dr. Diggs is awaiting departure for Uruguay. She has been informed, however, that there is no exact schedule of the sailing of ships and that she must be ready at twenty-four to forty-eight hours' notice. In the Meantime she will continue her work here and in case I am not in the office will notify your office the exact date of her departure.

I shall use the month of August as a vacation month and from the third to the seventeenth may be found at the Cambridge Gun and Rod Club
RFD Litchfield, Maine.
I shall then return here but after the twentieth will spend most of the time in Baltimore until September first.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

2 August 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Replying to your memorandum of August first, may I say that I will prepare an estimate and plan for a United Nations petition as soon as I return August seventeenth. Meantime it would facilitate my plans if I had an answer to my memoranda of July fifteenth and twenty-ninth concerning Dr. Diggs and assistance during her absence.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

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21-23-1

AIR MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

August
16th
1946

Received 21 August 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The terrific pressure occasioned by recent riots and lynchings as well as the absence of important members of the staff through illness or vacation have been responsible for my delay in answering your various memoranda.

1. Approval is hereby given for three month's (months') leave for Dr. Diggs--two without pay and one in lieu of vacation.

2. I approve the employment of Mr. Lorenzo Graham in her stead though I assume that the last sentence of your memorandum of July 15th regarding "a suitably trained person not less than the salary Dr. Diggs is receiving" should have read "not more than".

With respect to your letter of July 24th asking if we will send representatives to a meeting in New York in August regarding the United Nations, I could not make any comment on this score before I have first secured the opinion of the Board or Committee on Administration. Will you let me know if there will be enough people able to attend such a meeting on so short notice?

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Cambridge Gun and Rod Club
RFD
Litchfield, Maine

Copy left in your desk

WW:RJW

[naacp]

c
o
p
y

August 16, 1946

received August 21, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The terrific pressure occasioned by recent riots and lynchings as well as the absence of important members of the staff through illness or vacation have been responsible for my delay in answering your various memoranda.

1. Approval is hereby given for three month's leave for Dr. Diggs - two without pay and one in lieu of vacation.

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Ever sincerely,

(signed) Walter White

Secretary

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Cambridge Gun and Rod Club
RFD
Litchfield, Maine

WW:RJW

26 August 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

With regard to a petition of American Negroes to the United Nations in accordance with our memoranda of August first:

A. I suggest an editorial board with myself as editor and four contributing editors as follows: Rayford W. Logan, Earl B. Dickerson, Sadie T. Alexander and Henrietta Buckmaster.

B. The four contributing editors would be asked to prepare four parts of the petition substantially as follows:

1. The legal rights of American Negroes under the constitution, the federal and state statutes and court decisions.

2. The denial of these rights from emancipation in 1863 to the beginning of the First World War.

3. The present legal and social status of Americans of Negro descent from 1917 to 1946.

4. The charter of the United Nations and its provisions for human rights and the rights of minorities and decisions already taken under this charter.

C. The editor would provide a summary of these four parts and a proposed program of international action.

D. The finished document thus prepared would be submitted to a committee of review who would criticize it and suggest additions and alterations. This Committee might include such persons as Arthur Spingarn, Walter White, Louis T. Wright, Thurgood Marshall, William Hastie, Leslie Perry, Ralph Bunche, Morris Ernst.

E. The expense of this effort would be as follows:

1.	Honoraria of $100 each to the four contributors	$400
2.	stenographer and clerk for one month at $150 each	300
3.	postage, books and miscellany	100
		$800

4. publication of 2,500 copies of 100 printed pages, paper bound.
The publishers of the Crisis should be asked to get an estimate of paper and printing for such a booklet.

W.E.B. Du Bois

Copies sent to · R. Lagai, S. T. Alexander, E. B. Dickerson, Hale Perry
T. Marshall,

[NAACP]

21-17-10

August
27th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

This will acknowledge receipt of your memorandum of August 26th. Because of its importance, I am securing the advice of members of the Committee on Administration and will advise you as soon as I have received their opinion.

WW:RJW

AUG 26 1946

21-16-11

26 August 1946

Memorandum to the Secretary:

Dr. Diggs leaves August 28. I propose to send Mr. Graham the enclosed letter. Will you approve it?

W.E.B. Du Bois

W.E.B. Du Bois

Agreeable to me
WLW

Mr. Walter White
NAACP

[Encl.]

21-16-12

26 August 1946

My dear Mr. Graham:

My assistant Dr. Diggs leaves Wednesday, August 28 for three months leave. As I have explained to you, during that time I would like very much to have you arrange my papers and books. Mr. White, the executive secretary has consented to this arrangement and to your employment for three months beginning September first, at a salary of $208.33 per month.

I trust you can accept this offer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

approved

Walter White, Executive Secretary
NAACP

Mr. Lorenz Graham
34-32 106th Street
Corona, Long Island

[naacp]

September 4th, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

Here are comments from the follwwing members of the Committee on Administration regarding your suggestion of a petition to be submitted to the United Nations:

Mr. Thurgood Marshall

Mr. Roy Wilkins

Mrs. Ruby Hurley

Dr. Channing H. Tobias

21-17-2

WW:emw

(ENC.)

Steelton, Pa.
August 31, 1946

Dear Walter:

I have just received the memoranda concerning the petition to the UN and here are some suggestions:

I do not believe it is possible to assemble such a petition by September.

As to the project itself -

I note that there is to be an editorial board but the question in my mind is who is to do the research on the legal questions. Both Earl Dickerson and Sadie Alexander have active law practices. For example, the part #1. The legal rights of American Negroes under the Constitution, the federal and state statutes and court decisions." A whole volume has been done on this: "Legal Status of the Negro," by Mangum which is not up to date. Milton Konvitz has just completed a book which is up to date and is the best job on this that I have run across. Whoever does this part will either use Konvitz's material or work a year full time assembling it as he did. With the material that Konvitz has and Mangum's book this section could be done in a reasonable amount of time but I think Konvitz should work on it. The third part could also be assembled by somebody willing to do the research and with time enough to do it.

Part 2 would take a considerable amount of time and I do not believe it could be assembled in any short space of time.

The question in my mind is whether we want to do a real job or not. We all remember how much time, money, and staff were used by the Myrdal group. Are we going to make another such study or merely digest his material in the non-legal questions.

In conclusion, I don't see how we can do the job by September. I don't believe we should start on it until we can all sit down and discuss (1) What we want to do? and (2) Who shall do it?

TM

[ENC]

September 3, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE FROM MR. WILKINS:

In re: Memorandum to United Nations

I have your memorandum of August 28 on the proposal of Dr. DuBois that a petition on the situation of American Negroes be prepared by the NAACP to be submitted to the United Nations. In answer to your questions: (1) I approve the proposal heartily; (2) The proposed editorial board seems competent and I would abide by DuBois' judgment; (3) It strikes me that one or two other persons outside the immediate "New York family" of the NAACP might be added to the board of review. Dunjee's opinion, because of his familiarity with the southern scene, might be valuable; (4) I do not object to the budget as outlined. This should be an expert document and the small sum proposed for each contributor cannot be considered exorbitant; (5) I think enough copies ought to be printed of the report to be distributed in key places exclusive of the UN personnel. I suggest that it go to a list of prominent Americans and to the editors of important magazines of opinion, daily papers and a selected number of weeklies.

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19

[ENC.]

August 29, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WHITE FROM MRS. HURLEY.

With reference to your memorandum to the Committee on Administration under date of August 28, 1946, the following are my views:

1. The Association should accept the proposal to submit a petition as outlined to the United Nations. Our position in the field of race relations and the benefits that could accrue would be sufficient justification.

2. With one or two exceptions I think that better people might be obtained to serve on the editorial board. As a suggestion, Charles H. Houston, is among the experts on the rights of Negroes under the Constitution, together with Marshall and Hastie. Since the latter two are mentioned for the Committee on Review, Houston should be considered as an editor.

3. The Committee on Review is sufficiently capable as suggested with one possible addition, Dr. Charles H. Wesley, for his knowledge of Negro history. Time must be important and a larger committee might be a deterrent.

4. The budget appears to be reasonable. I should prefer the payment of honoraria to some other form of compensation for this type of project.

5. If the Association assumes the sponsorship of this project, our Branches, Youth Councils and College Chapters should be able to purchase copies of the petition for a nominal fee. It should have a tremendous educational value that our people need. (Libraries all over the country should get copies also, particularly college and university libraries.) I assume that full publicity in the press and through periodicals will be given.

[n.a.a.c.p]

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Lenox, Massachusetts.
EUROPEAN ADDRESS
2, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

August 30, 1946

Mr. Walter White
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Walter:

21-17

I am writing to give approval to the suggestion made by Dr. DuBois relative to the preparation of a statement to be presented to the United Nations at the forthcoming General Assembly. I approve of his idea of an editorial board, and since in all probability he will be editor-in-chief, I approve of his suggestion of persons to be associated with him, for I feel that anyone who is to assume responsibility for the preparation of such an important document should have persons of his own choice associated with him.

As to the Committee of Review, I think all of the names suggested by Dr. DuBois are good, but it may be well to add one or two others.

As to the budget, I think that it is a very modest one for the purpose and would recommend its adoption by the Board.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,
Channing H. Tobias
Channing H. Tobias
Director

CHT
RLH

Copy for Dr. DuBois

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, NY

August 30, 1946

Mr. Walter White
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Walter:

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As to the budget, I think that it is a very modest one for the purpose and would recommend its adoption by the Board.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,
(Signed)
Channing H. Tobias
Director

CHT
RLH

Copy for Dr. DuBois

COPY

[Naacp]

5 September 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I have your memorandum of September 4 with the criticisms of Mr. Marshall, Mr. Wilkins, Mrs. Hurley and Mr. Tobias. May I reply as follows:

1. The meeting of the Assembly is placed for September 23. This date may be postponed and if it is not, the Assembly will not get down to actual business for a month. There is no reason why an adequate memorandum could not be ready for presentation by November 1.

2. As to the editorial board, decision as to this board should be careful but we ought not to wait too long. I am quite willing that anyone else should be named as editor-in-chief. I think that the suggestion of Konvits is good as to the study of legal rights. Rayford Logan could do a good summary on the denial of rights; and on present status perhaps Charles Houston would be a good selection. On the United States Charter, I suggest Earl B. Dickerson. The suggestion of Charles Wesley is not bad but he is quite a distance away and probably very busy.

W. E. B. Du Bois

III-A-188

naacp

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH, N.A.A.C.P.

June 4, to September 7, 1946

Personnel: W.E.B. Du Bois, Director

Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

The outline of clear objective for this Department appears more definitely in my mind as the work develops: race conflict and color line problems are becoming increasingly international, and are demanding investigation, publicity and action. The N.A.A.C.P. foresaw this at the time of its organization, thirty-five years ago. It followed this up later in its support of the Pan African Congresses. Moreover it recognized then, as it should now, that in America and in the world at large, its obligation to colored peoples is primarily to the Negro race as representing the portion of humanity most oppressed and discriminated against. The freedom and progress of the black folk of the world, is the last great barrier to the realization of the unity of humanity.

18-7-94

For this reason, since returning from the last Pan African Congress, I have taken steps to organize into world-wide cooperation, as many organizations as possible to make sure that the Negro peoples of Africa secure a hearing at the forth-coming Assembly of the United Nations. I had hoped that the N.A.A.C.P. would be willing to sponsor this meeting. As you took no action, I called it as President of Pan African Congress. The first meeting for this purpose took place at the Schomburg Collection, August thirty-first. Fifteen organizations responded. I hope still that eventually the N.A.A.C.P. will join us. I recall that at the first Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, in 1921, I represented the N.A.A.C.P., as an observer.

Secondly, I have urged upon the Secretary, to have the plight of persons of Negro descent in the United States, placed before the Assembly of the United Nations in its international aspects, as fundamental to

June 1st 1944

world peace and the defense of human rights. I have outlined to the Secretary the preparation of an exhaustive and scholarly petition to this end.

Thirdly, we have secured the appointment by the State Department of the United States of my assistant, Dr. Irene Diggs, to make a study of race relations and the transculturation of Negroes and whites in South America, and specifically in Uruguay. Dr. Diggs asked three months leave for this work and is now in Uruguay. This is the first time that a Negro scholar has received such recognition or that the federal government has recognized the right of American Negroes to make direct cultural contact with the millions of persons of Negro descent in South America.

Fourth:

Other activities of this Department have been as follows:

Dr. Diggs and myself have finished a thorough second revised edition of the Prefatory Volume of the Encyclopaedia of the Negro. It will form the best annotated bibliography on the Negro peoples of the world and their problems in existence, when issued in the Fall by the H.W. Wilson Co., for the Phelps-Stokes Fund. The first edition of this work has long been sold out.

I have lectured at Knoxville College on the future of the Negro private college; I have written articles on alcholic drinking for the Message of Nashville; on my fifty years' experience in marriage, for the People's Voice; and on the necessity of friendship between the United States and Russia, for Soviet To-Day.

Finally may I say that for the development of the program outlined above I need additional clerical help. I have now for several months been hiring a part-time clerk at my own expense.

42-8F-34

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20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LONGACRE 3-6890
Official Organ: The Crisis

Please direct reply to:
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100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.
Telephone National 5794
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Leslie S. Perry, *Administrative Assistant*
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September 10, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director, Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Doctor DuBois:

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of September 3rd but I have just returned to my desk from vacation. In accordance with your request, I have gone over the draft of the petition to the United Nations meeting and the list of organizations and persons who are to be asked to subscribe.

I am enclosing a copy of the proposed petition on which I have noted, perhaps presumptuously, a number of changes and queries which, in my judgment, might make for greater clarity.

The addresses for the fifteen additional organizations I suggest can be secured in the national office.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Leslie S. Perry

LSP:mt

Encls/

September 12, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO Dr. W.E.B. DuBois from Leslie Perry:

Further reference is made to the proposed petition to the Assembly of the United Nations. Since my letter of the 10th I've had a chance to give more thought to the form and content of your draft. When I first read it I had a distinct feeling that it did not state our aims as persuasively as the circumstances warrant. I, therefore, would like to suggest a somewhat different approach.

I should like to see a petition following this sort of an outline:

1. The grave plight of African Colonials is least known and least understood of all Colonial peoples. Briefly set forth dramatic examples or types of (a) economic exploitation--raw materials, hut taxes, slave wages, etc., etc., (b) education, (c) violation of basic civil rights through repressive legislation, custom, etc., (d)lack of autonomy or participation in government, (e) absence of normal provisions for health and sanitation.

42-8F-38

2. Presently Negroes of Africa represented in UN only by imperial masters--England, France, Holland, Belgium, etc., including the Union of South Africa, one of the worse offenders against human rights of non-Europeans, or other groups which do not have at heart the interest of Negroes of Africa.

3. UN must not permit above condition to obtain since one of its prime purposes is to promote and achieve respect for essential human rights.

4. Africansand Negroes of the Western Hemisphere have earned the right and demonstrated the ability to speak for themselves at UN.

(a) Pan African Congress
(b) Increasing number of intelligent leaders in Africa
(c) Negro leaders Western Hemisphere

5. Undersigned organizations support Pan African Congress, plea for Negro representation and participation in Assembly on matters affecting the welfare of Africa and African peoples.

The foregoing (pardon stream-of-consciousness form) represents in the rough the line I should like to see our petition take.

Incidentally, your column in this week's Defender on "Old Man Paradox" was a peach.

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Please direct reply to:
WEST COAST REGIONAL OFFICE NAACP
N. W. Griffin, *Regional Secretary*
12 Geary Street
San Francisco 8, California
Telephone Sutter 0841

September 13, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40 St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just read your article, "A Crisis at Fisk" in the September 7th issue of "The Nation".

It is the most clear cut statement from the viewpoint of an alumnus that has been made yet in the Fisk University presidency situation. I am certainly happy to have had the opportunity to see this statement on the situation. It will help greatly toward bringing more fully into the light some of the issues that up to now have not been too clearly understood. Let us hope that not only the Alumni but the public generally will see this issue in its broadest sense and give serious thought toward helping to secure a first rate liberal Negro president and thereby insure a more vigorous growth for the University.

Full well do I realize, however, that such an act is most likely to mean that greater support will have to come from the Alumni and from the Negro people generally.

Mrs. Griffin joins me in sending best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

N. W. Griffin

N. W. Griffin
Regional Secretary

NWG*ERN

46-9-238

[naacp]

September
17th
1946

21-12-16

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MRL WHITE:

At its meeting on September 9th, the Board approved your plan and budget for drafting and presenting a memorandum on the position of the Negro to the United Nations General Assembly.

WW:RJW

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42-8-12

September 17,1946

Dr.W.E.B.DuBois
20 West 40 St.
New York,N.Y.

Dear Dr.DuBois:

The petition that has been prepared for presentation to the United Nations has received my attention and I am in hearty accord with the contents. On the first page,I think that the last paragraph should be modified to include people of other racial groups who are in sympathy with our aims.

May I suggest the following persons and organizations for cultivation and support:

National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa,Mrs.Gertrude A. Robinson,National Basileus,596 Edgecombe Ave.,New York.

Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity,Hon.Augustus G.Parker,Grand Polemarch,2584 E.55 St.,Cleveland,Ohio

Omega Psi Phi Fraternity

Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity

Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority

Union for Democratic Action,James Loeb,New York,N.Y.

American Jewish Congress,Rabbi S.S.Wise,Pres.,N.Y.C.

United Parents Association

Council Against Intolerance,New York,N.Y.

Louis Hollander,Labor Leader

Dr.George E.Haynes,Federal Council of Churches 297 - 4th Ave

National Council of Y.M.C.A.

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42-8-46

#2

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National Council of Y.W.C.A.,600 Lexington Ave.,N.Y.C.

Civil Liberties Union,New York,N.Y.

F.H.LaGuardia

Charles Poletti

James G.Leyburn,Yale University,New Haven,Conn.

William C.Lehmann,Syracuse University,Syracuse,N.Y.

Henry M.Busch,Western Reserve Univ.,Cleveland,Ohio

Carter G.Woodson,Association for the Study of Negro Life and History,Washington,D.C.

Southern Conference for Human Welfare,Nashville,Tenn.

Senator Claude G.Pepper,Washington,D.C.

Henry A.Wallace,Sec.of Commerce,Wawhington,D.C.

Judge Jonah J.Goldstein,Grand Street Boys' Association, 106 West 55 Street,New York,N.Y.

With every good wish for success,I am

Very sincerely yours,

James Egert Allen.

James Egert Allen,President
New York State Conference of
N.A.A.C.P.Branches

P.S. Miss Lucille Black has the list of all presidents of State Conferences there in your offices.

J.E.A.

[n.aacp]

21-23-5

19 September 1946

Dear Mr. Perry:

Thank you for your enclosure which arrived today. We are subscribing now for all the publications of the United Nations so that you need only send any other matter which may not be regularly issued by their publication office. Thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Leslie S. Perry
Washington Bureau NAACP
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 1, D. C.

[n.aa.c.p., 1946]

September 1956

N.A.A.C.P. from W.E.B. Du Bois

Th hire of typist 125hours @ 50¢ month of Sept.		$62.50
To rental of typewriter		2.25
	Total	64.75

21-23

Miss Freeland

[In.aacP]

September 1946

Received of W.E.B. Du Bois

For clerical work, 125 hours @ 50¢ $62.50

signed CLEMENTINE HERCULES

21-23

Miss Freeland

[n.a.a.c.p]

19 September 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

This office has received no copy of the agenda and reports of heads of departments for the September meeting; nor have we had copy of the minutes of the meeting Sept. 7; I would be glad to have these.

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-23

[N.A.A.C.P.]

Copy with 2 Carbons

September 19, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM WALTER WHITE:

I want you to see the enclosed copy of memorandum from Mr. Frank Williams of our staff regarding the experience he had in attempting to follow through NAACP's position on the matter of an unfortunate conflict between two groups with respect to the current wave of lynching and the fight for anti-lynching legislation. I want you also to see copy of personal letter I wrote Paul Robeson explaining why I could not as Secretary of the NAACP nor as an individual participate in this movement.

I want you also to have background of the facts. On August 6th the NAACP invited some fifty or more organizations to send representatives to a meeting held here to discuss joint action against the rising tide of mob violence. It was said by a number of those present that it was one of the most broadly representative groups they had ever seen gathered. Out of that meeting came the National Emergency Committee Against Mob Violence, with an Executive Committee consisting of Arthur B. Spingarn, Charles G. Bolte, Edward L. Bernays, Allan Knight Chalmers, Clyde Miller, Mrs. Alfred E. Mudge, Rt. Rev. Bernard J. Sheil, Walter White and Max Yergan. This meeting adopted the program copy of which is attached. This committee is actively functioning, one of its jobs being the implementation of the number one recommendation, namely a conference with President Truman which was held today at 11:45 A.M.

22-9-58

Some time later on I received a telegram from Paul Robeson asking to join him and forty others to discuss plans for a coalition to oppose mob violence. I wired regrets for the reasons, first that on that date and hour the Political Action Committee voted at our Cincinnati Conference was meeting here in the office and second, because such a coalition had already been formed. When I was invited to participate in the Washington meeting I sent Paul the letter which is attached.

To return to Mr. Williams' predicament, I suggested to him that he inform the Metropolitan Area Council of the AVC that you had signed the Call for the Crusade Against Lynching wholly and solely in your individual capacity and that this in no wise committed the NAACP. But if you will note from his memorandum, this was without effect. The National AVC had refused to participate stating as did the CIO, the Federal Council of Churches and other groups that they were participating in the organization formed by the NAACP and would not have anything to do with the competing group.

It would be most helpful on issues which are an integral part of the Association's work like the fight against lynching if inquiries could be made by you on such matters inasmuch as the calling of this conference has tremendously complicated and overburdened the office. We have had to answer inquiries from many people who are confused and many of whom believe that the Association is participating in this Washington meeting because of your name on it. This in no wise, however, is meant to influence your judgment. It would just save all of us time and headaches if the facts are obtained before decision is made.

WW:emw

(naacp)

23 September 1946 Copy

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Your memorandum of September 19, was the first notice I have had of your new Anti-Lynching movement. My cooperation was evidently was not needed. It was certainly not asked. If I had been notified, I would gladly have cooperated. On the other hand I have been fighting lynching for forty years, and I have a right to let the world know that I am still fighting. I therefore gladly endorsed the Robeson movement which asked my cooperation. This did not and could not interfere with the NAACP program. The fight against mob law is the monopoly of no one person and no one organization.

W. E. B. Du Bois

C

94-7-116

23 September 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I have your memrandum of Sept. 17, saying that the Board September 9th, approved my plan and budget for a petition to the United Nations General Assembly. No note of this appears in the minutes as sent out, but I assume that this omission was a mistake.

If I am correct, may I ask for the services of a stenographer immediately so that work can be begin. Shall I select such a person or can one be assigned from the pool?

W. E. B. Du Bois

P.S. Enclosed is my proposed program

23 September 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

The Panaf Service, Lim., has published a number of brochures the latest of which is enclosed. George Padmore has been the editor of all these and has done a good job; of course he lacks funds.

Of the new Journal I know nothing. Makonnen is a good local business man, but hardly an editor. Without an editor of the calibre of Padmore, and a considerable publication fund, for publication and inevitable deficits, the venture could not succeed.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

25 September 1946

Memorandum to Madison Jones:

I can attend the staff conference on the weekend of October 11, 12 and 13th at the Lee-Haven Beach Blub, Shore Island, Greenwich, Conn.

W. E. B. Du Bois

A PETITION

to the Assembly of the United Nations, on the status of citizens of the United States of Negro descent, and on the obligation of the Assembly of the United Nations, under its Charter to take action with reference thereto.

Introduction, by W.E.B. Du Bois

Part I, The legal rights of American Negroes, under the Constitution the federal and state statutes and court decisions, by Martin Konvitz.

Part II, The denial of these rights, from the adoption of the Constitution to the beginning of the First World War, by Earl B. Dickerson.

Part III, The present legal and social status of American Negroes, from 1917 to 1946, by W. Robert Ming, Jr.

Part IV, The Charter of the United Nations, and its provisions for human rights and the rights of minorities and decisions already taken under this Charter, by Rayford Logan.

Summary and suggestions for international action, by W.E.B. Du Bois

Time-Table

September 23 to 28,	Plans and cooperating persons,	1 weeks
September 29 to October 26,	Writing of text,	4 weeks
October 27 to November 9,	Critizing and editing,	2 weeks
November 10 to 30,	Presentation to Assembly of the United Nations, printing and distribution,	3 weeks

98 - 1 - 94

1 October 1946 [Na.a.cp]

Memorandum to Mr. White:

With regard to the petition to the United Nations may I report that I have had acceptances to write parts from Konvitz, Earl Dickerson, and Logan. Houston is unable to serve on account of pressing work but strongly recommends W. Robert Ming, Jr. who has just been appointed to Hutchins' panel of lawyers at the University of Chicago. I have written Ming. Having had no answer to my last memorandum, I have engaged temporarily clerical help for this work. I shall be glad to continue this unless you have other suggestions.

21-18-13

W.E.B. Du Bois

[N.A.A.C.P.]

October 2, 1946

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WHITE TO DR. DU BOIS:

22-9-66

With further reference to your memorandum regarding your participation in the Crusade Against Lynching which was formed in competition to the National Emergency Committee Against Mob Violence formed on August 6th at the call of the NAACP, I wish to call your attention to this further evidence of confusion.

Gloster Currant has sent to my desk a letter from the Executive Secretary of our Philadelphia Branch received in answer to special delivery letter Mr. Currant had sent to them and other branches explaining why the NAACP was not participating in the Washington meeting.

Mr. Shorter writes, "since the name of one of our National Officers appeared on the Call Release, we did not feel that we could fully comply with the request of your office."

May I add that the tone of your memorandum was distinctly surprising in its tartness. I had sought to make my memorandum to you explaining the complication which had arisen as friendly as possible so that you would understand the facts. You can imagine, therefore, my surprise at the manner in which you received my memorandum.

Walter White

ww/mdj

[N.A.A.C.P.]

MEMORANDUM

FROM THE DESK OF
GLOSTER B. CURRENT
DIRECTOR OF BRANCHES

October 2, 1946

TO: W. E. B. DU BOIS
Director, Special Research

21-8-03

My memo to you requesting information on your speeches to branches was merely following instructions of the Secretary to include in the written report of the activities of the Branch Department, "the number of speeches made by all staff members and Board members and others for the Association; and a record of mileage for all executives for the month."

GBC:csj

[N.A.A.C.P.]

4 October 1946

Memorandum to Mr. Current:

I will see that you get each month a copy of my report to the board with the part relating to my sppechss marked. Here is a copy for October 7th.

W.E.B. Du Bois

21-8-04

[n.a.a.c.p.]

October 4th, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

It would be appreciated if you would supply Mr. Current, Director of Branches, with a statement of your speaking engagements each month, because I have specifically requested Mr. Current to include in the report of the Department of Branches all speaking engagements of all executives whether they be for branches or for other organizations, because it is desirable to have a composite picture of the activities of all executives of the Association.

If you wish, you may also include them in your report.

21-16

WW:emw

[n.a.a.c.p.]

4 October 1946

Memorandum to Miss Freeland:

During September Mrs. Clementine Hercules has worked for me 125 hours. She is a typist and is learning the dictaphone but is not a stenographer. I have paid her 50¢ an hour or $62.50.

I have rented a typewriter from September 1, and paid $2.25. Enclosed is a bill for further 3 months rental. I shall continue employing Mrs. Hercules at 50¢ an hour if this is agreeable.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[n.aacP]

October 7th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS.

This is to acknowledge your memorandum of October 4th concerning clerical help for your office. I am passing on to Mrs. Waring your request for reimbursement on items of (1) hiring of typist, 125 hrs. @ 50¢ - $62.50; (2) rental of typewriter from September 1 - $2.25; total, $64.75. I have also passed on to Mrs. Waring the bill you submitted from the Alco Typewriter & Adding Machine Co. for 3-mo. rental of an Underwood typewriter-- Oct. 2-Jan. 2, 1947-- $8.75.

21-23

It is, of course, agreeable for you to continue employing Mrs. Clementine Hercules in the position, referred to above, as a typist. However, it would be much clearer for our records here if Mrs. Hercules were employed from a specified time to a specified time, or at least an approximate time, at a stipulated salary. You, of course, know that our clerks here work six days a week, 9 to 5 Monday through Friday, and 9 to 12 Saturdays. They have time cards to punch for these days, including the time they go out to lunch and the time they return. They are given one hour for lunch Monday through Friday. Our typists are paid at the rate of $32.00 per week although they get their cheques only twice each month-- the 15th and the last day of the month. We would need for our records the name and address of Mrs. Hercules, including telephone number if any; name and address of the person with whom we should get in touch in case of an accident; social security number; date of employment and, of course, when that employment is ended, the date of termination. If you agree that Mrs. Hercules should come under these terms and will supply me with the information I shall pass on to Mrs. Waring the proper memorandum for entering Mrs. Hercules' name on our payroll. I understand that her employment is temporary in preparing for the petition to the United Nations General Assembly.

C. T. F.
Catherine T. Freeland,
OFFICE MANAGER.

[NAACP]

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH, SEPT. 7 TO OCT.7, 1946

In accordance with the vote of the Board of Directors I have proceeded to arrange for the writing of a petition to the Assembly of the United Nations on the situation of the persons of Negro descent in the United States. I have secured the cooperation of Martin Konvitz, Earl B. Dickerson and Rayford Logan. I asked Mr. Charles Houston also to cooperate but he was too busy and recommended Mr. W. Robert Ming, Jr. from whom I have not as yet heard. The allocation of parts is being decided upon and the time limit for the finishing of the pamphlet.

Proof of my book, the World and Africa has been read and corrected during September and returned to the publishers. The Viking Press announces its publication for January, 1947 as a volume of 288 pages.

I have written the following articles:

In the New York Nation on "The Crisis at Fisk"
In the Unitarian Christian Register for August 1946 "Democracy's Opportunity"
In the Journal of Negro Education, summer number, 1946 Chapter 4 of Part 1, "The Colonies and Moral Responsibility"
Also the New Masses has republished in two issues, September 10, and September 17, my article on Georgia, first published in "These United States" in 1927 under the editorship of Ernest Gruening.
Trek of South Africa has republished my article on the "Colonies at San Francisco" in its April 5th number.

At the New York Public Library, 115th Street Branch, Sept. 25th, I spoke on "The United Nations and the Colonies" in a symposium in which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Frederick Ernst, Associate Superintendent of the New York Schools were speakers, Mr. Channing Tobias, presided. I was a guest of the Republic of Liberia at the dinner marking the one hundredth anniversary of the republic held at the Waldorf-Astoria, September 20th. D

Dr. Diggs is working in Montevideo and has held a press conference which the embassy states was the third largest ever held in the city. The other two were the conferences of the late President Roosevelt and Admiral Halsey.

W.E.B. Du Bois

[naacp]

9 October 1946

Memorandum to the Secretary:

I sent my monthly report a week early under the impression that the Board meeting was October 7. Please ignore it. I will send a revised copy for the Board meeting October 14.

21-16

W.E.B. Du Bois

[n.aacp.]

Memo...

October 9th
1946

To Dr. Du Bois.

from

CATHERINE FREELAND
(CTF)

I have your memorandum of today concerning Mrs. Hercules and I have asked Mrs. Waring to enter the facts on the payroll beginning October 1st, as you request. I have also asked Mrs. Waring to have Mrs. Hercules given instructions on the punching of her time card.

You might pass on to Mrs. Hercules the suggestion that should she care to meet our staff here there is 10-minute recreation period each afternoon at 3:30 o'clock for which a buzzer is sounded. Some members of the staff usually spend that time in the Lounge and I am sure they would be glad to welcome Mrs. Hercules.

21-23

SCHULTE PRESS, Inc. CHelsea 2-0326 0327 119 W. 23rd ST., NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

[n.a.a.c.p]

October 9th, 1946

21-23-3

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MISS WASEM:

The reports of each department of the Association for the Board are due on the Secretary's desk by the 2nd of each month for the reason that they have to be assembled and mimeographed prior to the Board meeting. They are supposed to be mailed to the Board before the meeting.

Board meetings are held regularly on the second Monday of each month and no notices are ordinarily sent to members of the staff. Reports cover the previous calendar month.

The report submitted by you last week has already been included in the Secretary's report for the October Board.

hit Bibliothek

[n.aa.c.p]

9 October 1946

Memorandum to Miss Freeland:

I suggest that you put Mrs. Hercules on your payroll beginning October 1-9 on half time; and beginning October 10th at full time as indicated by your memorandum. Her employment by the N.A.A.C.P. is temporary probably for October and November.

21-23

W.E.B. Du Bois

Mrs. Clementine Hercules
976 Tinton Avenue
Bronx, 56, New York

Social Security number 088-09-8946

Mrs. Beatrice Hercules Apt. 46
976 Tinton Avenue
Bronx 56, N. Y.

Lee Haven Beach Club, Connecticut

Oct 19 1946

To the Secretary and Members of the Staff
of the National Office of the N. A. A. C. P.

In preparation for the staff conference this week, the secretary has invited each member of the staff to submit suggestions which would "appraise the situation ahead of us during the next few months and years both with relation to the objectives and methods of the Association and also in relation to the national and world picture."

In response to this invitation I am submitting the enclosed statement for your consideration.

W. E. B. Du Bois
Director of Special Research

38-5-37

Memorandum to the Secretary for the N. A. A. C. P. Staff Conference

From W. E. B. Du Bois, Director of Special Research

When the flow of progress in a land or age is strong, steady and unchallenged, a suppressed group has one clear objective: the abolition of discrimination, equality of opportunity to share in the national effort and its results. This was true of the American Negro at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

But when, as in the first half of the twentieth century, progress fails and civilization is near collapse, then the suppressed group, especially if it has begun successfully to reduce discrimination and gain some integration into the national culture of America, must adopt something beyond the negative program of resistance to discrimination, and unite with the best elements of the nation in a positive constructive program for rebuilding civilization and reorienting progress.

38-S-38

This revised program in the case of American Negroes must give attention to:

1. Economic illiteracy
2. The colonial peoples, and more especially, Africans
3. Education
4. Health
5. Democracy
6. Politics

Economic Illiteracy

The present breakdown of civilization is fundamentally Economic: the failure of human labor and sacrifice to bring happiness to the mass of men as rapidly as it increases the efficiency of labor. The leaders of two

centuries have called attention to this threat to our industrial and economic organization; but the mass of people, even those of training, have not usually understood the increasingly complicated industrial structure of current society, and consequently have been in no condition radically to improve and rebuild it. Current education has permitted the man in the street to see industry as primarily a method of making individuals rich, and to regard freedom of individual initiative in business enterprize as the foundation for all progress. Again and again great thinkers have warned the world that this anarchy in industry would retain poverty, ignorance, disease and crime beyond possible reduction and culminate eventually in the suicide of war and destruction. This is what we see about us today.

38-5-39

To counteract this, prophets have demanded reform in industry based on curbing by government action the freedom of individual profit-making in the interest of social well-being. Such efforts have varied from palliatives like the New Deal to economic planning like T. V. A., to the O. P. A. and F. E. P. C., to English socialism and Russian Communism. Even Fascism recognized this necessity but placed the power to carry it out in the hands of irresponsible dictators and the object of its benefits was an oligarchy and not the working masses. The whole trend of the forward thinking world, before and since the war, is toward economic planning to abolish poverty, curb monopoly and the rule of wealth, spread education, insure health and practice democracy.

Here then the N. A. A. C. P. must take a stand. To do this intelligently, we must encourage study of economic organization by lectures and forums and lead the masses of Negroes and their children to clear comprehension of the problems of industry; we must not be diverted by witch-hunting for Communists, or by fear of the wealthy, or by the temptation

ourselves to exploit labor, white and black, through business, gambling, or by industrial fascism.

Colonies

We must look beyond the facade of luxurious cities, behind which modern civilization masquerades, and see and realize the poverty, squalor, slavery, ignorance, disease and dispair under which the mass of men labor even today in our own slums, on our farms, and especially among the 200,000,000 colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Above all, we American Negroes should know that the center of the colonial problem is today in Africa; that until Africa is free, the descendants of Africa the world over cannot escape chains. We must believe Africans worthy of freedom, fit for survival and capable of civilization.

38-5-40

The N. A. A. C. P. should therefore put in the forefront of its program, the freedom of Africa in work and wage, education and health, the complete abolition of the colonial system. A world which is One industrially and politically cannot be narrowly national in social reform.

Education

From its founding in 1910, the N. A. A. C. P. has been curiously reticent on the matter of education. This was because, assuming that education of American Negroes was progressing satisfactorily, we saw at first our main duty in the task of fighting discrimination and segregation in the schools. Meantime education, especially the crucial elementary training in the three R's has widely broken down in the world and particularly among Negroes in Africa and America. It is safe to say that today the average Negro child in the United States does not have a chance to learn to read, write and count accurately and correctly; of the army recruits, from 18 to 25, one-third of our young American Negroes could not

read and write. This is simply appalling. Beyond this, higher education is deprived of adequately trained students and deterred from the facts and reform of industry.

Knowing that Democracy and social reform depend on intelligence, the N. A. A. C. P. should start a crusade for Negro education, and while not for a moment relaxing their fight on race segregation in schools, insist that segregation or no segregation, American Negro youth must be educated.

38-5-41

Health

The health of American Negroes, of the Negroes of Africa and of the descendants of Africans throughout the world is seriously impaired and we lack physicians, nurses and hospitals to cope with this situation; we need too, teaching among the young to curb excessive indulgence in alcohol, loss of sleep and gambling. Here again the N. A. A. C. P. has confined its activities hitherto mostly to fighting discrimination in medical schools, hospitals and public services and has accomplished much in this line. But we cannot be content to stop here. While continuing to contend for admission of Negro students to all medical schools and Negro patients to all hospitals, we ought to make redoubled effort to guard the health and cure the disease of Negroes the world over, by any method practical. Such planned effort should have immediate place on our national program.

Democracy

We, with the world, talk democracy and make small effort to practice it. We run our organizations from the top down, and do not believe any other method is practical. We have built in the N. A. A. C. P. a magnificent organization of several hundred thousand persons, but it is not yet a

democratic organization, and in our hearts many of us do not believe it can be. We believe in a concentration of power and authority in the hands of a small tight group which issues directives to the mass of members who are expected to be glad to obey.

This is no new theory; it is as old as government. Always the leader wants to direct and command; but the difficulty is that he does not know enough; he cannot be experienced enough; he cannot possibly find time enough to master the details of a large group widely distributed. This has been the history of government, until men realized that the source of wisdom lies down among the masses because there alone is the endless experience which is complete Wisdom.

24-S-88

The problem -- the always difficult and sometimes well-nigh insoluble problem -- is how to tap this reservoir of wisdom and then find leadership to implement it.

This the N. A. A. C. P. has not adequately tried. It has regarded the demand of regions and branches for increased autonomy as revolt against the New York headquarters while in truth it has been a more or less crude attempt to teach New York the things New York must know in order to cooperate with Texas or California or New Jersey in the Advancement of Colored People.

The N. A. A. C. P. should set out to democratize the organization; to hand down and distribute authority to regions and branches and not to concentrate authority in one office or one officer; and then to assure progress by searching out intelligent, unselfish, resourceful local leaders of high character and honesty, instead of being content with the prominent and rich who are too often willing to let well-enough alone.

385-43.

This securing of mass leadership of character and authority among young colored people of training and high ability can only be accomplished if we offer them not only adequate salaries, but even more, power, authority and a chance for initiative. This should begin right in the central office; the staff heads should be chosen not only to obey orders but to bear responsibility; the chief executive should be relieved of infinite details by distribution of real authority among his subordinates, reserving only broad matters of policy for himself and avoiding the paralysis of the whole office when he has no time personally to settle details. No one man can possibly attend to all details of an office like this and no assistant can work without power.

From such a top organism, power could flow down to the branches through chosen men armed with responsibility and power until it touches the mass of people themselves. All this is far easier said than done, but it is the essence of democracy and if it fails, Democracy fails.

Very soon a committee should be appointed to consider the reorganization of the New York office, with this in view. Such a committee, composed possibly of both office personnel and experts, should seek to consolidate and streamline the staff, reassign duties and powers, fix authority and responsibility and do away with overlapping. The office needs at least twice the space it now occupies to prevent unsanitary overcrowding and lack of privacy for work and consultation. Possibly the publishing, filing and more purely business functions might be physically separated from executive and research functions, or such a committee might seriously consider the removal of our head offices to the suburbs, to a building especially designed for this work with offices, archives, reference

library, printing-plant and bindery, museum and art center, cafeteria, transient lodgings, large and small auditoriums and radio broadcasting facilities.

Politics

Finally, in our political program we should adopt two objectives -- an immediate and a long term objective.

At present, realizing that party government in this nation has definitely and disastrously broken down, we should in future elections ignore entirely all party labels and vote for candidates solely on their records and categorical promises. Each state, each county, each election precinct, should find out for itself carefully and as completely as possi -e the record of each candidate and strive to elect or defeat him whether he be Democrat, Republican, Labor Party or Communist. This should be a continuous job and not merely a pre-election activity; and it cannot be done on a national scale; it is a local job.

38-5-44

But this is only preliminary; efficient democracy depends on parties; that is on groups united on programs for progress. We must in this land make such party government possible. Today it is impossible because of the premium put on disfranchisement by making population instead of actual voters the basis of representation in legislatures and Congress, and by failure to function of that separation between the Executive and the Legislature, which the Constitution tried to make. We must work for a constitutional amendment, concentrating both power and immediate popular responsibility on a Congress elected by popular vote, with membership based on the voting electors.

Today Congress is owned and directed by the great aggregations of Business -- the Steel Trust, the Copper Syndicate, the Aluminum Monopoly, the Textile Industry, the Farming Capitalists and a dozen others, while the Consumers and mass of workers are only partially articulate and can enforce their demands only by votes which are largely ineffective; the great interests can compel action by offering legislators financial security, profitable employment and direct bribes.

The N. A. A. C. P. should lead in such political reform, all the more because no other American group has yet had the foresight or courage to advocate it.

38-5-45

W. E. B. Du Bois
October 10, 1946

OCT 14 100

1946 [NAACP]

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of the National Office of the N. A. A. C. P.

In preparation for the staff conference this week, the secretary has invited each member of the staff to submit suggestions which would "appraise the situation ahead of us during the next few months and years both with relation to the objectives and methods of the Association and also in relation to the national and world picture".

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46-7-144

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46-7-145

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46-7-148

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46-7-150

especially designed for this work with offices, archives, reference library, printing-plant and bindery, museum and art center, cafeteria, transient lodgings, large and small auditoriums and radio broadcasting facilities.

Politics

Finally, in our political program we should adopt two objectives-- an immediate and a long term objective.

At present, realizing that party government in this nation has definitely and disastrously broken down, we should in future elections ignore entirely all party labels and vote for candidates solely on their records and categorical promises. Each state, each county, each election precinct, should find out for itself carefully and as completely as possible the record of each candidate and strive to elect or defeat him whether he be Democrat, Republican, Labor Party or Communist. This should be a continuous job and not merely a pre-election activity; and it cannot be done on a national scale; it is a local job.

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46-7-151

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W. E. B. Du Bois
Oct. 10, 1946

46-7-153

[n.a.a.c.p.]

10 October 1946

Memorandum to Madison Jones:

May I have the names of the members of the staff who have offices in this building and who are invited to attend the week-end conference?

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-23

4061

[NAACP]

October 11, 1946

2/11

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your memorandum of suggestions to the staff conference. It is exceedingly interesting reading.

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19

TO: Dr. DuBois

FROM: Mr. White

42-8F-68

How do you feel about this?

RJW--October 14, 1946

42-81[illegible]-69

[ENC]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

Rcd. OCT 10 1946 10:07AM

Rfd. to WU (CT)

Ack.

D. O.

WU N27 NL PD=SEATTLE WASH OCT 9

WALTER WHITE,

NATIONAL ASSO FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE=

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS FOR RACIAL EQUALITY URGE NEGRO REPRESENTATION UNITED NATIONS COMMITTEE DEALING WITH COLONIAL AFFAIRS WE FAVOR DR DUBOIS AS THAT REPRESENTATIVE=

EDITH STEINMETZ.

1007A.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[n.a.a.c.p.]

14 October 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I have answered Mr. Blackburn saying that I would refer this letter to you.

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-16

[N.a.a.C.P]

17 October 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I am planning to lecture next week in South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama.

W.E.B. Du Bois

21-12

Carbon

October
23rd
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

Do you know how George Streator of the NEW YORK TIMES gained possession of a copy of your memorandum of October 10th in response to my request to members of the staff to suggest subjects for discussion at the weekend conference?

My reason for asking this is because Mr. Streator called Mr. Wilkins and said that he had a copy and wanted a statement from us as the basis for a news story he was planning to write in the TIMES. Fortunately, Mr. Wilkins was able to convince Mr. Streator that this was strictly an inter-office memorandum and that the conference was one of staff members solely to discuss ways and means of improving our machinery and that it was not a matter which should have gone outside of this office.

46-7-115

WW:RJW

Lnaacp

October
25th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

Will you be good enough to advise me if you know how George S. Schuyler obtained a copy of your memorandum in reply to mine to all staff members asking for suggestions of subjects to be discussed at the weekend staff conference?

WW:RJW

46-7-174

[DUPL] [n.aa.c.p.]

Mr. Lorenz Graham

October 28th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO THE STAFF FROM MISS FREELAND.

Mr. White has directed me to obtain from each member of the staff information as to the handling of recent memoranda in connection with the executive staff conference held the week-end of October 11-13, 1946. Please let me have your reply in writing.

Did you handle any of these memoranda in any way? What memoranda were they? How many copies did you handle, and what disposition did you make of these copies?

21-12

[NAACP]

October 28, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO MISS FREELAND FROM LORENZ B. GRAHAM

In reply to your memorandum to the staff dated October 28 and requesting information regarding handling of recent memoranda in connection with the executive staff conference held the week-end of October 11-13, 1946, requested information follows:

I performed clerical services in preparation of the statement by Dr. Du Bois;
I received, read, and placed on the desk of Dr. Du Bois the statement of Mr. Carter, Jones

21-13

[n.aacp]

Mrs. Hercules

October 28th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO THE STAFF FROM MISS FREELAND.

Mr. White has directed me to obtain from each member of the staff information as to the handling of recent memoranda in connection with the executive staff conference held the week-end of October 11-13, 1946. Please let me have your reply in writing.

Did you handle any of these memoranda in any way? What memoranda were they? How many copies did you handle, and what disposition did you make of these copies?

21-83

[NAACP]

October 28, 1946

Memorandum to Miss Freeland:

I distributed the statement of Dr. Du Bois to the members of the staff in this office and mailed copies to Mr. Leslie Perry and Mr. Thurgood Marshall.

Mrs. Clementine Hercules

81-23

[illegible]

28 October 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Answering your memoranda of October 23 and October 25th, may I say that my statement to the staff was sent only to the staff members. However, if Mr. Streator or Mr. Schyuler had asked me for a copy, I should have been glad to furnish it. I did not regard it as confidential in any sense.

46-7-113

W. E. B. Du Bois

[n.naacp]

29 October 1946

21-18-14

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I have two chapters of the petition to the United Nations on American Negroes, by Konvitz and Logan. I should like to have them mimeographed immediately for distribution to the board of review. They are 14 and 17 typewritten pages respectively. The other chapters will doubtlessly be here in a few days.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Report of the Department of Special Research

N.A.A.C.P.

October, 1946

Personell: W. E. B. Du Bois, Direcotr
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant (on leave)
Lorenzo Graham, Assistant pro-tem

On October 5, there was a meeting at the 135th branch of the New York Public Library of representatives of thirteen organizations to agree upon a petition to the United Nations on Africa colonies. A permanent federation was forecast affiliated with the Pan African Congress.

On October 7, I presided at the meeting of the "Stage for Action" on the subject of the Negro in the drama. Authors of "Deep are the Roots" and "On Whitman Avenue" were present. On October 20, I spoke to the Southern Negro Youth Congress at Columbia, South Carolina and October 25 to the faculty and students of the State Teachers College, at Montgomery, Alabama.

All of the contributors to the proposed petition to the United Nations on the Negro in America have finished their essays except one. I am expecting that at any moment and have my introduction and summary ready.

Dr. Diggs continues working on the "Negro in Uruguay" and other parts of South America. She has been invited to lecture at the University of Uruguay. Mr. Lorenz Graham, who is assisting me while Miss Diggs is absent, addressed the White Plains branch of the NAACP, October 17. He has arranged and classified my manuscripts and is cataloguing my library. His book of African stories is being published by Reynold and Hitchcock in November.

W. E. B. Du Bois

58-7-94

[n.aacp.]

21-23-13

8 November 1946

Memorandum to Mrs. Perry:

I plan to attend your meeting Tuesday, November 12 unless something unexpected keeps me away.

Will you tell me if the legal department has a list of the Supreme Court Decisions with regard to the Negro, covering the last ten or fifteen years?

W. E. B. Du Bois

[n.a.a.c.p.]

NOV 8 1946

21-19-15

8 November 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have just received from India.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[Enc.]

NOV 8 1946

All-India Students' Congress
Congress House
Bombay 4

Bombay, 17th Septr. 1946

To, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

Dear Friend:

21-16-46

I have great pleasure in extending a cordial invitation to you for the ensuing Annual Conference of the All India Students Congress, the Premier National organisation of Indian Students. The conference will be held at Lahore, Punjab in the Christmas vacation. The conference would provide a good opportunity for strengthening the bonds of comradeship which have been forged during a common struggle against Fascism and Imperialism.

The Indian students would welcome the opportunity of meeting the representatives of organisations in other countries which have stood against world Imperialism.

It may be mentioned here that along with our conference will be held at the same place the first conference of all Asiatic and Colonial Students. Your personal presence would be highly appreciated by those meeting in that conference too. India and the entire colonial people are at cross roads fashioning a new destiny, creating a new history. At this crucial juncture in our movement we are meeting in this conference under the shadow of great epoch making events. Hence our eagerness to see amongst us representatives of all other nations sympathising with our movement and the aspirations of colonial peoples. We hope the invitation may be accepted and we will have the privilege of your attendence at our conference.

If urgent work prevents you from coming personally any representative from your organisation would also be welcome. And if even that is not possible send us your good-wishes, a message a good-will.

Thanking in anticipation,

Yours faternally,

Dinker Sakrikar
GENERAL SECRETARY,
A.I.S.C.

21-16-14
[n.a.a.c.p.]

TO: Dr. DuBois

FROM: Walter White

I think it would be an excellent idea to send greetings to the All-India Students' Confl

RJW--November 11, 1946

Copies to Spingarn, Wright & Toney

[N.A.A.C.P.]

November
12th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MR. WHITE:

21-16-17

I tried to reach you yesterday afternoon and at home last evening because I had been invited to meet with the United States delegation to the United Nations at a meeting last night at 9 P.M. regarding the trusteeship question. John F. Dulles, Congressman Sol Bloom and Ben Gerig of the State Department were present and discussed the controversy with Russia over the question of trusteeships. Most of that is carried in the morning newspapers including Mr. Dulles' answer to the Soviet position.

The important point, however, is that the issue of trusteeships is to be acted upon, according to the American officials, very soon by the General Assembly. Will you let me know when our material will be ready for presentation to the United Nations?

WW:RJW

[n.a.a.c.p.]

13 November 1946

2-23-11

Memorandum to Miss Hoffman:

Have you in a easily available form, at list of lynchings by year and color from 1926 to date? If so may I consult it?

W. E. B. Du Bois

Copies to Mrs. Spingarn Dr. Wright + Judge Toney

Craaep

14 November 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

The N.A.A.C.P. has taken no stand nor laid down any program with regard to Africa. I have repeatedly urged this since my return from the Pan-African Congress. Individually I have done what I could but I have neither the help, funds, nor authority to accomplish much.

If we are to enter into conference with regard to Trusteeships or other problems we should be prepared with a policy and clear statement of our position. As an organization we have nothing of the sort. I asked two years ago to have authority to collect and publish the various demands of Africans for freedom and autonomy. Permission was never giveen me. Such a series of documents now would be of invaluable use before the Assembly of the United Nations.

The only authorization I have had was on September 17, to prepare a petition on the rights of the Negro Minority in the United States. This was to consist of an introduction, four chapters and a summary. The whole statement is ready, except one chapter from Robert Ming of Washington, which is promised for the 15th. As soon as it arrives the whole report will be sent to the critics already agreed upon for comment. After that it will be ready for presentation and printing.

But this, as of course you understand, has nothing to do with Africa or African problems. I would be glad to submit to the Board at any time a suggested platform on the problems of Africa.

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-4-134

Encl 21

14 November 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Notes on Southwest Africa

Southwest Africa consists of three hundred and seventy thousand square miles inhabited by three hundred and fifty nine thousand persons; of whom thirty thousand are white, most of them recently from the Union of South Africa, and three hundred and twenty-nine thousand natives. There were only ten thousand whites in Southwest Africa in 1914. The government is in the hands of a white Administrator who makes the laws. He is advised by a council elected by the white inhabitants. Thirty-one per cent of the land has already been allocated to the whites, and twelve million additional acres are ready for alienation. There are no government schools and only eighty three mission schools for native and colored children in the whole colony. To these the government gives a small amount of aid. One hundred million dollars has been invested in the mines of Southwest Africa.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[naacp]

14 November 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

The late Dan Williams of Chicago left a bequest of five thousand dollars to the N.A.A.C.P. Did we ever receive this bequest or any part of it? The query has been made of me by a person who is thinking of writing his biography.

W. E. B. Du Bois

II-A-182

[n.aac?]

15 November 1946

Memorandum to Miss Freeland:

We are ready to mimeograph another chapter. Can you rush it for us? As our time is very limited.

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-23

[n.aacP]

21-23-7

November 18, 1946

Mr. Joseph Vanderkuylen
37, Avenue Van Elderen
Auderghem-Brussels
Belgium

Dear Mr. Vanderkuylen:

Thank you for your most informative correspondence regarding the deplorable conditions you have found existing among the exploited Negroes of the Belgian Congo. Our Association will do everything in its power to assist you in trying to improve the lot of the natives there.

For this reason I am referring your letter, together with the pictures you sent, to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, our Director of Special Research, who has been instrumental in bringing to the attention of the United Nations Conference the actual plight of the colonial peoples. You will hear from Dr. Du Bois in the near future, I am sure.

For my part, under separate cover I am forwarding you such literature as we have currently available here in our National Office. These pamphlets will provide you with a knowledge of the problems currently facing American Negroes in the United States. I shall be pleased to supply you with any further documentation of this nature you may need.

In addition I am submitting a list of agencies located in Europe who have aims similar to yours and ours.

Sincerely yours,

JEB:mw
Enc.
uopwa/19-cio

Julia E. Baxter
Division of Research
and Information

November 21, 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

I have consulted the Secretariat of the United Nations concerning our proposed petition on the Human Rights of American Negroes. Mr. Edward Lawson has written me confidentially November 19 a letter from which I quote:

"The Charter gives the Commission on Human Rights no authority to accept petitions. Hence there exists a basic question as to what status should be given communications alleging violations of human rights received by this organ of the United Nations. No decision on this question can be made until the Commission holds its first meeting, which will be after the present session of the Assembly ends.

"The document of which you speak may be forwarded to the Commission or to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, by mail or can be delivered in person. If it comes from a private individual or organization, it would appear to have no legal status unless and until the Commission decides to give it some."

I think that we should proceed with the preparation of the petition, present in manuscript by mail to the Secretariat; have it printed and eventually send a copy to each member of the Assembly. Since the Human Rights Commission will not meet until after the adjournment of the Assembly, we still have time to do this.

The petition has been ready since November 1 with the exception of the chapter by Robert W. Ming, Jr. of Washington, who was strongly recommended by Mr. Houston. Ming promises to have the chapter ready this week.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

21-23-10

25 November 1946

Memorandum to Miss Baxter:

Thank you for the Belgian Congo letters which you sent me. I am having them all carefully translated. I think that they are of greatest importance.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[n.a.a.c.p.]

26 November 1946

Memorandum to Mr. Donald Jones:

Mrs. Du Bois is ill in a Baltimore hospital and I must be with her Sunday. Otherwise I should be glad to attend the meeting of the New York branch Sunday, December 1.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[N.A.A.C.P.]

November 26, 1946

Memorandum to Mrs. Waring:

Please maintain Dr. Diggs insurance. Send bill to me and I will see that she remits.

W.E.B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

.21-23

[In aacp]

26 November 1946

21-16-2

Memorandum to the Secretary:

The unusual success of Dr. Diggs visit to South America has led the State Department to consider her remaining another three months after the end of her present appointment in December. She has asked my advice, and I have replied that despite the interference with my work, she must of course accept reappointment if it is finally offered, which would mean she would not return to her desk until next April.

Meantime Mr. Graham must leave December 1, on account of his literary work; it is possible that he can now and then put in some time on my books and manuscripts and in library research.

I propose therefore that until Dr. Diggs returns or I secure a competent successor, that Mrs. Hercules be retained on full time or on such proportion of full time which she as a house-mother can give. She can work this out with Miss Freeland. Beside this I would like the right to spend the difference between her salary and that of Dr. Diggs (amounting to $50-$80 a month on clerical assistance by Mr. Graham or some other competent person. This would keep the total expense for clerical aid in my department within the limits of the total salary paid Dr. Diggs.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Report of the Department of Special Research

N.A.A.C.P.

November, 1946

Personel: W.E.B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant

This month the office has devoted its time to the preparation of a petition to the United Nations Assembly concerning the minority rights of American Negroes. I have written the summary and introduction and the four chapters have been written by Mr. Milton R. Konvitz, Mr. Earl B. Dickerson, Mr. Rayford Logan and Mr. Robert Ming. The document is something over a hundred pages and has been typewritten and mimeographed with the exception of Mr. Ming's contribution which undoubtedly will be done before this meeting of the Board. As soon as Mr. Ming's contribution is ready, I shall distribute mimeographed copies of the report to the board of critics already decided upon. It will then be necessary for the administration to decide as to just how this petition shall be presented and published.

The second edition of the Prefatory volume of the Encyclopaedia of the Negro is in press at the H.W. Wilson Co. It is fifty pages longer than the first edition and a fairly complete guide to the Negro in Africa and America.

In addition to this I have given time and study to the general colonial problem before the United Nations and have lectured and written on the subject: on November 20, I spoke to the staff of the international Y.W.C.A 600 Lexington Avenue; on November 22 to the dinner of the African Academy of Arts and Research; on November 26 at a conference held at the Schomburg Collection of the New York Library, with Dr. A. B. Xuma, President of the South African National Congress and other

Nov, 1946

interested persons. I have also attended the meeting of the members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

Mr. Graham has finished cataloguing twenty-five hundred books of my library, and has arranged my manuscripts and correspondence.

Dr. Diggs in Uruguay has spoken at the Artigas-Washington Library, the largest in Uruguay. The speech will be published in Spanish. She addressed briefly the American Women's club at the Ambassador's mansion and after tea was invited to continue her address at a voluntary re-assembling of the guests. She has also spoken at the Women's University of Montevideo and helped lay a wreath on the graves of the founder of the republic and his Negro servant Ansiv~~i~~a. The Catholics of the city gave her a banquet November 7. Her stay has been so successful that the State Department is considering a request to have her remain for another three months after this term is ended.

46-1-104

The secretary has asked me to make a report concerning the relation of this association to Africa. This was done in response to a memorandum from me in which I pointed out our lack of data and lack of policy. I am therefore sending a memorandum on Africa to the secretary.

[NAACP, Nov. 1946]

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

STATEMENT OF SPECIAL FUNDS

INCOME

November, 1946

		BUDGET	CUMULATIVE 11 Months
Adler Trust Fund	$ --- --	$------	$825.00
Bequests Reserve	- --- --	------	9,977.35
Herstein Fund	- --- --	------	320.66
Life Membership Reserve	539.00	------	9,245.00
Lynching Reward Fund	37.00	------	7,167.37
Branch State Conf. Tax	565.73	------	7,679.67
Willkie Memorial Bldg.	--- --	------	333.50
	$1,141.73	$------	$35,548.55

EXPENSE

Herstein Fund	$ --- --	$------	$ 100.00
Bequests Reserve	--- --	------	31.81
Spingarn Medal	--- --	------	226.88
Scottsboro Committee	6.00	------	241.13
Branch State Conf. Tax	--- --	250.00	13,624.83
	$ 6.00	$250.00	$14,224.65

[NAACP, Nov 1946]

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

INCOME

November, 1946

		BUDGET	CUMULATIVE 11 Months
Branch Memberships and App.....	$25,865.42	$15,000.00	$209,983.87
Contributions & Members at Large...	1,746.39	1,650.00	33,028.61
Armed Forces Contributions.....	81.00	2,100.00	3,506.46
Christmas Seals.....	145.20	--- --	4,777.48
Interest & Dividends.....	--- --	--- --	5,407.90
Branch Contribution to Travel.....	207.54	--- --	1,312.72
Veterans' Survey.....	--- --	--- --	543.45
Button Sales.....	5.00	--- --	288.07
Literature Sales.....	--- --	--- --	546.59
Life Membership Income.....	--- --	583.34	--- --
Accounts Receivable.....	--- --	--- --	5,383.86
Crisis Subsc. (@ 1.50 per).....	8,362.50	6,000.00	63,548.50
Miscellaneous Income.....	331.70	1,666.66	5,817.65
Annual Dance.....	--- --	--- --	1,353.25
Anti-Lynching Fund.....	306.81	--- --	5,820.44
	$37,051.56	$27,000.00	$341,318.85

COMPARATIVE INCOME

Actual, 1946.....	$37,051.56	$341,318.85
Budget, 1946.....	27,000.00	297,000.00
Actual, 1945.....	25,242.33	378,019.58

Cannon, Nov 1946

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

EXPENSE STATEMENT

November, 1946

		BUDGET	CUMULATIVE 11 Months
Salaries	$10,841.26	$11,972.50	$125,903.98
Subsidies to Br. Exec. Sec.	500.00	375.00	2,600.00
Building Maintenance (Gross)	--- --	233.30	4,800.00
Postage (Current & Prepaid)	1,038.00	666.60	9,524.20
Printing	1,572.00	1,250.00	25,028.63
Telephone & Telegraph	1,346.09	333.30	9,544.13
Stationery & Supplies	1,557.12	416.67	9,874.17
Furniture & Equipment	25.98	125.00	6,880.49
Books, Newspapers & Subsc.	37.65	41.60	592.86
Travel	520.58	666.67	12,573.29
Student Conference	251.00	50.00	450.21
Crisis Subscriptions	10,000.00	583.32	41,500.00
Leadership Tr. Conference	11.43	125.00	136.43
Bulletin	179.87	3,000.00	44,273.53
Overhead, Gen. Expense, etc.	2,467.63	901.66	17,466.00
Taxes--Fed.; SS; Unemployment.	90.56	416.66	3,761.54
Pan-African Congress	--- --	166.66	--- --
World Youth Conference	--- --	25.00	--- --
Washington Bureau	288.84	500.00	3,162.95
Veterans' Bureau	87.97	41.60	812.08
Labor Bureau	56.25	--- --	739.45
West Coast Regional Office	180.21	83.30	1,712.50
Participation in Allied Activ.	2,275.00	83.30	4,669.00
Annual Conference	--- --	166.60	2,534.48
Entertainment	72.38	62.50	1,080.59
Medical Committee	--- --	416.60	--- --
Special Research	9.60	100.00	968.86
Membership Campaign	263.53	583.33	9,821.77
Nominating Committee	--- --	20.83	342.86
Accounts Receivable	--- --	--- --	1,686.55
Anti-Lynching Fund	143.06	--- --	464.45
	$33,816.01	$27,407.00	$344,167.07

COMPARATIVE EXPENSE

Actual, 1946	$33,816.01	$344,167.07
Budget, 1946	27,407.00	301,477.00
Actual, 1945	33,624.28	299,919.52

[n.9.a.c.p.]

2 December 1946

Memorandum to Miss Freeland:

If it can be arranged without detriment to the office, I shall be glad to have Mrs. Hercules come five days in a week and have Saturdays off. It would be a great convenience both to her and to me.

W. E. B. Du Bois

NAACP

2 December 1946

Memorandum to the Secretary on Africa

Ever since my preliminary report on the work of this department made in 1944, I have stressed in nearly every report to the board certain actions which we ought to take toward Africa. To this the board has paid no attention except in the case of my visiting the Pan African Congress.

In its relations to Africa and the social problems there, this organization is facing a problem similar to that of the whole United States, in the question of the relation of this country to other countries of the world. The unrest and agitation and development in Africa especially during the last twenty-five years is moving toward a crescendo. Never before in the history of the world has there been such evidence of movement on the part of so many people of the African continent. This organization is, of course, at liberty entirely to ignore this by maintaining that our problems has to do with the United States and that there we have more than enough to keep us busy and to use our available funds; and that we should leave the problems of Africa to some other organization.

22-9-112

However, there is no organization taking up this work as it should be performed. The Council on African Affairs is well-equipped to study South Africa and furnishes continuous and interesting information concerning it. The African Academy of Arts and Research and the Nigerian Youth Movement with offices on 42nd Street are doing a similar work for the British West Africa. There is an Ethiopian organization which is the remains of work done many years ago in New York, but the Ethiopians formerly at the head of that have returned to their country; and the present organization is doing very little.

That leaves us practically no active organization or gathering of material in the United States concerning former German Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Nyasaland, Portuguese Africa, Belgian Congo, French Africa, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Morocco, Algiers and Tunis.

In spite what we may wish to do, we are continually asked for information concerning the Negro peoples of Africa, and we are furnishing such information so far as we can get it; and at the same time making no organized effort to collect it.

This matter of overall information concerning Africa is a job that is being left undone now except so far as it is covered by the African studies of the University of Pennsylvania. One of my first proposals to the board of directors of this organization was that they should collect and print the manifestos, petitions and declarations made during the twentieth century by various groups of African peoples. If we had such a collection today it would be invaluable not only for our own knowledge but for giving information to others.

In addition to that there is today need of a careful survey of labor conditions in Africa and of the trade union movement. This is available in no practicable form. There is need for a series of biographical notes on African leaders now living and during the twentieth century, so that when we want to correspond with Africa we would know whom we could write and have some data concerning the person.

Especially do we need a pamphlet giving the area, population, physical and geographical characteristics, government and social conditions of the various African countries.

Information such as this will be increasingly demanded by people who look toward the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for data of this sort. There is no way in which this association can disassociate itself from the interests of the people of Africa.

I therefore suggest again that the association begin to issue a series of pamphlets concerning present conditions in Africa; that they cover the following subjects:

1. Demands for freedom and autonomy on the part of the peoples of Africa during the twentieth century.
2. Labor conditions and trade union movements during the twentieth century.
3. Biographical notes on African leaders during the twentieth century.
4. Data concerning African organizations during the twentieth century.

22-9-113

I think that beyond this, that since the N.A.A.C.P. initiated and founded the Pan African Congresses, they could now afford to take the stand of trying to interest organizations of Negro peoples throughout the world in uniting for the support of the Pan African Congress, for calling future congresses and for carrying on such correspondence between different groups of Africans and persons of African descent throughout the world as would bring them into sympathetic and effective coordination. I have done this to some extent at my personal expense but I cannot continue without help.

[Draft]

3 December 1946

Memorandum to Mr. White:

Miss Baxter has received from Belgium a number of very interesting letters concerning the Congo along with photographs. She handed them to me for reply. They throw new light on conditions there. I have had five letters translated. A second batch of letters and documents addressed to me arrived this morning which I would like to have translated later. I expect to report on these facts as soon as possible. Meantime I am presenting the bill for the first translation for your approval.

W. E. B. Du Bois

111-24-123

[N.AACP].

21-11-24

3 December 1946

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I have just been talking with Miss Freeland and realize the difficulties of arranging office work; but the hiring of Mrs. Hercules is for a limited period, since as Dr. Diggs wrote me yesterday she will be here March 1. Three children and a home in the Bronx render it very difficult for Mrs. Hercules to make thirty-eight hours a week. So that if she cannot stay, I shall have to find and train an entirely new person for two months. I trust that some arrangement can be made.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[NAACP]

December 3rd
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MISS FREELAND.

Please pardon the delay in getting this note to you. It was purely an oversight on my part.

Mr. White on November 26th approved your memorandum of the same date concerning the assistance you will need until Dr. Diggs returns, which, according to your talk with me today, will be March 1, 1947. It will be necessary for the office to know, however, the days and hours that the person working in Dr. Diggs' place will be engaged to spend in the office.

[naacp]

December 3rd
1946

21-23

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WHITE.

I have your memorandum concerning translation of letters from Belgium. I am approving the bill for $15.00 which you attached, rendered by Joseph M. Bernstein for translating four letters from the French. However, since we have Miss Baxter on our staff and Mr. Ivy of the Crisis who translate from the French I should like for you in future to take up with Miss Freeland the matter of having translations done here in the office before contracting for them outside.

[NAACP]

3 December 1946

Memorandum to Mr. Current:

In regard to your memorandum of November 15, the Association in the earlier days had applications for branches in foreign countries but it did not then, in so far as I know, it has never laid down any carefully thought-out plan.

21-8-05

There is no point in admitting a branch outside of the country without special legislation. It is impossible to keep track of them and usually they get discouraged and die; or they might go off on their own uninstructed path.

The Association must, first of all, make up its mind whether its going to be an organization confined strictly to the United States and to the problems of the Negro; or is going to follow the wider vision of its founders and be interested in colored people everywhere. If the latter course is taken, then some plan must be thought out for directing and controlling foreign branches. Numbers of such branches could easily be formed in the West Indies and in Africa.

W. E. B. Du Bois

4 December 1946

Memorandum to Miss Freeland:

The person who I have in mind to take the place of Dr. Diggs until March 1, 1947, is Miss Merriam, 230 West 79th Street. She is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and has studied for her master's degree at Columbia University. She was written and has published two volumes and is still writing. She will come in three days a week, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. to continue the work that Mr. Graham was doing. Would it be within the limits of my budget, if I offered her seventy-five dollars a month for this service? If not what could I offer her?

W. E. B. Du Bois

[naacp]

4 December 1946

21-11-27

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

Mr. Graham who took the place of Dr. Diggs had to leave December 1. To take his place until March 1, 1947, when Dr. Diggs returns I have in mind Miss Merriam, 230 West 79th Street. She is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and has studied for her master's degree at Columbia University. She has written and published two volumes and is still writing. She will come in three days a week, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.to continue the work that Mr. Graham was doing. Would it be within the limits of my budget considering Mrs. Hercules salary, if I offered Miss Merriam seventy-five dollars a month for this service? If not what could I offer her?

W. E. B. Du Bois

4 December 1946

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

Mr. Graham who took the place of Dr. Diggs had to leave December 1. To take his place until March 1, 1947, when Dr. Diggs returns, I have in mind Miss Merriam, 230 West 79th Street. She is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and has studied for her master's degree at Columbia University. She has written and published two volumes and is still writing. She will come in three days a week, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, to continue the work that Mr. Graham was doing. Would it be within the limits of my budget, considering Mrs. Hercules' salary, if I offered Miss Merriam seventy-five dollars a month for this service? If not what could I offer her?

W E B Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-75

Dr. Dubois
This arrangement and the salary proposed are satisfactory.

Roy W
dec 4-46

[NAACP]

December 4th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MISS FREELAND.

I was able only this morning to speak with Mr. Wilkins concerning our talk about Mrs. Hercules. He had then received your memorandum. He is in agreement that since Mrs. Hercules is employed for such a short time now (through February 28, 1947) it is permissible for her to work a five-day week— Monday through Friday— with the understanding that the one-half day Saturday will be deducted from her salary. It is agreeable that this procedure be established as of December 1, 1946.

(Copy to Mrs. Waring.)

[N.aa.cP.]

December 4, 1946

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. DuBois

From: Mr. Wilkins

I have talked with Miss Freeland and it will be agreeable for Mrs. Hercules to work a 5-day, 35 hour week as long as deduction is made from her payrate for the three hours not worked each week.

21-11

RW

[N.A.A.C.P.]

December 4, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO: Miss L. Black
Miss R. Hurley
Mr. O. Harrington
Dr. DuBois

FROM: Director of Branches

RE: Tabulation of branch response on increased membership.

2-d

The Branch Department submits herewith an analysis of replies received to date from branches to the Secretary's letter of November 20th polling branches on raising the basic membership.

GBC:bh/be

[Enclosure]

SUMMARY

1. Approximately 15%, a cross-section of the country, replied. Considering the time limit and nature of the poll which necessitated a call meeting of the Executive Committee, this was a fair sample of branch opinion.

2. Although a majority of replies from individual branches favored the increase, the minority represented a larger portion of the total membership voting in the poll. Branches opposed totaled 88,316 members, while branches favorable to the increase represented 44,663 members. Therefore, a substantial majority of the NAACP is opposed to the increase.

3. An overwhelming majority of branches, 73 with total membership of 99,566 indicated the increase would cause a drop in membership ranging from 10-90%. A 20% drop in membership was anticipated by branches favorable, while a 40% drop on the average was anticipated by branches opposed.

4. More than 90% of branches were unwilling to pay the cost of the Bulletin. Rather, they favored the National Office continuing to pay the full cost, and divide any increase in membership with the local branches.

5. Branches favoring the increase made comments to the effect that increase in membership is justifiable in view of higher living costs, some wonderment as to how the Association had gotten along all these years on $1.00. One branch thought the increase would result in increased branch activity.

6. Among the comments made against increasing the membership are these:

> ". . because of prevailing situations here and in other similar places, it would, at this time, be unwise to increase the membership fees.
>
> ". . a one-hundred percent increase in fees would cause such a loss in members, there would be a very small increase over what the office receives at present."--
> West Palm Beach, Fla - 800 members
>
> ". . impossible to increase our membership fee and retain the number or influence others. Notwithstanding the increased cost of everything; we believe we can help more at present fee and probably (raise more) through entertainments."--Wetumka, Okla. - 79 members
>
> ". . trying to build branch to 400 and we hate to make this difference just now."--Woodbine, Ga. - 116 members
>
> ". . quite a strain to make the progress we did this summer in $1.00 membership drive. We have continued our drive and so far are doing fairly well. An increase now would definitely slow us down."--Piqua, Ohio - 160 members

". . any increase at this time would be harmful . . have on a membership drive and . . it is very difficult to educate our people along the line of becoming affiliated with this organization..."Emporia, Va. - 508 members

". . would almost destroy this branch because we have had such a hard time to get the membership to the present number (131) for this year. ." - Chesterfield County, Va.

". . would incur a tremendous burden upon a large percentage of our membership as well as the memberships of small branches . . . Association would be stronger with a million members at $1.00 than . . with half a million at $2.00 - with increased zeal on the part of the Membership Committee there is no reason to doubt that the total enrollment could not be raised to one and one half million at $1.00" ---White Plains, NY - 1250 members

Alternative suggestions indicate branches opposed to membership increase would not be averse to being taxed a pro-rate share for the cost of BULLETIN, or taxed to cover increased operating costs, or raise membership to $1.50, National Office to retain $1.00.

7. Alternative suggestions:

That seventy-five cents of the one dollar membership be sent to the home office--seventy cents for office use, and five cents for State Conferences.

"That branches increase their treasuries through local efforts such as rallies, mass meetings, contests, etc.-- West Palm Beach, Fla.

" . . we would agree to pay part cost of BULLETIN if necessary". . - Emporia, Va.

" . . our branch would be willing to be taxed a small amount to helf defray added expenses." . . - Chetopa, Okla.

" . . problem could be met by contributions from the branches to helpdefray part of the cost of the BULLETIN. . we were awaiting a request from you for additional funds . . happy to cooperate with the National Office financially in their efforts to carry on." - White Plains, NY

" . . The Board has voted as favoring making a donation from the Branch to the National Office or an increase of minimum fee to $1.25." - Atlantic City, N.J. - 1908 members

"An active branch entertainment committee (and finance) should sponsor a money raising affair at least once every two months. The funds so raied would be a supplement to the branch treasury and a part of it sent to aid the National Office." - Waterbury, Conn. - 371 members

"We suggest $1.50 as minimum free with $1. to National Office and 50¢ to local branch. National Office to publish BULLETIN as at present."
Waterloo, Iowa - 500 members

"Instead of raising memberships fees, it is recommended that the branches be requested to subsidize the cost of the BULLETIN. An assessment on the memberships of the branch may be made. New York Branch is prepared to accept any fair assessment. - New York City - 4000 members

"The branch voted they would make a donation of $5 on the BULLETIN, and suggested you send only one BULLETIN to a family to cut costs. - Murphyboro, Ill. - 233 members

". . branch voted sharing cost of BULLETIN on the basis of the number of members that each branch has."
Gate City, Va. - 67 members

"We would be willing to divide the $1 fee to give the National Office 75¢. Assess branches according to membership in addition to fees, money to be raised during the year. Branches need not depend on fees for support of their work, they can give concerts, dances, etc. Not all members receive the BULLETIN, notifying office does not usually remedy the situation."
Decatur, Ill. - 1000 members

"We realize that the cost of production of the BULLETIN has increased and would be glad to raise money in our branch to help defray expenses for the BULLETIN . ."-Harrisburg, Pa.

In view of the above, it would seem unwise to raise the membership at the present time. Consideration should be given to pro-rating the cost of the BULLETIN by either assessment to branches payable during the year 1947 by a certain date, or charging 50¢ for a BULLETIN subscription and raising the membership fee to that amount with the understanding that the increase goes for the BULLETIN. This could be optional, but an optional arrangement might result in a drastic reduction in BULLETIN subscriptions.

Compiled by: Statistical Division
Field Operations Section
of Department of Branches:

Donald Jones

GBC:bh/be

Gloster Current

LeRoy Carter

[n.a.a.c.p.]

6 December 1946

Memorandum to Mrs. Waring:

Sometime last year we subscribed to the "New Statesman and Nation" in London. It has not been coming for several months. Could you tell me the date of our subscription?

21-23

W. E. B. Du Bois

6 December 1946

21-8-06

Memorandum to Mr. Current:

Your photographs are exceptionally interesting and I thank you for them. Could I purchase a half-dozen each of the small ones?

W. E. B. Du Bois

[naacp]

December 9, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DUBOIS FROM MADISON JONES:

I am in the process of answering a letter for Mr. White from a woman in Paris who has asked some questions about the Association and about the question of Negroes and their problems in the United States. One part of her letter deals with the materialist geographers and she asks the following question:

"In reaction against the materialist geographers, the geographers of the present French school attach slight influence to the actual importance of geographical factors in the evolution of civilization. Are the opinions of the American geographer Miss Semple on these questions similar to those of the materialist geographers? Are such things true?"

I was wondering if you would have any material on this and if you would care to give me any facts which may be included concerning Miss Semple's point of view.

MSJ:dp

46-9-153

[n.a.a.c.p.]

9 December 1946

21-11-26

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

Miss Merriam feels unable to accept the remuneration offered, according to my memorandum to you. The only other thing that occurs to me is that since there would be accumulated theoretically something over $150 of unexpended wage for help in my office, that perhaps the temporary employment of Mrs. Hercules could be extended to the first of April, so as to help reorientate Dr. Diggs as to our office work when she returns.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[n.a.a.c.p]

December 10, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

21-11-25

I have your memorandum of December 9. I think it will be perfectly all right to extend the employment of Mrs. Hercules to April 1. It is my understanding that between now and the date Dr. Diggs returns there will be no person employed as a substitute for Dr. Diggs.

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19

[naacp]

12 December 1946

Memorandum to Mr. Madison Jones:

Miss ~~Semple~~ Semple attachs very considerable influence to geographical factors on the development of civilization in the United States. She would not go as far, I think, as some German scientists. But the United States as compared with France has vast geographical differences, which have had great influence on American history.

W. E. B. Du Bois

49-2-151

[N.A.A.C.P.]

21-2-52

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins:

I would like if possible to have a lock put upon my office door. I have here some two thousand five hundred volumes many of which are very valuable and irreplacable. In addition to this, many documents and other things. It is going to be a temptation to careless persons and others to borrow or misplace these books when no one is in the office. If the lock were put upon the office, a key could be kept in the secretary's office and also one in the office of the file clerk for the use of the janitor or the house personel. I would be glad if you would take this matter up at your convenience.

W. E. B. Du Bois

12 December 1946

[N.A.A.C.P.]

December
13th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. DU BOIS FROM MR. WILKINS:

I think your suggestion that a lock be put on your office door to protect your books and documents is an excellent one and I will arrange for it to be done with keys distributed as you suggest.

21-20

RW:ELJ
uopwa/19

[N.A.A.C.P.]

December
16th
1946

MEMORANDUM FROM THE SECRETARY
TO: Gloster Current, Branch Dept.
Jesse Dedmon, Veterans
Dr. DuBois, Special Research Dept.
Oliver Harrington, Public Relations Dept.
Thurgood Marshall, Legal Dept.
Clarence Mitchell, Labor Dept.
Leslie Perry, Washington Bureau
Roy Wilkins, Editor of Crisis and Ass't. Secy.

21-16

Will you prepare for the Annual Meeting at 2 P. M. on January 6, 1947 a report on the work of your department in accordance with our usual custom? I suggest that a verbal report be so compressed as to consume no more than 5 minutes and if possible 3 minutes. This will include, of course, just the highlights. Most of those persons who will be at the meeting will be quite familiar with what we have been doing and we do not want to drag the meeting out to too great length because of the number of items on the agenda.

Will you send me this report by December 31st so that the usual summary of the year's work can go out in the press releases of that date to appear in the weekly press the week of the Annual Meeting.

To save time and to insure the publication of the Annual Report early in 1947, may I further request that you prepare the Annual Report of your department and then make the 3-5 minute condensation from it for the Annual Meeting.

ww/mdj

[N.A.A.C.P.]

December 18, 1946.

NAACP Staff Members

Constance Baker
(Mrs. Joel W. Motley)
230 W. 137th St., NY30

Julia E. Baxter
(Mrs. Ad Bates)
119 Broad St., NY4

Lucille Black
260 W. 139th St., NY31.

Bobbie Branche
179 W. 137th St., NY30.

Jean Byers
23 E. 8th St., NY3

LeRoy E. Carter
32-19 - 108th St., Corona, LI, NY

Robert L. Carter
34 Berwyn St., E. Orange, N. J.

Gloster B. Current
104-65 - 165th St., Jamaica 5, NY.

Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr.,
929 Rhode Island Ave., N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dr. Irene Diggs (on leave)

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Ave., NY32.

Edward R. Dudley (on leave)

Catherine T. Freeland
(Mrs. Stanfield M. Penn)
384 DeWolf Place, Hackensack, N. J.

Noah W. Griffin
W. Coast Regional Office, NAACP
12 Geary St., San Francisco 8, Calif.

Oliver W. Harrington
145 W. 14th St., NY11.

Ferle H. Hoffman
161 W. 10th St., NY14.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
(Mrs. William Hurley)
270 St. Nicholas Ave., Apt. 2D, NY27.

Noma Jensen
Julliard Apartments
3111 Broadway, Apt. 1-J, NY27.

Donald Jones
34-29 - 106th St., Corona, N. Y.

Madison S. Jones
50 Morningside Ave., NY26.

Milton R. Konvitz (on leave)

Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin
(Mrs. William Lampkin)
2519 Webster Avenue
Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

Thurgood Marshall
409 Edgecombe Ave., NY32.

Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr.,
1324 Druid Hill Ave., Baltimore 17, Md.

E. Frederic Morrow (on leave)

Leslie S. Perry
1309 - 22nd St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Marian Wynn Perry
43 King St., NY14.

Annette H. Peyser
365 West End Ave., NY24.

Mrs. Felice N. Schwartz
(Mrs. Irving T. Schwartz - Dr.)
525 E. 89th St., NY28.

Rufus W. Smith
546 W. 146th St., Apt. 31, NY31.

Mrs. Lillian H. Waring
(Mrs. Luther Waring)
403 Macon St., Brooklyn 33, N.Y.

Walter White
409 Edgecombe Ave., NY32.

Roy Wilkins
409 Edgecombe Ave., NY32.

Franklin H. Williams
249 Decatur St., Brooklyn 33, N. Y.

Nellie M. Alexander
399 Stuyvesant Ave., Brooklyn 33, N.Y.

Nina I. Bailey
46 Hamilton Terrace, NY31.

Alice Baird
(Mrs. Charles Stovall)
107-60 - 160th St., Jamaica 4, N. Y.

Anna M. Carter
319 McDonough St., Brooklyn 33, N.Y.

Marian C. Coleman
514 W. 152nd St., Apt. 15, NY31.

Reginald W. Cooper
960 Prospect Ave., NY59

Pearl A. Cummings
31-38 - 103d St., Corona, N. Y.

Ivy Day
(Mrs. Quincy A. Day)
302 Convent Ave., NY31.

Bernice O. Evans
(Mrs. Reuben Evans)
111-22 - 158th St., Jamaica 4, N. Y.

Eugenia Francis
(Mrs. John Francis)
370 DeWolf Place, Hackensack, N. J.

[N.A.A.C.P.]

Quinton R. Freeman
304 W. 150th St., NY30

Roberta Gallop
281 Stuyvesant Ave., Brooklyn 21, N. Y.

Blanche Hamilton
70 Lenox Ave., NY26.

Mrs. Mae Bean Hendricks
1830 - 16th St., N.W., Apt. 21
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Clementine Hercules
(Mrs. Carl E. Hercules)
976 Tinton Ave., NY56.

21-22

Mrs. Margaret H. Holloway
659 E. 165th St., NY56.

Mrs. Alberta M. Howard
84 Eye St., S.W., Apt. 3,
Washington, D. C.

Princene L. Hutcherson
521 W. 158th St., NY32.

Mabel D. Jackson
2825 - 8th Ave., NY30.

Mrs. Corrine S. James
(Mrs. Albert L. James)
629 Macon St., Brooklyn 33, N. Y.

Edna L. Johnson
(Mrs. James H. Sweat, Jr.)
708 Putnam Ave., Brooklyn 21, N. Y.

Theora L. Jones
2816 - 8th Ave., Apt. 4H, NY30.

Anna S. Keller
790 E. 158th St., NY56.

May King
(Mrs. Adrian W. Johnson)
508 W. 158th St., Apt. 51, NY32.

Edith M. Lee
104 W. 53d St., c/o Bresnihan, NY19.

Rose H. Lewis
400 W. 151st St., Apt. 3W, NY31.

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
W. Coast Regional Office, NAACP
12 Geary St., San Francisco 8, Calif.

Sylvia V. Nelson
511 W. 143d St., NY31.

Dorothy E. Parker
115 Maple St., Yonkers, N. Y.

L. Vincent Pleasant
938 St. Nicholas Ave., Apt. 61, NY32.

Earlene J. Reeves
254 W. 154th St., NY30.

Minnie P. Reeves
254 W. 154th St., Apt. 6, NY30.

Catherine E. Ricketts
1231 Fulton Ave., NY56.

Fletcher Riley (Miss)
c/o Mrs. Morris, 2588 - 7th Ave.,
Entrance 4, Apt. 2G, NY30.

Gloria Samuels
925 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn 13, N. Y.

Ethel H. Singleton
(Mrs. Alexander Flowers)
130 W. 139th St., #4, NY30.

David G. Smith
243 W. 138th St., NY30.

Muriel E. Standard (on leave)
(Mrs. James W. Outlaw)
150 W. 111th St., NY26.

Ruby Stovall
(Mrs. Varick Stovall)
107-33 - 160th St., Jamaica 4, N. Y.

Margarette L. Townes
1919 - 3d St., N. W., Room 184
Washington 1, D. C.

Maybelle Ward
142 W. 129th St., NY27.

Edna M. Wasem (on leave)
(Mrs. Carl E. Putnam)
104-65 - 165th St., Jamaica 5, N. Y.

Ruth J. Weatherhead
(Mrs. Clem C. Ransom)
270 Convent Ave., Apt. 9E, NY31.

Wilhelmina O. Wells
1829 Seventh Ave., Apt. 10, NY26.

Lorna E. Wilson
(Mrs. Percy B. Thompson)
412 W. 149th St., Apt. 5, NY31.

December
18th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO: MR. WALTER WHITE

FROM : MR. GLOSTER CURRENT

SUBJECT : POLITICAL ACTION, INTERPRETATIONS AND DISPUTES

In response to the Secretary's request for a report on Branch activities in regard to the Political Action Policy, the Director of Branches is pleased to submit herewith the attached Report.

GBC/be
Attachment

REQUESTS FOR CLARIFICATION WERE RECEIVED FROM THE FOLLOWING BRANCHES

Chicago, Illinois
Peoria, Illinois
Camden, New Jersey
Portland, Oregon
York, Pennsylvania
Bridgeport, Connecticut

QUESTIONS ASKED RELATIVE TO ENDORSEMENT OF CANDIDATES

1. Branch's right to challenge Senator Guffey who proposed to bring President Truman into the State of Pennsylvania.

2. NAACP position on Big Three Unity and other Foreign Policy issues of the campaign.

3. Interpretation of the Secretary's action when he signed the call to the Chicago Conference on political action with Philip Murray and others.

4. Participation of Branches in political action schools.

21-12

PORTLAND, OREGON August 6th:

Advised Secretary that it had been the practice of its Chapter to make endorsement in general election. In view of the resolution passed at the Conference, it asked whether the Branch could endorse candidates and was advised NAACP policy specifically prohibited endorsement of candidates.

A few Branches asked whether the policy prohibits giving out information relative to voting records and were advised that such information was not prohibited provided it followed the program found in the September Bulletin.

Repudiation of Branch endorsements or action which could be construed as an endorsement was sought from the Detroit, Michigan; Tacoma, Washington and San Francisco, California Branches.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN:

Attention was called by Director of Branches to the Board's policy after noting article in Michigan Chronicle

stating the Branch would enter politics by endorsement of Joseph Bannigan for Secretary of State.

A telegram was sent via Director of Branches calling attention to policy violation. A subsequent issue in the Chronicle cleared up the matter and it was found that the newspapers had misrepresented the branch's position.

TACOMA, WASHINGTON:

Asked propriety of branch action sending out circular to members. In letter to Director of Branches, Tacoma claimed, "No public endorsement of candidates - no posters, nothing in the newspapers - just mimeographed letters mailed only to members. The candidates, as you will see, have not been endorsed on partisan counts but only because of their record regarding non-Protestant measures".

The Branch was obviously aware of shirking the intent of the policy because the Secretary, Mrs. Peter G. Wood noted, "..that the candidates were not endorsed on partisan counts but only because of their record." In her letter she admitted objection of one member to the communistic and explained the branch's action to be "our first venture into 'politics' and was made because of the importance to minority groups of the issues involved."

She also reported that the branch had sent the questionnaire devised by the Washington Bureau to four (4) congressional candidates and reported two (2) answered 'Yes' and two (2) did not answer at all.

Because the Tacoma letter is the only letter sent out to our knowledge which could be construed in violation of the policy, the text is quoted:-

"Dear Member:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has looked quite carefully into the records and backgrounds on the candidates in the November 5th election regarding their position on the race question.

After considerable deliberation we feel that the following candidates will stand firm against discrimination in any form and support all measures of direct importance to us.

U. S. Senate, Hugh B. Mitchell
U. S. Representative, John M. Coffee
(National headquarters informs us that Hugh Mitchell and John Coffee have voted and worked for every measure that our organization was interested in.)

Sheriff, Lee Croft
Prosecuting Attorney, Hugh Rosellini
County Commissioner, Harry Sprinker
Constable, Charles D. McCoy
State Legislature:
26th District, Myron G. Kinkaid
(North End of Tacoma)
27th District, Edward L. Pettus
Dwight Bunnell
28th District, Arthur Paulsen
Al Rasmussen (Downtown
Tacoma, McKinely Hill
& Salishan)
29th District, Arthur L. Hayes

We urge everyone to vote
For: Both school levies
Central Library Bond issue
New Tuberculosis Sanitarium levy

Against: Initiative 166

Sincerely yours,

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE"

The Branch was advised to repudiate the endorsement. Because of time limitations, however, in her answer of November 9th, which reached this office November 11th, Mrs. Woods declared that it was difficult to know how to make a public statement to the Branch members since the general public had no interest in the matter. She further states that a statement in the press was undesirable, that she had given some thought to an announcement to be read in Churches which would reach first objective. However, they were advised by an attorney who was a member of the Branch it was best to take no further steps at all since only three (3) members had been known to object and the attempt would only cause confusion to others. They promised to make a complete statement of the views of all candidates next time and added, "You will notice, however, that the letter was carefully worded to avoid 'endorsing' any candidate or asking our members to vote for him".

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA:

The San Francisco Branch endorsed candidates for election including Archie Brown, Communist 'write-in' candidate for Governor, Will Rogers, Jr., for U. S. Senator and others. On direction of the Secretary to issue a repudiation of its endorsement and after conferences in New York with Joseph James, former President of the Branch, the San Francisco Branch finally retracted its endorsement and issued a public statement to the effect that action of the Branch in September endorsing candidates for election was contrary to policy enunciated by the National Board.

BOSTON YOUTH COUNCIL:

In its bulletin, "The Commoner", issued October 1946, the Boston Youth Council endorsed the candidacy of William Harrison in an editorial urging voters in Wards 12 & 9 to vote for "William E. Harrison and Lawrence James".

The National Board, November 11th, suspended the Youth Council and ordered an investigation. Judge Delaney and the Director of Branches conducted the investigation on December 14th in Boston, Mass.

At the hearing, the Youth Council and the Senior Branch admitted that the editorial was binding on the Youth Council and indicated policy of the Youth Council; that the editorial constituted an endorsement of political candidates. They decided, however, that such endorsement was not in violation of Section I of the memorandum issued September 24th by the National Board to the effect that, "....the Association go on record as not endorsing any political party or any individual because of party connections or affiliations...."

It was the argument of the counsel for the Boston Youth Council and the Branch that the phrase "because of party connections or affiliations", gave the Youth Council the right to endorse candidates for reasons other than the two qualifications specifically mentioned in the memorandum; that the Youth Council's editorial did not call for support of these candidates because of "party or affiliations".

Both the Branch and the Youth Council obviously were seeking a means to circumvent the policy. Once again it was demonstrated that the wording of the policy lacked clarity.

AKRON, OHIO:

A leaflet was issued by Leon Gordie, President Akron Branch, urging re-election of Walter B. Huber, Congressman 14th District. Heading of the leaflet was entitled, "Attention Voters - By virtue of a splendid record in Congress the NAACP urges all good citizens to re-elect Walter B. Huber, Congressman 14th District"

Mr. Gordie was reprimanded by the Secretary and ordered to repudiate the endorsement. He did so in a letter of October 28th entitled, "A Retraction to the Summit County Constituency", declaring, "....It is not the policy of the NAACP, National or Local to endorse the candidacy of any political party as such. The recent handbill issued in behalf of the Akron Branch of the NAACP over the name of its President urging the re-election of Walter B. Huber was not in keeping with the policies of the NAACP, nationally or locally. We regret the error on the part of the local branch".

Mr. Gordie read the letter in a public meeting and it was released to The Akron Beacon Journal and the Cleveland Call Post for publication.

POLITICAL ACTION IN CONFORMITY WITH THE POLICY

A number of Branches and Youth Councils did carry out political action in conformity with the policy. Listed below are a few typical examples:-

NEW JERSEY STATE CONFERENCE:

At the State Conference, September 28th, in Tremont, a public forum was held at which were present on the same platform participating in discussion and answer questions, The Democratic, Republican and Socialist candidates. The Governor of New Jersey and the Democratic and Republican candidates for the U. S. Senate.

All candidates, spoke, answered written questions from the audience, committed themselves on many subjects, such as, intergration of elementary schools and National Guards; gave their answers to NAACP Questionnaire from Washington Bureau.

EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA:

In its Newsletter, "The Outcry", published articles on why Negroes must help defeat the GOP in 1946 and why Negroes should vote the Republican ticket. Gave equal space to position of both parties and their records.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN:

Youth Council conducted registration and voting campaign.

CINCINNATI, OHIO:

Distributed a circular containing answers of candidates on questions of FEPC, Civil Rights, Housing, Labor, Veterans, with a qualifying statement, "NAACP does not endorse any candidates or political party, NAACP supports issues and measures candidates by their records".

PHILADELPHIA, PA.:

Gave publicity to the answering of questionnaires sent to Congressmen.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND:

As usual did the most comprehensive job by mass registration, issuing of candidates records and urging citizens to vote.

CONCLUSIONS

From reports to the National Office, except for drastic action necessary in two cases (Boston Youth Council and San Francisco Branch), there was general compliance with the Association's political action policy as passed at the September 9th Board Meeting.

In the main, most branches evidently attempted to comply with the policy. The notable exceptions were San Francisco and Boston. In one case the Branch endorsed a candidate for Governor; in the other a paid political advertisement was accepted. Both cases involved the Communist Party.

Several inquiries for interpretation of the political action policy indicate that our statement of the policy needs re-wording in order to more clearly articulate the intent of the National Board relative to non-endorsement of candidates.

The phrase "....because of party connections or affiliations", which follows the statement that "the Association go on record as not endorsing any political party or any individual...." is misleading and leads to an attempt by some branches to get around the policy or literally interpret it. Two examples:- The Tacoma Branch in sending a letter to its members and the Boston Youth Council.

There is little in the files to indicate to what extent Branches carried on an active political action program. Other than the statement of policy there was no national program of coordination or implimentation.

Two remedies:- (1) The policy should be re-worded and clarified; (2) An over-all program on political action should be developed and assigned to either a department or various staff members.

[N.A.A.C.P. 1946]

STATEMENT OF FINANCES

This is a statement of monies received and expended by the General Fund of the NAACP for the year ending December 31, 1946, together with a summary statement of monies in Special Funds. These have been prepared by W. C. Heaton and Company, certified public accountants, 25 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y., who have been auditing the statements of the NAACP for more than 20 years:

EXPENDITURES — GENERAL FUND

SALARIES		
Administrative	$11,075.00	
Clerical	96,639.95	
Field	18,697.80	
Publicity	2,908.28	
Special research	7,499.91	
Legal	3,300.00	
Total salaries		$140,120.94
Cost of Subscriptions to The Crisis		52,135.35
Bulletin		49,211.11
Other Expenditures		
Telephone and telegraph	8,192.56	
Postage	8,733.95	
Printing, multigraphing and stationery	24,191.70	
Traveling expense	13,775.83	
Washington Bureau—Net	3,480.14	
Stationery and supplies	7,169.13	
Sundry expenses, etc.	5,041.50	
Nominating Committee expenses	342.86	
Student conferences—Net	138.00	
Special research	983.57	
Annual conference expense—Net of contributions	220.48	
Totals forward	$72,269.72	$241,467.40

Forwarded		$72,269.72	$241,467.40
Other Expenditures (continued)			
Building maintenance—W. Willkie Memorial Building		4,050.97	
Membership campaign		9,709.01	
Leadership training conferences		136.43	
West coast regional office		1,935.26	
Veterans Bureau		699.73	
Special investigations		201.71	
Literature—Purchases and subscriptions		132.21	
Taxes—			
Unemployment insurance—Federal	$ 389.16		
Unemployment insurance—New York State	1,604.20		
Unemployment insurance—Pennsylvania	30.00		
Old age insurance—Employer's share	1,295.72		
Total taxes		3,319.08	
Depreciation—Furniture and fixtures		1,977.73	
Overhead		1,456.45	
Contributions to allied activities, etc.		5,175.00	
Entertainment		1,136.12	
Newspapers, books, and magazines		2,449.38	
Labor secretary expense		738.53	
Staff conferences		481.05	
Indianapolis, Indiana Branch expense		692.96	
General expenses			
Accounting, clippings, office service, rentals and repairs, insurance — Overhead and branch office expense		5,708.47	
Total other expenditures			112,269.81
Total expenditures, to Statement 3			$353,737.21

INCOME STATEMENT — GENERAL FUND

INCOME—Memberships and Contributions		
Branch memberships	$222,519.74	
Memberships at large	34,738.77	
Contributions—General—Net	9,137.98	
Life memberships—Amount apportioned to income	5,805.00	
Total memberships and contributions		$272.201.49
Subscriptions to The Crisis		71.441.70
Gross memberships, contributions and subscriptions		343.643.19
INCOME—Miscellaneous		
Christmas seals—Net	3,300.50	
Branch contributions for traveling expense	2,289.32	
Interest, dividends, etc.—Net	5,974.39	
Literature sales	596.96	
Anniversary dance—Net	862.09	
Rental income—Sub-lease	230.00	
Total income—Miscellaneous		13.253.26
Total income		356.896.45
EXPENDITURES, Statement 4		353.737.21
Net operating income		3.159.24
APPROPRIATIONS		
To Branch state conferences	7,959.12	
To Branch Subsidies— Executive secretaries' salaries	7,400.00	
Total appropriations		15.359.12
Excess of expenditures over income, to Statement 1		*$ 12,199.88*

Note: Italic figures indicate loss.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SPECIAL FUNDS

Thalheimer Branch Prize Fund		
Balance, January 1, 1946	$ 1,250.00	
Contributions	500.00	
Balance, December 31, 1946		$ 1,750.00
Morton L. Adler Bequest Fund		
Balance, January 1, 1946	3,770.00	
Contributions	825.00	
Balance, December 31, 1946		4,595.00
Miscellaneous Funds—(Temporary)		
No transactions during year		947.12
Herstein Scholarship Fund		
Balance, January 1, 1946	313.43	
Contributions	427.46	
	740.89	
Disbursements	100.00	
Balance, December 31, 1946		640.89
Bettie G. Francis Endowment Fund		
No transactions during year		1,000.00
Music Scholarship Fund		
No transactions during year		1,000.00
Spingarn Medal Fund		
Balance, January 1, 1946 (Overdraft)	*23.48*	
Disbursements	226.88	
Balance, December 31, 1946 (Overdraft)		*250.36*
Lynching Reward Fund		
No transactions during year		7,187.37
Total special funds, to Statement 2		$16,870.02

Note: Italic figures indicate overdraft.

Copies to Mr. White, Dr. Wright, Mr. Marshall, Rev. Hooks, Perry, Bunche, & Morris Ernst. [n.aacp]

8-1-12

My dear Mr. Spingarn:

As you know we are preparing a petition to the Assembly of the United Nations concerning Negroes in the United States. I am sending you the proposed chapters by four of the contributors and an introduction and summary by myself.

Will you kindly look this over at your earliest convenience and send me criticisms. Time is of course very short and I hope that you can help us right off.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Arthur Spingarn
36 West 44th Street
New York City

[NAACP?]

Memo-from **MARIAN WYNN PERRY**

To Dr. Du Bois - [1946]

21-23-12

There will be a meeting of the Joint Action Groups on Tuesday, November 12 at 12:30 pm at which time the proposals for a N. Action on Africa will be discussed. We sincerely hope you will be with us to aid in the discussion. It is a luncheon meeting

Lawyers Press, Inc.
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165 WILLIAM STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.
BEekman 3-2300-2301

[NAACP]

[1946?]

Dear Doctor DuBois

A majority of the executives on the staff met Tuesday evening after my talk with you. We agreed to organize and all of us ~~paid~~ made application for membership in the Westchester Local.

I hope by this time some of the group has approached you. It was my understanding they would do so when plans were clearly formulated.

Leslie Perry

21-23-6

to Mr. White, Secy NAACP, 1946 enclosed

Memorandum on a trip to Eastern Europe and Asia:

I have carefully considered the time at my disposal. While a trip from December 15th to January 15th might be possible I do not think it would be worth while. It would mean not more than a week in Germany and Russia and this is not long enough to learn anything about a country, certainly not long enough to make up ones mind or to get thoroughly acquainted with strangers. Moreover a simple direct trip like this would be a little difficult to explain.

My literary work and other obligations will keep me very busy until July 1st. July 1st I might depart on a trip for three or even six months and make it a real trip of investigation and acquaintanceship with leaders of the world.

I can easily see that a trip as late as that might not interest any one but myself and I shall not feel at all disappointed if it is impossible to arrange it.

WEBD/PF

46-7-168

[N.a.a.c.p.]

The South disfranchises 88% of its voting population and needs but 22,383 voters to elect a Congressman.

The Border states disfranchises 72% of its voting population and needs but 48,677 voters to elect a Congressman.

The rest of the nation disfranchises 48.5% of its voting population and need but 101,796 to elect a Congressman.

The bulk of the nation gives its voters 1 vote each

The Border states give their voters more than 2 votes each

The South gives its voters 4½ votes each

21-8-12

11½ [N.aacP]

~~PAGE TEN~~

UNITED STATES		
TOTAL POPULATION, 21 and over, 1940	79,863,451	
Total Voters, 1946	34,410,009	43%
NON-VOTERS: DISFRANCHISED, DISCOURAGED, INCOMPETENT, CARELESS	45,453,442	57%
SOUTH ATLANTIC		
TOTAL POPULATION, 21 and over, 1940	10,402,423	
NEGROES, 21 and over, 1940	2,542,366	24.4%
ACTUAL VOTERS, 1946		22.2%
NON-VOTERS: DISFRANCHISED, DISCOURAGED, INCOMPETENT, CARELESS		77.8%
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL		
TOTAL POPULATION, 21 and over, 1940	6,100,838	
NEGROES 21 and over	1,532,291	25%
ACTUAL VOTERS		16.5%
NON-VOTERS: DISFRANCHISED, DISCOURAGED, INCOMPETENT, CARELESS		83.5%
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL		
TOTAL POPULATION, 21 and over, 1940	7,707,724	
NEGROES, 21 and over	1,382,482	17.9%
ACTUAL VOTERS		14.2%
NON-VOTERS: DISFRANCHISED, DISCOURAGED, INCOMPETENT, CARELESS		85.8%
WHOLE SOUTH		
ACTUAL VOTERS		18%
NON-VOTERS		~~82%~~ 82%

21-8

21-8

[NAACP]

State	Representatives, 1946	Voting Population, 1940	Voters Disinfranchised, 1946	Voters, 1946	Voters per Representative
Alabama	9	1,559,680	1,380,192	179,488	19,943
Arizona	2	288,265	175,453	112,812	56,406
Arkansas	7	1,101,860	950,527	151,333	21,619
California	23	4,885,541	2,550,279	2,335,262	101,533
Colorado	4	713,968	381,876	332,092	83,023
Connecticut	5	1,159,601	485,102	674,499	134,900
Delaware	1	177,635	65,014	112,621	112,621
Florida	6	1,218,660	1,031,897	186,763	31,127
Georgia	10	1,772,936	1,611,358	161,578	16,158
Idaho	2	312,965	134,207	178,758	89,379
Illinois	25	5,381,944	1,935,024	3,446,920	137,877
Indiana	11	2,235,350	902,702	1,332,648	121,150
Iowa	8	1,639,266	1,046,190	593,076	74,135
Kansas	6	1,161,858	606,998	554,860	92,477
Kentucky	9	1,635,781	1,052,479	583,302	64,811
Louisiana	8	1,374,947	1,268,938	106,009	13,251
Maine	3	493,506	319,258	174,248	58,083
Maryland	6	1,185,654	740,699	444,955	74,159
Massachusetts	14	2,575,423	958,109	1,617,314	115,522
Michigan	17	3,334,373	1,729,641	1,604,732	94,396
Minnesota	9	1,196,857	321,852	875,005	97,223
Mississippi	7	1,197,617	1,147,580	50,037	7,148
Missouri	13	2,501,472	1,417,196	1,084,276	83,406
Montana	2	356,096	166,008	190,088	95,044
Nebraska	4	836,581	464,541	372,040	93,010
Nevada	1	75,362	26,316	49,046	49,046
New Hampshire	2	295,859	134,767	161,092	80,546
New Jersey	14	2,834,600	1,452,607	1,381,993	98,714
New Mexico	1	284,296	157,357	126,939	126,939
New York	45	9,350,026	4,637,616	4,712,410	104,720
North Carolina	12	1,929,051	1,476,829	452,222	37,685
North Dakota	2	373,216	228,282	144,934	72,467
Ohio	22	4,583,907	2,367,097	2,216,810	100,764
Oklahoma	8	1,369,196	877,055	492,141	61,518
Oregon	4	748,212	413,542	334,670	83,668
Pennsylvania	33	6,351,408	3,239,421	3,111,987	94,303
Rhode Island	2	474,195	201,801	272,394	136,197
South Carolina	6	991,536	965,178	26,358	4,393
South Dakota	2	388,165	225,407	162,758	81,379
Tennessee	10	1,707,760	1,514,312	193,448	19,345
Texas	21	3,861,721	3,514,326	347,395	16,542
Utah	2	308,439	111,767	196,672	98,336

State	Representatives, 1946	Voting Population, 1940	Voters Disinfranchised, 1946	Voters, 1946	Voters per Representative
Vermont	1	214,248	141,182	73,066	73,066
Virginia	9	1,575,481	1,321,617	253,864	28,207
Washington	6	1,192,982	548,052	644,930	107,488
West Virginia	6	1,066,732	529,375	537,357	89,555
Wisconsin	10	2,018,581	1,034,663	983,918	98,392
Wyoming	1	155,433	75,995	79,438	79,438
Total		82,448,242	48,037,684	34,410,558	

[n.a.a.c.p.]

December 5, 1946

TABULATION OF VOTING SURVEY

Number of ballots mailed	1081	
Number of Branches answering Survey	154	
Percentage of replies	14%	

ANALYSIS OF REPLIES:

		Percent
Number of Branches answering YES	89	58%
Number of Branches answering NO	65	42%
Total Membership of YES answers	44,663	34%
Total Membership of NO answers	88,316	66%

Membership increase or decrease:			Total Membership
Branches expecting to be affected	113	73%	99,566
Branches expecting not to be	41	27%	33,423

Cost of Producing BULLETIN:			
Willing to share cost	35	23%	7,122
Not willing to share cost	119	77%	125,867

CONDENSATION OF COMMENTS:

Branches answering YES: - One branch suggests that in event $2.00 membership is adopted, printed slips setting forth "all pertinent information as to why change is made" be sent to branch secretaries for distribution to members.

Branches answering NO: - Few branches favor 50% fee increase - propose special drives to be held by branches to augment funds. Birmingham, Ala. Branch wants matter of increase to be decided at next annual Conference, main opposition now being to method used by National Office. One branch suggests bi-monthly BULLETIN. Washington, D. C. suggests minimum membership fee of $1.00 without BULLETIN, regular membership of $2.00 with BULLETIN.

Note: Majority of branches answering in both negative and affirmative suggests tax on branches to support BULLETIN. Large proportion of branches voting "no", still pledge to do their "utmost" in event will of majority favors increase.

20% decrease expected by 48 branches expecting decrease, but voting "yes". (Rest of branches saying "yes", 41, except no decrease.

49% decrease expected by branches saying "no".

24% decrease expected by 154 branches replying.

3/-8

Report of the Director of Special Research N.A.A.C.P.,

for the year 1946.

Personel: W.E.B. Du Bois, Director
Irene Diggs, Research Assistant (on leave)
Lorenz Graham, part time
Mrs. C. Hercules, part time.

Publications:

The main literary work of the department have been the writing and preparation for final printing of the manuscript of the book "The World and Africa". This is announced for publication in January, 1947 by the Viking Press.

A thoroughly revised and enlarged edition of the Prefatory Volume of the Encyclopedia of the Negro is now in the H.W. Wilson press. It was prepared under my editorship with the assistance of Dr. Diggs and others.

An "Albert Schweitzer Jubilee Book" edited by professors in Harvard and Colby Colleges, appeared, in which I wrote a chapter of "The Black Man and Albert Schweitzer" in part one, chapter four.

I have edited and written the introduction and summary of a petition to the United Nations on the plight of the Negro minority in the United States. Four experts have written the main chapters, Martin Konvitz, Earl B. Dickerson, Rayford Logan and W. Robert Ming, Jr. This will make a printed volume of perhaps one hundred pages and soon will be ready for criticism and final printing.

Articles:

I have written the following articles:

In the New York Nation on "The Crisis at Fisk"
In the Unitarian Christian Register for August 1946
"Democracy's Opportunity"
In the Journal of Negro Education, summer number, 1946
Chapter 4 of Part 1, "The Colonies and Moral Responsibility"
Also the New Masses has republished in two issues, September 10, and September 17, my article on Georgia, first published

in "These United States" in 1927 under the editorship of Ernest Gruening.
Trek of South Africa has republished my article on the "Colonies at San Francisco" in its April 5th number.
For the People's Voice of New York.
For The Message of Nashville, Tennessee.
For Soviet Today, of New York
And weekly letters for the Chicago Defender.

Lectures:

I have delivered during the year twenty-four lectures and talks chiefly on the question of colonies and particularly colonies in Africa.

In January: a radio broadcast for Brooklyn College;
a lecture on Africa before the Press Club, New York City;
a talk at the New Masses award dinner;
a lecture for the African Academy of Arts and Research at the Museum of Natural History.

In February: a lecture for the East and West Association, Institute of Librarians;
a lecture for the MacDowell Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

In March: at the Metropolitan Community Church in Chicago;
at the Church of Christian Fellowship in Los Angeles;
at Occidental College in Los Angeles;
for the Woman's Club of the Pacific School of Religion, Oakland, California;
for three interracial organizations at Vallejo, California;
At the St. James Forum, Cleveland
and at pre-inaugural conference for objectives at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

In May: for the Dunbar Community League, Springfield, Mass.;
for the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, New York;

In June: at Knoxville, College, Tennessee.

In September: at the 115th Street branch of the New York Public Library.

In October: at a meeting of the Stage for Action, on the Negro in the Drama;
at the Southern Youth Congress, Columbia, South Carolina;
at the State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama.

In November: I spoke to the staff of the international Y.W.C.A.;
and at a dinner of the African Academy of Arts and Research.

In December: at the Sixth Nobel Prize Anniversary Dinner;
at the Jefferson School of Social Science;
at the meeting of the League for Industrial Democracy

Miscellanous activities:

As President of the Pan African Congress, I have written a histor

the Congresses for their annual report.

I have outlined a petition to the United Nations on Africa, after a series of conferences in which thirteen national organizations took part and signed. I wrote for the Conference of the Members of the Staff of the National Office of the NAACP, a statement concerning my ideas as to the objectives and methods of the association in relation to the national and world picture. A copy of this is subjoined.

I took part in a conference held at the Schomburg Collection of the New York Library, [redacted] with the President of the African National Congress, and as member of the National Board of Directors of the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, I attended a meeting for the consolidation of that organization with the Political Action Committee. I also attended the meeting of the members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters for nomination of new members.

I presented to the Board of Directors in their December meeting a memorandum to the secretary on Africa which is subjoined. The board accepted it in principle and appointed a committee. I have conferred at some length with the public relations director of the British Colonial Office, Mr. Noel Sabine and with a representatives from India and South Africa.

Miss Diggs who has been on leave of absence without pay for four months under the direction of the State Department has lectured at various institutions of learning in Uruguay and held press conferences. She is collecting a large amount of matter on the Negro in South America. During part of her absence, her work was done by Mr. Lorenz Graham, who catalogued about twenty-five hundred books of my library and himself published two books on Africa.

Report of the Director of Special Research N.A.A.C.P.,

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46-7-6

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Ann. Rep. 1946

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46-7-7

A PETITION

to the Assembly of the United Nations, on the status of citizens of the United States of Negro descent, and on the obligation of the Assembly of the United Nations, under its Charter to take action with reference thereto.

Introduction, by W.E.B. Du Bois

Part I,	The legal rights of American Negroes, under the Constitution the federal and state statutes and court decisions, by Martin Konvitz.
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Part IV,	The Charter of the United Nations, and its provisions for human rights and the rights of minorities and decisions already taken under this Charter, by Rayford Logan.

Summary and suggestions ~~for international action~~, by W.E.B. Du Bois

Time-Table

September 23 to 28,	Plans and cooperating persons,	1 weeks
September 29 to October 26,	Writing of text,	4 weeks
October 27 to November 9,	Critizing and editing,	2 weeks
November 10 to 30,	Presentation to Assembly of the United Nations, printing and distribution,	3 weeks

A PETITION

to the Assembly of the United Nations, on the status of citizens of the United States of Negro descent, and on the obligation of the Assembly of the United Nations, under its Charter to take action with reference thereto.

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Organizations in United States

New York State Conference NAACP, James Egert Allen, President
National Council of Negro Women, Inc., Mary McLeod Bethune, Founder President
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Mae Wright Downs
National Sunday School, B.T.U. Congress, Dr. W. H. Jernagin, President
National Bar Association, Earl B. Dickerson, President
West Coast Regional Office NAACP, N.W. Griffin, Regional Secretary
American Teachers Association, Walter N. Ridley, President
National Association of Colored Women, Inc., Mrs. Christine S. Smith, President
Non-Partisan Interfaith Citizens Committee, C.B. Powell, A. Clayton Powell co-chairmen
National Negro ~~Council~~ Congress, Max Yergan, President
Council on African Affairs, Max Yergan, Executive Director
Southern Negro Youth Congress, Esther V. Cooper, Executive Secretary
Improved Order of Elks of the World, J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler
Alpha Phi Alpha, Belford Lawson, President

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John Haynes Holmes, Community Church New York
Horace R.Cayton, Parkway Community House
Adam Clayton Powell, Congressman 22nd District New York
Oswald Garrison Villard
Frank Kingdon
Ruth Bryan Rhode, Formerly Minister to Sweden
Carl Van Doren
Willard S. Townsend
Henry Lee Moon
George L-P Weaver
H. A. Wieschhoff

African Organizations

National Council of Nigeria representing 140 organizations, 110 towns in British West Africa, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Acting President

Non-European Unity Committee, Union of South Africa, Z.R. Mahabane, Chairman

Pan-African Federation, Manchester, England affiliated with 12 organizations of Negroes in Europe and Africa, T. K. Makonen, Secretary

His Excellency Ras Has Immru of the Imperial Ethiopian Legation has expressed "his sympathy for your efforts in the interest and welfare of the African people and to wish you success."

St. Kitts-Nevins Trades and Labour Union-Jos. N. France, General Secretary

Trades-Union Congress of Jamaica, B.W.I., Ken Hill- Vice-Chairman

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c/o Weeks
29 West 119th Street
New York City

Mrs. Eunice Carter
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City, New York

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Non Partisan Interfaith Citizen Committee
132 West 138th Street
New York 30, New York

Mr. Charles A. Petioni
West Indies National Council
114 West 131st Street
New York City

Mr. Richard B. Moore
143 West 125th Street
New York City

M Dorothy K. Funn
National Negro Congress
307 Lenox Avenue
New York 27, New York

Mrs. Bertell Collins Wright -Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Grand Chapter
122 Willowdale Road
Montclair, New Jersey

George E.C. Hayes, Esq.
613 F Street, N.W.
Washinton, D.C.

J. Mercer Burrell, Esq.
23 Howard Street
Newark, New Jersey

Mr. Max Yergan
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York, 10, N. Y.

Miss Esther V. Cooper
Southern Negro Youth Congress
526 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama.

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National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

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1341 Third Street, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

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132 West 138th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

Mrs. Sadie Alexander
40 South Nineteenth Street
Philadelphia, 3, Pa.

Mrs. Fern Gayden
3852 Calumet Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Henry Lee Moon
CIO Political Action Committee
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. George L-P. Weaver
National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination
718 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, 6, D. C.

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm
The American Teachers Association
P.O. Box 271,
Montgomery 1, Alabama.

Mr. Mbonu Ojike, Nigerian Youth Council
Claremont Residence Hotel
140 Claremont Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Theresa Hotel
New York, N. Y.

over

[1946]

SUGGESTED LIST OF ADDITIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PERSONS WHO SHOULD BE ASKED TO JOIN IN PETITION TO UN

21-21-32

Dr. R. A. Billings
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity
236 Auburn Ave, N.E
Atlanta Ga

Carl R. Johnson
Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity
(Pres. Kansas City Br. NAACP)
18th & Vine Streets, Kan. City, Mo.

Z. Alexander Looby
Omega Psi Phi Fraternity
419 Fourth Ave, N. - Nashville, Tenn.

A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
and March on Washington Movement
217 W. 125th St - N.Y. 27, NY

Bishop W. J. Walls
AME Zion Church
4736 S. Parkway, Chicago 15, Ill.

J. Finley Wilson
Elks
1813 Vernon, N.W. - Wash. D.C.

Mrs. Christine S. Smith, President
National Association of Colored Women

Dr. D. V. Jemison
Nat'l. Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.
and Alabama Baptist State Convention, Inc.
1605 Lapsley St, Selma, Ala.

Belford V. Lawson
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
2904 Eleventh St, NW
Wash. D.C.

Adam C. Powell, Jr.
People's Committee

Mabel K. Staupers
National Association of Colored
Graduate Nurses, Inc.
1790 Broadway, N.Y.C.

Norma Boyd, President
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
960 Florida Ave., N.W., Wash., D.C.

Frank Stanley, President
National Negro Publishers Assn.
(Editor Louisville Defender)
418 S. Fifth St. Louisville, Ky

National Medical Association

Earl B. Dickerson, President
National Bar Association

Dr. Emory J. Robinson, Pres
2510 S. Central Ave
Los Ang, Calif

NOTE: Reverend W.H. Jernagin, whose name appears on your list can also speak for the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches.

LSP:mt

[N.A.A.C.P - Chicago]

Book Reconstruction

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STAGE PRODUCTION and PUBLIC PROGRAMS
Clarence Dawson
VETERANS' PROBLEMS
Mead Carl Harris, Jr.

21-8-02

October 24, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director, Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Our Education Committee has a Textbook Subcommittee who are studying textbooks used in Chicago schools. Enclosed are a few pages summarizing our work thus far. We have also done detailed work on each paragraph about Negroes in Sister Celeste's book and have written the publisher for permission to quote. If that is given us, we shall be glad to send you the criticisms of the paragraphs. Since so many of the books have the same defects we thought to use the pages as a sort of worksheet, but of course if the publishers refuse permission we shall be obliged to paraphrase. We should be glad to have your criticism and suggestions.

Besides the detailed and negative criticisms we are planning to suggest illustrations, reference works at the end of the chapters, and so on. While this is a tremendous amount of work, if we once get it done for one book all the others will go rapidly and we shall have the advantage of writing individually to each author. In this manner, each will have a chance to improve without jeopardizing his income.

I enclose a copy of a letter to Frank Tannenbaum and his reply. Do you think it would be advisable to ask that his article be reprinted in The Crisis?

We are trying to secure the reprinting of your Black Reconstruction. We wrote to Kermit Eby, National Educational Director of the CIO, and to Abraham Plotkin, ILGWU General Organizer here. They have written to the publishers. Mr. Eby sent a carbon of his letter, part of which reads as follows: "This book is an excellent interpretation of a period in our history which has too long gone unrecognized. . . "Inasmuch as we recommend this book quite frequently to our membership when references are required on that specific topic, we should be very pleased and appreciative if you were to decide to reprint this book in the near future." We are writing to other people. Black Reconstruction is in our main public library here but not in the branches outside the Negro area. We hope that the national office will ask the help of all sections of the country to get this book reprinted and into the hands of individual students and into Southern libraries.

Sincerely yours,

fbr

Faith B Rich, Chairman
TEXTBOOK COMMITTEE

[Enclosure]

It is not generally realized that the American history textbooks used in our schools fail to do justice to the Negroes' part in our history. Most of the statements made in them about Negroes are incorrect, biased, or inadequate; and insufficient space is devoted to Negroes in view of their numbers in the popula tion and the seriousness of the economic, political and social problems in which they have been continuously involved from the beginning of our country. The bias, errors, and inadequacies of these books may be summarized under two heads: (1) the failure to explain chattel slavery and (2) the failure to apply the modern knowledge of the natural equality of races and of primitive and civilized peoples, and hence to include Negroes as human equals struggling for their just dues from the colonial beginning to the present time. If one purpose in studying history is to acquire the knowledge to solve present problems, these texts place American children under great handicaps in the solution of race problems.

21-8

This is not to imply that it is necessarily the authors of the textbooks who are to be blamed for the unsatisfactory treatment of Negroes in their tooks. The bias was introduced earlier in the American historical tradition and must be eradicated from the tradition as a whole. Many of the specific studies which would correct the situation have been made by Negro authors in The Journal of Negro History and in books and monographs such as Black Reconstruction by DuBois and in Supplementary Units for the Course of Study in Social Studies, developed by the Chicago school system. But the results of these studies have not been incorporated in the history books which reach the attention of American school children. It is to hasten the correction of American historical tradition that our NAACP Committee has studied a number of the textbooks used in Chicago schools.

We have also included the textbooks used in the Catholic parochial schools of Chicago. It is our understanding that the Catholic Church on a world wide scale has been free from racial bias. The Catholic countries of South America show a better spirit on race questions than does the United States. But in the United States we believe many white Catholics have fallen into the racial prejudice of other white people around them. In several Chicago areas, Catholic white persons and Negroes live in close proximity. On racial matters we believe Catholics will find it as necessary to review their books as the authors of public school texts.

Among the textbooks examined by our NAACP Committee is The Story of Our Nation, by Sister Celeste, Saint Xavier College, Chicago, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1940. This book is used in Chicago parochial schools in the seventh and eighth grades.

21-b

The Story of Our Nation divides American history into eight units in which the Negro appears in a few passages about the colonial period, somewhat more often in those on the Civil War and Reconstruction Period, is not mentioned in the accounts of the First World War and after, and reappears in the chapter next to the last entitled Social Justice for All. In the colonial period, nothing appears about the African background of Negroes although there is considerable about European backgrounds and about the culture of the American Indians. Similarly there is no discussion of slavery as an institution, or of the reasons for the enslavement of Negroes as compared to that of white persons, or of Indians. Race and slavery are entwined without explanation. Negroes as active persons, indeed as persons at all, are ignored until modern times. There is no mention of the free Negroes. In the chapters on education there is no mention of the fact that it was once a penal offense in many Southern states for Negroes to secure an education. The decisive part placed by Negroes in the Civil War and acknowledged by Lincoln is passed over in silence. In the account of the

Reconstruction Period, no mention is made of the reasonableness of Negro expectations of land in view of the practice in various colonies of paying indentured servants with fifty or a hundred acres and in view of the opening of Western lands to persons who had done little or no work on them. The South is identified with Southern planters, the poor Southern whites are ignored and the Negroes are ignored except for a few specific passages. The Reconstruction legislatures are caricatured and made to appear Negro-dominated. The Black Codes are discussed from the point of view of the planters although the opposition of some Northern whites is noted. No objective analysis of these Codes is presented. The Ku Klux Klan is not precisely condoned by it is described in such a way as to insult the Negroes while condemning the Klan. While the discussion of Negroes at the present time in the chapter on Social Justice for all presents the point of view of the Negro, it fails to show the responsibility of white people or to acknowledge the justice of the Negroes' claim to equal citizenship. At this point when the responsibility for including the Negro in modern democracy has become that of society, it continues to be presented as solely the burden of the Negro.

21-8

How typical are the shortcomings of The Story of Our Nation may be seen from a comparison with "Racial Attitudes in American History Textbooks of the South" Lawrence D. Reddick, The Journal of Negro History, XIX, 1934, 225-265, and with "The Negro in American History Textbooks," Marie Elizabeth Carpenter, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Company, 1941, reviewed by J. D. Jerome in The Journal of Negro History, XXVI, 1941.

Our Committee recommends that the modern truths of anthropological science and of religion be presented from the outset, namely that all races and all people, primitive and advanced are naturally and spiritually equal. The differences come about in the unequal progress of civilization. What did happen is not necessarily the best which might have happened with more knowledge. That the slaves should labor their lives away to raise cotton

and that about a million Indian weavers should die of starvation as a result of this cheap, machine-made cloth was not the ideal way to introduce the benefits of the machine to the world. Children studying our history in order to have a background for solving modern problems need to understand about Negroes and slavery because the results are still with us. The race problem and its confusion with status is one which our democracy has not solved--mainly because of the ignorance and prejudice of white people.

More specifically, we recommend (1) that there be included the African background of American Negroes and (2) some comparison of white and Negro slavery and of slavery in North and South America, perhaps along the lines suggested by "The Destiny of the Negro in the Western Hemisphere," by Frank Tannenbaum in Political Science Quarterly, March, 1946, (3) that all rationalizations about American slavery based on racial inferiority be removed, and the life of the free Negroes before the Civil War be recognized, (5) that the reasonableness and justice of the "40 acres and a mule" claim of Negro labor be acknowledged as well as the property claims of the planters, (6) that "the South" and descriptions of life in the South include the Negroes and white persons of small and moderate means rather than the white planters alone, (7) that the story of Negroes' problems and achievements be made continuous and additions accordingly made in the units which omit them, for examples, the Negroes' share in the Revolution, World Wars I and II, (8) that the Negro problem of today be acknowledged to be the problem of educating white people and of putting into practice by every available means the legal guarantees of democracy for all.

[N.a.a.c.p, Enclosure]

October 6, 1946

Frank Tannenbaum
c/o Managing Editor
John A. Krout
Columbia University
New York 27

Dear Mr. Tannenbaum:

I am a member of an NAACP Textbook Committee who are trying to secure the revision of elementary and high school texts. Enclosed is a general statement about the deficiencies of the textbooks we have studied. Your article in the March, 1946 Political Science Quarterly interested us deeply. Two aspects suggested by your article would seem to be worth pursuing further. Should not a detailed study of the differences in economic background, crop by crop, in North and South America, be made? Besides the very interesting cultural differences was there not a much less intensive market pressure in South America because of the Spanish trade policy than in North America? The textbooks we have read show a regrettable tendency to "explain" slavery by stating that the tobacco fields and later the cotton fields needed Negroes or needed slaves or needed Negro slaves. It would be very interesting to know in greater detail the economic as well as the cultural backgrounds. The second aspect is suggested by your sentence "In spite of the slave trade, in spite of the horrors of the middle passage, in spite of the centuries of slavery, the Negro has accommodated himself to the New World in a manner not merely creditable but surprising. The Indian, on the other hand, has either withered away and disappeared, as he did in the West Indies, or been killed and driven off, as in the plains of the United States and Argentina."

21-25

Most of our anthropologists, at least those who become popularly known, seem to me to have concerned themselves with unitary cultures. They have not paid much attention to slaves who are seized from out of a culture and put into a given position in another one. The Indian has received an enormous amount of attention, the Negro very little from anthropologists and psychologists. Would it not be a good idea to make a study of slavery from early times to its large scale reappearance in the 18th and 19th centuries, to compare the slaves who were enslaved as a group and preserved their culture to a great extent with those enslaved as individuals torn completely out of context, those carried away from their own land and those enslaved on their borders with their hinterlands open to their flight? In reading about the enslavement of the Negroes in Africa I could not help wondering what psychological preparation there was in their culture. Did they prepare for this possibility as the Indians prepared for possible torture?

It seems to me strange that a separate Journal of Negro History should be published. This seems to have been little integrated into the general histories taught in the schools. And yet it should be. Your article would help in this process. Would you let us know the price of reprints?

Sincerely yours,

fbr

Faith B Rich, NAACP Textbook Subcommittee

[N.A.A.C.P, Enclosure]

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
in the City of New York
(New York 27, N Y)
Department of History

October 10, 1946

Miss Faith B. Rich
NAACP Textbook Committee
1569 North Halsted St.,
Chicago 22, Illinois

Dear Miss Rich:

21-25

I was very much interested in your letter and agree that work needs to be done on the history of slavery. It would be exceedingly useful if we could get a good one volume book which covers the whole subject adequately and thoughtfully, but the subject is very complex and many-sided, and has a very long history and I don't know anyone in the United States who is really prepared to write that kind of a book. Anything you can do to improve the textbooks will be useful and I am all for it.

I have some reprints which I would be glad to send to you if you will tell me how many you need, if the number is not too great. However, you may be interested to know that Alfred Knopf, Inc., in New York, is publishing an enlarged version of the essay, under the title of "Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas". It will be a small book of about 125 or 130 pages, and is due to be published on January 9th. If you want to have many copies it might be worth your while to write to the publisher and see if you can't make some arrangement with him in advance.

I am very grateful to you for writing to me.

Sincerely yours,

fbr

Frank Tannenbaum

[NAACP - Greenwich, Conn.]

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SECRETARY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
Greenwich, Connecticut, Branch
33 RAILROAD AVENUE
GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT

Lectures

January 15, 1946

21-27-94

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The Greenwich Branch of the N.A.A.C.P. would like very much to have you as their speaker on a topic satisfactory to you for Sunday February 24th at 4 o'clock at the Crispus Attucks Center in Greenwich. If you can come we will invite the members of the N.A.A.C.P. branches in the nearby towns of Port Chester New York, and Stamford and Norwalk, Connecticut. Please let me know if you can make it and I will be glad to send you the full information about trains etc.

Fraternally yours,

Alfred Baker Lewis

Alfred Baker Lewis

ABL:VG

please reply to 22 Hillside Drive
Greenwich
Conn.

[NAACP-Greenwich, Conn.]

********** 20 West 40th Street

15 January 1946

21-27-95

My dear Mr. Lewis:

I regret to say that my work is so planned that it will be impossible for me to accept of any further lectures in February.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Alfred Baker Lewis
22 Hillside Drive
Greenwich, Connecticut

DR. U. JOYCE YERWOOD
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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
Greenwich, Connecticut, Branch
33 RAILROAD AVENUE
GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT

January 17, 1946

21-10-01

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I am extremely sorry to hear that you cannot come to Greenwich for the fourth Sunday in February. Can you make it on the fourth Sunday in March instead? We earnestly hope you can as we feel confident that we can get a good meeting.

Fraternally yours,

Alfred Baker Lewis

Alfred Baker Lewis

ABL:VG

22 Hillside Drive
Greenwich - Conn.

[NAACP]

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21-21-01

August 17,1946

Dr.W.E.B.Du Bois,President
Pan African Congress
20 West 40 Street
New York,N.Y.

Dear Dr.Du Bois:

Your open letter addressed to me under date of August 2 has just reached me due to the fact that I was in Syracuse,New York all summer.

However I am deeply interested in the Pan African Movement especially where it is concerned with the rights of colonial peoples.

I shall be glad to co-operate with you in any plan that may be set forth to achieve these ends.

The New York State Conference of N.A.A.C.P. Branches will be glad to send representatives to a preliminary meeting to ~~t~~ aid in working out a plan.

Yours very truly,

James Egert Allen

James Egert Allen,President
New York State Conference of
N.A.A.C.P.Branches

B x

[NAACP]

21-21-40

22 August 1946

My dear Mr. Allen:

A preliminary meeting of the representatives of organizations who are cooperating with my project to have consultants for the African colonies at the meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations will take place at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, Saturday, August thirty-first, at two p.m. We should be glad to have you present.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. James Egert Allen
New York State Conference of NAACP Branches
2272 Seventh Avenue
New York 30, N. Y.

Mr. Leslie S. Perry
Washington Bureau of the NAACP
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Eric Williams
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Attorney Earl B. Dickerson
3501 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Mae Downs
Box 121
Sewell, New Jersey

Mr. Alpheus Hunton
c/o Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City

NAACP ? Unknown

21-23-4

9 October 1946

My dear Mr. Allen:

At a meeting held on October 5, 1946 at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, the organizations mentioned in the enclosed list, either by direct representation or by letter or cablegram, indicated their willingness to sign the petition which I have sent to you.

It was decided at this meeting to ask the chairman to arrange with the secretariat of the United Nations for presentation of the petition. I am writing to ask you to appoint a representative of your organization to be present on that occasion. I shall let you know when a date is fixed.

It was also decided that a committee draw up a plan for a permanent federation of organizations interested in the emancipation of African colonies.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. James Egert Allen, President
New York State Conference NAACP
2272 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

[NAACP]

21-21-38

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OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
2272 SEVENTH AVENUE
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October 11,1946

Dr.W.E.B.DuBois
20 West 40 Street
New York,N.Y.

Dear Dr.DuBois:

I was sorry to have missed the meeting called on October 5 but I was in the chair of the dentist and did not get out in time.However I had already sent you the approval and endorsement of the New York State Conference of the petition.I also sent a list of names and organizations that might be contacted.

I shall be glad to act as the representative of my organization when the petition is presented to the secretariat of the United Nations.

Very sincerely yours,
James Egert Allen
James Egert Allen,President

[NAACP-Utica] lecture 1947

UTICA BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

515 BROAD STREET • UTICA 2, NEW YORK

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21-14-11

December 9, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

The Utica Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is now making plans for the annual observance of Negro History Week in February.

We would like to know if it would be possible for you to address a mass meeting here on Sunday afternoon February 23. Please let us know what expenses would be involved in your Utica appearance.

We would greatly appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely yours,
Priscilla Burnett
Mrs. Nathan Burnett
Assistant Secretary

Regret I may also I shall be teaching in the South during February

21-14-12

13 December 1946

Dear Mrs. Burnett:

Regret to say that I shall be lecturing in the South during February.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Nathan Burnett
Utica Branch of the N.A.A.C.P.
515 Broad Street
Utica 2, New York

[NAACP-Vallejo]

15 Monte Vista,
Vallejo, Calif.
April 17, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
c/o National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
#12 Geary St.
San Francisco, Calif.

My dear Dr. DuBois,

For the Vallejo Council for Civic Unity, the Vallejo Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Chabot Terrace Interracial Committee, I wish to thank you for the very informative lecture which you delivered in Vallejo last night. May I also express to you my personal thanks for your kindness and generosity in coming to speak for us. It was indeed an honor to meet you as well as a privilege to hear you. Enclosed is my check for $75.00.

Very truly yours,

Josephine Beland

(Josephine Beland)

21-27-89

[NAACP - West Coast]

21-21-16

26 September 1946

Dear Mr. Griffin:

Thank you for your kind word of September 13th. I am enclosing a petition which we are going to present to the Assembly of the United Nations. I wonder if your regional organization would be glad to sign it. Greetings to your wife and son and to Mrs. Nance.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. N.W. Griffin
West Coast Regional Office NAACP
12 Geary Street
San Francisco, 8, California

[NAACP-West Coast]

21-21-28

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20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

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Please direct reply to:
WEST COAST REGIONAL OFFICE NAACP
N. W. Griffin, *Regional Secretary*
12 Geary Street
San Francisco 8, California
Telephone Sutter 0841

October 3, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director
Special Research, NAACP
20 West 40 St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are returning the signed petition to be presented to the Assembly of the United Nations. We hope you are able to accomplish something encouraging in this necessary proposal.

Mrs. Griffin, Mrs. Nance join me in sending you our best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

N. W. Griffin

N. W. Griffin
Regional Secretary

Enclosure

ON YOUR
Golden
WEDDING ANNIVERSARY
50th

Dr. & Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois

God bless you on this Happy Day
That makes a dream come true,
And crowns with gold the hopes you've had
Since first you said "I do!"
God bless you both, and keep you, too,
In health, and free from care,
With golden memories in your hearts
And golden joys to share.

Mr. & Mrs. V. V. Oak
Wilberforce, Ohio

May 12, 1946

O'Brien & Collins

Insurance and Real Estate

RICHARD O'BRIEN
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310 MAIN STREET - GREAT BARRINGTON - BERKSHIRE COUNTY - MASSACHUSETTS - PHONES: 212 W AND 212 R

November 26, 1946

Mr. William E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois,

We are writing to you in regard to the house and land on the Great Barrington - South Egremont Road which we understand belongs to you. We are very much interested in listing this property for sale, for as you know the demand for real estate far exceeds the present - day supply.

It is questionable whether or not the house might be repaired or rebuilt into a liveable home without exorbitant expense, but even though renovating the house itself might prove impractical, the land itself very definitely has value.

We feel that we would have no difficulty in disposing of your property for you, for land in the vicinity of South Egremont is in great demand, and at this time more and more people are looking for building sites to be used as soon as building materials become more plentiful.

We hope that this request for the listing of your property will be received favorably, and we will look forward to a reply in the very near future.

In view of the approaching holiday, we would like to take this opportunity to wish you a very pleasant and happy Thanksgiving Day.

Very truly yours,

O'BRIEN & COLLINS

Stephen C. Collins

STEPHEN C. COLLINS

SCC:lo

Estimate Here
[O'BRIEN AND COLLINS]

3 December 1946

21-11-09

My dear sir:

Answering your letter of November 28, I beg to say that my house and land on the South Egremont Road is not for sale.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Steven E. Collins
310 Main Street
Great Barrington, Massachusetts

CLAREMONT RESIDENCE HOTEL
140 CLAREMONT AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MONUMENT
2-4600

July 26, 1946

Dr. W.E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

94-38-24

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I am willing to cooperate with you in the enterprise your letter of July 24 described.

On behalf of myself, I am sure to attend a meeting on the proposed enterprise in August of this year, unless the date of the meeting fails to suit my calender.

It is even possible that the African Student Association of which I am the president could send a representation. Our student-body in the U.S. has depleted to such a number that we have since last year been somewhat inactive.

E

Perhaps the Academy may be able to participate also. Meanwhile, I would like to have more facts on what you may have done. I suggest that you rush a letter to Mr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the acting president of Nigerian National council called National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons. His address is : Spokesman Building, ONITSHA, Nigeria. Also, you may like to invite business and professional organizations of our people here, I mean Black Americans. Let us have an over-all organization.

Most sincerely yours,

B Mbonu Ojike

mo/eh

Mbonu Ojike

[Ojike - enc.?]

To the Assembly of the United Nations,
meeting in New York in September, 1946:

The undersigned organizations and individuals representing indigenous Africans ~~Negroes~~ and descendants of Africans in the West Indies and United States of America, united under the initative of the Pan African Congress respectfully submit that:

1. The great need of the world today is intelligent citizenship capable of controlling the actions of men by democratic methods of government.

2. One of the greatest obstacles of this accomplishment is the poverty, ignorance and disease in colonies and especially in African colonies.

3. The most important step before us is to start the peoples of Africa on the path toward efficient industry, health improvement, education and self-government.

4. In spite of all efforts in this direction by the colonial powers, by philanthropy and missions and by the efforts of the ~~Negroes~~ Africans themselves, progress is hindered by the difficulties which these ~~Negroes~~ Africans have in making known their needs and wants and the opposition that confronts them; and in addition to this, the widespread assumption that ~~Negroes lack~~ black people lack the intelligence to complain and can only be represented by the imperial governments or by exclusively white organizations.

46-7-42

Because of this situation which renders the problem of colonial Africa the least understood and most neglected of all colonial problems, it is of pressing importance that some method be found by which the Africans can freely express their grievance and their demands.

Already for nearly a half century peoples of African descent in Africa and overseas have been holding congresses. Their object has been to increase mutual knowledge of each other and cooperation among the various African peoples and their descendants in Amercia. Such congresses have been held in London, 1900; Paris, 1919; London, Paris and Brussels, 1921; London, Paris, Lisbon, 1923; New York, 1927; Manchester, England, 1945. The organization of the Pan African Congress has been loose and only partially representative of all the elements interested. But it has had far-reaching and increasing influence among ~~Negroes~~ Africans and has especially brought persons of ~~Negro~~ African descent in the Americas into sympathy and cooperation with their African brethren.

American and West Indian citizens of ~~Negro~~ African descent regard it as especially appropiate that they should take part in this emancipation of Africa. They have already shown the world that they can hlep in

and contribute to progress in Art and Literature. Also the Africans themselves have made far more progress in modern culture than they are usually given credit for and have a growing class of educated persons capable of expressing their desires. Even those who lack modern education have the training of ancient and highly developed cultural patterns which render their opinions and desires of value.

Because of this situation:

1. The Pan African Congress and its affiliated organizations in Africa and America desire to be authorized to send a limited number of consultants to the Assembly of the United Nations.

2. That these consultants have the right to attend sessions of the Assembly of the United Nations and of such committees as may deal with Africa.

3. That these consultants may, by conference, speech or by written statement express to the Assembly of the United Nations from time to time, their opinions and wishes and help voice the complaints and demands of African colonies as they by study and investigation understand them.

The object and aim of this is to establish at the earliest moment the right of African peoples to freedom, self-support, intelligence and political autonomy and to counteract the still prevalent opinion that colonies exist primarily for the profit of private investors whose skin color is white.

43-7-39

P.S. by mbonu ojike

1. The wording of this petition should be strengthened and perhaps made more concise and, if I may suggest, a little passionate at the end.

2. Since we are talking about all African colonials, the word Negro is wrong. Also this word has no political, linguistic or religious reference. It has not the same meaning as black people or Africans.

3. The aim of this appeal should be specified more directly: freedom to buy and sell, freedom to go and come, freedom to plan our peoples education, our own to develop agriculture and industry, freedom to express opinions

P.T.O.

and freedom to ~~politics~~ rule themselves and live as they would like to.

Mbona Ejike

and contribute to progress in Art and Literature. ~~All these~~ themselves have made far more progress in modern culture than they are usually given credit for and have a growing class of educated persons capable of expressing their desires. Even those who lack modern education have the traditional and highly developed cultural patterns which render their opinions and desires of value.

Because of this situation:

1. The Pan African Congress and its affiliated organizations in Africa and America desire to be authorized to send a limited number of consultants to the Assembly of the United Nations.

2. That these consultants have the right to attend sessions of the Assembly of the United Nations and of such committees as may deal with Africa.

3. That these consultants may, by conference, speech or by written statement express to the Assembly of the United Nations from time to time, their opinions and wishes and help voice the complaints and demands of African ~~Colonials~~ as they by study and investigation understand them.

The object and aim of this is to establish at the earliest moment the right of African peoples to freedom, self-support, intelligence and political autonomy and to counteract the still prevalent opinion that colonies exist primarily for the profit of private investors. Where this color is exist.

P.S. to whom offs

1. As working in this politics should be strengthened and perhaps made more concise and,
2. I may suggest a little research at the end.

2. Since we are talking about all African nationals, the word negro is wrong. Use this word has political, linguistic or religious reference. It has not the same meaning as black people or Africans.

3. The aim of the appeal should be classified more briefly: freedom to run one self, freedom to go and come, freedom to plan education, freedom to develop agriculture and industry, freedom to express opinions

13 September 1946

Dear Mr. Ojike:

I trust that you will not insist upon the distinction you tried to make between Africans and Negroes. We Americans have been fighting that out for a generation. You will, of course, agree that no name is scientifically perfect. Friends are not Quakers. But by long usage certain names acquire general acceptance. There are African colonials who are not Negroes; there are African Negroes who are not colonials; there are black Africans who are not colonials; there are yellow and brown colonials who are not black. But the phrase "African Negro" is a clear term which every one understands; and therefore, it is most convenient for usage. We should not be ashamed of it and we cannot escape its use. American Anthropologists have tried to raise false differences between Negroes because of this term. But we should not be disturbed.

22-9-5-7

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Mbonu Ojike
Claremont Hotel
New York City

Makerere College,
P.O. Box 262,
Kampala, Uganda,
British East Africa.
4th. August 1946.

Professor W.E.B. Du Bois,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta,
Georgia,
U.S.A..

42-85-70

My dear Sir,

The cost of an air mail letter from here to America is very expensive, that is, three shillings and fifteen cents per ounce (3/15 per ½ oz.), in East African money. The surface mail on the other hand is very slow. For these reasons I have enclosed all the twelve letters of Appeal (yours included) in your envelope, and I humbly beg you to direct them to the respective owners please.

I am enclosing an East African five shilling note, which I understand might cover the cost of posting the letters to the owners.

Sir, I deeply apologise for this extra trouble I am giving you, to say nothing of further wasting your busy and precious time.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
B. Franklin Francis Oluande

P.S. Since I joined the Course of Sociology at the beginning of this year I have already made two small studies (on my own) during the vacations. The report of the first study – "Some Aspects of African Labour on a European Plantation in Kenya" – is ready. The report of the second study – "A Social Survey of the LUO (my own Tribe) in Kampala Town" – is still in preparation.

I would only be too glad to send you a copy of each if you so wish.

BFFO

[ENC]

MAKERERE COLLEGE,
P.O. BOX 262,
KAMPALA, UGANDA,
BRITISH EAST AFRICA.
4th August, 1946.

PROFESSOR W.E.B. DU BOIS.

42-8-F-71

My dear Sir/~~Madam~~,

For some time I have taken pains to know the names of some eminent American Negroes whom I could consult about University Education, and I have the honour to say that you are one of the notable bretheren I have recorded. I have encountered considerable difficulty in finding out your names, because usually, the British give very little publicity to things American, etc., especially Negro-American.

Before I tell you what I have, let me first give you a brief background to the information.

I am a native African (25 years of age) of the British Colony of Kenya. My father is an ordinary pagan peasant. My mother is a Christian and she sent me to school in 1935. My elder brother (a mason) has been paying my school fees (but his slender contibution has been implemented by Goverment bursary ever since 1940).

I passed the Senior Cambridge (University) School Certificate in GRADE 1, at the end of 1945, at Kisubi College, Uganda. The Index Number of my Certificate is 8257, and the details of the passes were as follows:

Religious Knowledge	Credit
English Language	Credit
History of the British Empire	Credit
Geography	Very good(distinction)
Swahili (a second language)	Credit
Mathematics	Crdit
General Science	Credit
Hygiene and Physiology	Crdit

From Kisubi College I secured a Government bursary which enabled me to proceed to Makerere College in 1944. During the period 1944 - 1945 I followed a Course of Higher Science (Intermediate Science). This study included: Mathematics, English, Biology, Physics, Chemistry and Social Studies. Although I initially enlisted to follow the Medical Profession (after the intermediate Course), I became fully convinced that for our primitive society to progress a systematic study of it must be made. Consequently I wrote an application (whose copy I am appending for your information) to be allowed to take a Course of Sociology instead of Medicine. The repy (whose copy I am also appending) was favourable.

So far I am the first and the only student following this Course(two-year) of Sociology. The immediate course of its early beginning, I am told, has been my application. When I finish at the end of 1947 there may be a time lapse before Sociology is established as a College Professional Course.

My object and aspiration is to approach some outstanding American Negroes to advice me as to how I can get a chance of coming over to the U.S.A., to graduate (in Sociology and allied studies), so that I can come back to East Africa better fitted to effectively help emancipate our kith and kin from this poverty, primitivity and backwardness. It is for this advice and guidance that I write to you, Sir/~~Madam~~.

We here in East Africa naturally believe that you, brothers and sisters in America, are interested in us, and that you would do all you can to help in our upliftment.

Perhaps you may wonder why I have not approached the British Authorities here, in this matter. The reason is that nothing fruitful would result. We are discouraged and given no facilities to get University Education. We pass the Senior School Certificate like the non-Africans, yet we are not given bursaries like them to go to Universities. When an African makes private arrangements to go abroad for University Education, and if the British Officials know of it, they do all they can to obstruct the arrangements --this particularly applies to Kenya Colony, the "Whiteman's Country". For this reason I intend to make these private arrangements entirely behind the scenes, at least, until we have come to a successful conclusion.

Education in America is especially discouraged by the British here.

You may like to know the part I take in the College Activities. I am the Secretary both to the "College Political Society" and the "Kenya African Makerere Students' Union". I am the Treasurer of the "College Scientific Society" and a Committee Member of the "College Historical Society" and of the College "Inter-Tribal Society." In the field of games I am in the College Hockey XI, and I won Hockey Colours last year.

P.S. I am a Committee Member of the "College Debating Society". This year I am made a Corporal in the "Makerere College Cadet Corps" (M.C.C.C.).

[ENC]

42-8F-72

Having given you the above background, I will now lay down what I would pray you to guide and help me in, Sir/~~Madam~~.

1. I would like to get a way of coming over to the U.S.A., in 1948, to get graduated (B.A. or B.Sc., whichever is appropriate with special regard to Sociology). Could you find me any University or Institution (Negro of course) which would accept an African student.
2. Apparently I have nobody, now, to support me financially, but I am 100% prepared to come over and do paid work, the income from which will pay for my education. I am prepared to undergo any amount of physical discomfort if only this means that in the long run I will be more useful to these backward sons and daughters of Africa.
3. Once I have come over to the U.S.A., there are a few enlightened fellows here, who might privately raise small funds to contribute to my support.
4. I would be very grateful if you will approach for me, any Negro organizations which are interested in African development, in case they might help-whether by awarding scholarship, student aid, etc., or any other financial aid.
5. I would similarly be grateful if you can approach, for me, any rich individual American Negroes who are interested in African progress, and who might help.

Sir/~~Madam~~, no matter what physical hardship lies ahead of me in this adventure, I am prepared to bear it. Africans can only progress, from their extreme poverty and backwardness, by their toil and sweat. I am therefore prepared to suffer physically, now, that thounds of Africans may enjoy in future.

Probably I am asking too much from you, for which I am unable to pay in cash. But I assure you that when I come back from the U.S.A. I shall pay by devoting all my enegy in the upliftment(to your delight) of the primitive African. My stay in America is sure to broaden my background enormously, and this is very important for us in isolated Africa.

I have all the confidence in you as a prominent Negro-a representative of the American Negro-and therefore I have no doubt that you are going to give my Appeal a most sympathetic consideration.

I have the honour to be,
Sir/~~Madam~~,
Your most obedient servant,
Olwande
B. Franklin Francis Oluande.

Similar letters of Appeal have been sent to the following American Negro notables with whom you can communicate if need be:-

✓Professor W.E.B. Du Bois.	-	Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University.
F.D. Patterson, Esq.,	-	President , Tuskigee Institute.
Professor G.B. Hancock.	-	Professor of Economics & Sociology, Virginia University.
Professor R.W. Logan.	-	Professor of History, Howard University.
Professor S.A. Brown.	-	Associate Professor of English, Howard University.
C.H. Wesley, Esq.,	-	President of Wilberforce University.
Miss M.McL. Bethune.	-	President of the National Council of Negro Women.
.....	-	President, Fisk University.
R. Wilkins, Esq.,	-	Assistant Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.
A.P. Randolph, Esq.,	-	President of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Organizer of the March on Washington Movement.
.....	-	President, Hampton Institute,
.....	-	President, Morehouse College.

[ovington]

12 East 97th Street
New York

May 10, 1946

Dear Dr andMrs Du Bois,

As I read your golden wedding greeting, I remember when I first met you both at Atlanta. The University was new to me then and I felt strange. You told me to come to your rooms whenever I wished and if you were not there to stay and enjoy the library. I appreciated the invitation and took advantage of it.

One must think kind with affection of the past, but I believe the granddaughter, Du Bois, will find a kinder world than ours was, though for everything we get we lose something. Secure in the past, may the golden wedding day be bright in the immediate present.

With affection,

Mary White Ovington

21-12

HE BROKE the bread and gave to each his share.
So shall we share the earth, refuse to yield
To plea of miser or of gamester, wear
Vestment of lucid thought, our fondest care
To keep the lilies blooming in the field.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

Christmas Greetings, 1946.

12E.97 Sr.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol after the check or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

(10)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

1946 MAY 11 AM 6 5

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

21-39-12

NA11/02 LONDON NLT DOCTOR DUBOIS BALTO:

=WIDE STOP YOUR LONG LABOURS ARE FULLY REWARDED MAY YOU LIVE TO SEE FINAL VICTORY STOP ON THIS HAPPY AUSPICIOUS OCCASION WE YOUR COLONIAL ADMIRING DISCIPLES SALUTE YOU AND WISH GODS BLESSING ON YOUR HOUSEHOLD

[GEORGE PADMORE PETER ABRAHAMS.]

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

22. CRANLEIGH HOUSE,
CRANLEIGH ST.,
LONDON. N.W.1.

21-9-16

Dec.20.1946.

Dear Doctor: This is to introduce my colleague,Mr E.T.Richards,a former teacher in Bermuda who has recently qualified as a British Barrister-at-Law.He has been very active in our cause and served on the Executive of the League of Coloured Peoples which,under the new secretaryship of Dr Joseph-Mitchell is more actively co-

operating with the Pan-African Congress. We are planning a big programme for 1947 including the launching of a magazine "PANAFRICA" Will be reporting on its progress in my next letter.

Best regards of the Season for you and family. Cedric Dover borrowed my copy of "Dusk to Dawn". He is trying to get it published here.

Very sincerely yours,

George Padmore

George Padmore.

[1946]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
[redacted] 20 W. 40TH ST.
[redacted] NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

1946

My dear

21-11-07

Next September there will assemble in the United States the first session of the Assembly of the United Nations. The peoples of earth will meet to discuss openly and face to face the problems of human progress. All nations will be directly represented. But Colonial peoples will, for the most part, be represented either by the nations owning and governing them or at best by representatives chosen by these master nations. Particularly in the case of Africa it is quite possible that not a single person of Negro descent will have any voice save in the case of Ethiopia and Liberia, which are free nations. There will be at least 150,000,000 Africans who will be unrepresentated or unheard, and will be denied all opportunity to plead their own cause, complain of injustice or defend themselves from calumny and attack.

This is not only unfair, it is dangerous for the peace and progress of the world. Despite all assumptions to the contrary, the Negro peoples are today to no inconsiderable degree ready to plead their cause before the peoples of the world. Six times during the twentieth century, African peoples have met in Pan African Congresses and sued for redress of grievances. It is true that these Congresses were only partially representative of the mass of Africans, and that this mass is not today, by reason of poverty and ignorance, capable of clear and coherent expression. Nevertheless black Africa has leaders and thinkers, and black Africans despite their handicaps in the modern world, are increasingly able to discern their needs and ills. They must and will be heard if this world advances from war and exploitation to peace and progress for all mankind.

Therefore as President of the Pan African Congress which met last October in its Fifth Congress in the city of Manchester, England, with two hundred delegates from East, West and South Africa and the West Indies, I am asking you to join me in seeking a way by which the people of Africa may be represented in the United Nations Assembly, at least as observers, if not participants. While this concession is of fundamental importance in any real democratic world, its accomplishment will be beset with difficulties. The empires - Britain, France, Holland, Belgium; even the United States of America - are going to contend that representation of colonial peoples is an invasion of national sovereignty and that these peoples are not capable of intelligent expression; and that the empires are governing them for their good and know their condition best. This argument can only be countered by close and intelligent cooperation among

the African peoples, their descendants and their friends, and by insistence on the obvious fact, that the countries profiting from the ownership of colonies are not the best judges of the interests of colonial peoples; and that there is no human group incapable of voicing at least in some degree its distress, if the world is willing to hear and makes reasonable effort to know the truth.

As a movement toward this, the suggested committee would be a logical first step. Especially could it voice the almost universal feeling of mankind at the utterly indefensible position of the Union of South Africa in its treatment of Africans and Indians and its demand for absorption of Southwest Africa.

I suggest, therefore first, that a petition to the Assembly be prepared, consisting of a careful survey, with charts, maps and plans, setting forth, the extent, population, health, work, production, income and social condition of the African colonies; secondly, that a record be made of the complaints and demands of these colonies as expressed in the last hundred years by spokesmen of these peoples; third, a demand be drafted signed by Africans, descendants of Africans the world over, and all friends of humanity of whatever color and race, to have appointed in some equitable way, a small committee, which should have the right to attend all meetings of the Assembly, with the right to discuss all matters pertaining to African colonies.

Assuming, as we surely may, that many of the nations with colonies are seeking the welfare of colonial peoples, nevertheless there is no reason that the elementary basis of democracy - the right of peoples to speak for themselves - should be entirely ignored in international consideration of African questions.

For this purpose I am asking you to write me saying

1. if you are willing to cooperate in this enterprise;
2. if you will send representatives to a meeting in New York in August to explore ways and means of implementing this plan.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

46-7-50

P. S. The above letter has been sent to the heads of the following organizations: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The Council ~~on~~ African Affairs, The African Academy of Arts and Research, The Federation of Negro Churches, National Council of Negro Women, The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, the Improved order of Elks of the World, The Grand Lodges of Masons, Prince Hall Jurisdiction; The Nigerian Youth Council, The National Council of British West Africa, The Native Congress of South Africa, The Native Congress of East Africa, The Soudanese Nationalist Organization, The Federated Trades Unions of The West Indies, the Governments of Ethiopia, Haiti, Liberia, and other persons and bodies interested in freedom and self-rule in Africa.

46-4-242

P. S. The above letter has been sent to the heads of the following organizations: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The Council on African Affairs, The African Academy of Arts and Research, The Federation of Negro Churches, National Council of Negro Women, The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, the Improved order of Elks of the World, The Grand Lodges of Masons, Prince Hall Jurisdiction; The Nigerian Youth Council, The National Council of British West Africa, The Native Congress of South Africa, The Native Congress of East Africa, The Soudanese Nationalist Organization, The Federatdd Trades Unions of The West Indies, the Governments of Ethiopia, Haiti, Liberia, and other persons and bodies interested in freedom and self-rule in Africa.

13-t-94

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
20 W. 40TH ST.
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

1946

46-7-133

My dear

Next September there will assemble in the United States the first session of the Assembly of the United Nations. The peoples of earth will meet to discuss openly and face to face the problems of human progress. All nations will be directly represented. But Colonial peoples will, for the most part, be represented either by the nations owning and governing them or at best by representatives chosen by these master nations. Particularly in the case of Africa it is quite possible that not a single person of Negro descent will have any voice save in the case of Ethiopia and Liberia, which are free nations. There will be at least 150,000,000 Africans who will be unrepresented or unheard, and will be denied all opportunity to plead their own cause, complain of injustice or defend themselves from calumny and attack.

This is not only unfair, it is dangerous for the peace and progress of the world. Despite all assumptions to the contrary, the Negro peoples are today to no inconsiderable degree ready to plead their cause before the peoples of the world. Six times during the twentieth century, African peoples hav met in Pan African Congresses and sued for redress of grievances. It is true that these Congresses were only partially representative of the mass of Africans, and that this mass is not today, by reason of poverty and ignorance, capable of clear and coherent expression. Nevertheless black Africa has leaders and thinkers, and black Africans despite their handicaps in the modern world, are increasingly able to discern their needs and ills. They must and will be heard if this world advances from war and exploitation to peace and progress for all mankind.

Therefore as President of the Pan African Congress which met last October in its Fifth Congress in the city of Manchester, England, with two hundred delegates from East, West and South Africa and the West Indies, I am asking you to join me in seeking a way by which the people of Africa may be represented in the United Nations Assembly, at least as observers, if not participants. While this concession is of fundamental importance in any real democratic world, its accomplishment will be beset with difficulties. The empires - Britain, France, Holland, Belgium; even the United States of America - are going to contend that representation of colonial peoples is an invasion of national sovereignty and that these people are not capable of intelligent expression; and that the empires are governing them for their good and know their condition best. This argument can only be countered by close and intelligent

cooperation among the African peoples, their descendants and their friends, and by insistence on the obvious fact, that the countries profiting from the ownership of colonies are not the best judges of the interests of colonial peoples; and that there is no human group incapable of voicing at least in some degree its distress, if the world is willing to hear and makes reasonable effort to know the truth.

As a movement toward this, the suggested committee would be a logical first step. Especially could it voice the almost universal feeling of mankind at the utterly indefensible position of the Union of South Africa in its treatment of Africans and Indians and its demand for absorption of Southwest Africa.

I suggest, therefore first, that a petition to the Assembly be prepared, consisting of a careful survey, with charts, maps and plans, setting forth, the extent, population, health, work, production, income and social condition of the African colonies; secondly, that a record be made of the complaints and demands of these colonies as expressed in the last hundred years by spokesmen of these peoples; third, a demand be drafted signed by Africans, descendants of Africans the world over, and all friends of humanity of whatever color and race, to have appointed in some equitable way, a small committee, which should have the right to attend all meetings of the Assembly, with the right to discuss all matters pertaining to African colonies.

46-7-134

Assuming, as we surely may, that many of the nations with colonies are seeking the welfare of colonial peoples, nevertheless there is no reason that the elementary basis of democracy - the right of peoples to speak for themselves - should be entirely ignored in international consideration of African questions.

For this purpose I am asking you to write me saying

1. if you are willing to cooperate in this enterprise;
2. if you will send representatives to a meeting in New York in August to explore ways and means of implementing this plan.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

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46-7-135

[1946]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 W. 40TH ST.
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

1946

42-F-8-47

My dear

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42-8-4-48

cooperation among the African peoples, their descendants and their friends, and by insistence on the obvious fact, that the countries profiting from the ownership of colonies are not the best judges of the interests of colonial peoples; and that there is no human group incapable of voicing at least in some degree its distress, if the world is willing to hear and makes reasonable effort to know the truth.

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W. E. B. Du Bois

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62-98-24

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
[redacted] 20 W. 40TH ST.
[redacted] NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

22 August 1946

My dear Mr.

A preliminary meeting of the representatives of organizations who are cooperating with my project to have consultants for the African colonies at the meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations will take place at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, Saturday, August thirty-first, at two p.m. We should be blad to have you present.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

(over)

United Nations

1944

P. S. These are the people to whom we have sent this letter: (over)

Mr. Max Yergan
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Miss Esther V. Cooper
Southern Negro Youth Congress
526 Masonci Temple Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Professor H.A. Wieschhoff
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsulvania

Rev. W.H. Jernagin
National Sunday School and B.T.U Congress
1341 Third Street, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.
132 West 138th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander
40 South Nineteenth Street
Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Mr. Henry Lee Moon
CIO Political Action Committee
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. George L-P Weaver
National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination
718 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm
The American Teachers Association
P.O. Box 271
Montgomery 1, Alabama

Mr. Mbonu Ojike
Claremont Residence Hotel
140 Claremont Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Theresa Hotel
Seventh Ave. & 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Mr. James Egert Allen
New York State Conference
of NAACP Branches
2272 Seventh Avenue
New York 30, N. Y.

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York 30

(1) Dr. Channing H. Tobias
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York City

I want quite sure this should be sent. So am awaiting your approval.

(2) Should a letter be sent to Leslie Perry in Washington, for August 31; also should he be on the list of consultants for the United Nations Petition?

(3) Should Eric Williams be invited to the August 31st meeting?

21-11-06

ORGANIZATIONS AND PERSONS WHO HAVE ACCEPTED MEMBERSHIP ON THE PAN AFRICAN COMMITTEE:

1. Council of African Affairs, New York, Max Yergan
2. Southern Negro Youth Congress
3. National Council of Negro Women
4. Committee on African Studies, University of Pennsylvania
5. National S. S. and B. T. U. Congress, W. H. Jernigan
6. Adam C. Powell, Congressman
7. Mrs. E. A. Bryant, Detroit
8. American Teachers Association, H. Councill Trenholm
9. Political Action Committee, New York, Henry Lee Moon
10. National Bar Association
11. John Haynes Holmes
12. National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, George L-P. Weaver
13. African Student Association, M. Ojike
14. Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
15. New York State Conference of NAACP Branches
16. Oswald Garrison Villard
17. Pan African Federation, Manchester, England

46-9-229

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, THE AFRICAN ACADEMY of Arts and Research, THE FEDERATION OF NEGRO CHURCHES, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, THE GRAND UNITED ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS, THE IMPROVED ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD, THE GRAND LODGES OF MASONS, PRINCE HALL JURISDICTION; THE NIGERIAN YOUTH COUNCIL, THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, THE NATIVE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA, THE NATIVE CONGRESS OF EAST AFRICA; The Soudanese Nationalist Organization, The Federated Trades Unions of THE WEST INDIES, THE GOVERNMENTS OF ETHIOPIA, HAITI, LIBERIA, AND OTHER PERSONS AND BODIES INTERESTED IN FREEDOM AND SELF-RULE IN AFRICA.

Gentlemen:

Next September there will assemble in the United States the first session of the Assembly of the United Nations. The peoples of earth will meet to discuss openly and face to face the problems of human progress. All nations will be directly represented. But colonial peoples will for the most part be represented either by the nations owning and governing them or at best by representatives chosen by these master nations. Particularly in the case of Africa it is quite possible that not a single person of Negro descent will have any voice save in the case of Ethiopia and Liberia, which are free nations. There will be at least 150,000,000 Africans who will be unrepresented and unheard, and will be denied all opportunity to plead their own cause, complain of injustice or defend themselves from calumny and attack.

This is not only unfair, it is dangerous for the peace and progress of the world. Despite all assumptions to the contrary, the Negro peoples are today to no inconsiderable degree ready to plead their cause before the peoples of the world. Six times during the twentieth century, African peoples have met in Pan African Congresses and sued

for redress of grievances. It is true that these Congresses were only partially representative of the mass of Africans, and that this mass is not today, by reason of poverty and ignorance, capable of clear and coherent expression. Nevertheless black Africa has leaders and thinkers, and black Africans despite their handicaps in the modern world, are increasingly able to discern their needs and ills. They must and will be heard if this world advances from war and exploitation to peace and progress for all mankind.

Therefore as President of the Pan African Congress which met last October in its Fifth Congress in the City of Manchester, England, with two hundred delegates from East, West and South Africa and the West Indies, I am asking you to join me in seeking a way by which the people of Africa may be represented in the United Nations Assembly, at least as observers, if not participants. While this concession is of fundamental importance in any real democratic world, its accomplishment will be beset with difficulties. The empires - Britain, France, Holland, Belgium; even the U.S.A. - are going to contend that representation of colonial peoples is an invasion of national sovereignty and that these people are not capable of intelligent expression; and that the empires are governing them for their good and know their condition best. This argument can only be countered by close and intelligent cooperation among the African peoples, their descendants and their friends, and by insistence on the obvious fact, that the countries profiting from the ownership of colonies are not the best judges of the interests of colonial peoples; and that there is no human group incapable of voicing at least in some degree its distress, if the world is willing to hear and makes reasonable effort to know the truth.

As a movement toward this, the suggested committee would be a logical first step. Especially could it voice the almost universal

feeling of mankind at the utter indefensible position of the Union of South Africa in its treatment of Africans and Indians and its demand for absorption of South-West Africa.

I suggest, therefore first, that a petition to the Assembly be prepared, consisting of a careful survey, with charts, maps and plans, setting forth, the extent, population, health, work, production, income and social condition of the African colonies; secondly, that a record be made of the complaints and demands of these people; third, a demand be drafted signed by Africans, descendants of Africans the world over, and all friends of humanity of whatever color and race, to have appointed in some equitable way, a small committee, which should have the right to attend all meetings of the Assembly, with the right to discuss all matters pertaining to African colonies.

Assuming, as we surely may, that many of the nations with colonies are seeking the welfare of colonial peoples, nevertheless there is no reason that the elementary basis of democracy - the right of peoples to speak for themselves - should be entirely ignored in international consideration of African questions.

For this purpose I am asking the organizations to which this communication is addressed to write me saying

1. If you are willing to cooperate in this enterprise.
2. If you will send representatives to a meeting in New York in August to explore ways and means of implementing this plan.

46-7-49

DEADLINE RELEASE.....9 [PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS]

DU BOIS CALLS FOR ACTION TO PLACE AFRICAN COLONIAL SITUATION BEFORE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY

NEW YORK (ANP)--Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, speaking as president of the Pan African congress, issued an open letter this week to a score of Negro organizations, located either in the United States or Africa, and to the governments of Ethiopia, Haiti and Liberia, in which he counselled and pleaded for the formation of a committee to work out plans to place the cause of black colonial peoples before the United Nations assembly when it convenes in September.

Dr. DuBois pointed out that when the peoples of the earth met to discuss the problems of future human progress that colonial people would be represented by the nations owning or ogverning them. Especially, he said, there would be 150,000,000 Africans who will be unrepresented and unheard, denied an opportunity to plead their own cause or complain of injustice.

The organizations and governments to whom Dr. DuBois addressed his letter included the NAACP, Council on African affairs, African academy, Federation of Negro churches, National Council of Negro women, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, Elks, grand lodges of Masons, Nigerian Youth council, National Council of British West Africa, the Native Congress of South Africa, Native Congress of East Africa, the Sudanese Nationalist organization, the Federated Trades unions of the West Indies, the governments of Ethiopia, Haiti, Liberia and other persons and bodies interested in freedom and self-rule in Africa.

Dr. DuBois letter said in part:

"Next September there will assemble in the United States the first session of the assembly of the United Nations. The peoples of earth will meet to discuss openly and face to face the problems of human progress. All nations will be directly represented. But colonial peoples will for the most part be represented either by the nations owning or governing them or at brst by representatives chosen by these master nations. Particularly in the case of Africa it is quite possible that not a single person of Negro descent will have any voice save in the case of Ethiopia and Liberia, which are free nations. There will be at least 150,000,000 Africans who will be unrepresented and unheard, and will be denied all opportunity to plead their own cause, complain of injustice or defend themselves from calumny and attack.

"This is not only unfair, it is dangerous for the peace and progress of the world. Despite all assumptions to the contrary, the Negro peoples are today to no inconsiderable degree ready to plead their cause before the peoples of the world. Six times during the 20th century, African peoples have met in Pan-African congressed and sued for redress of grievances. It is true that these congresses were only partially representative of the mass of Africans, and that this mass is not today, by reason of poverty and ignorance, capable of clean and coherent expression. Nevertheless black Africa has leaders and thinkers, and black Africans, despite their handicaps in the modern world, are increasingly able to discern their needs and ills. They must and will be heard if this world advances from war and exploitation to peace and progress for all mankind.

"Therefore as president of the Pan African congress which met last October in its fifth congress in the city of Manchester, England, with 200 delegates from East, West and South Africa and the West Indies, I am asking you to join me in seeking a way by which the peoplesof Africa may be represented in the United Nations assembly, at least as observers, if not participants.

"As a movement toward this, the suggested committee would be a logical first step. Especially could it voice the almost universal feeling of mankind at the utterly indefensible position of the Union of South Africa in its treatment of Africans and Indians and its demand for absorption of Southwest Africa.

"I suggest, therefore, first, that a petition to the assembly be prepared, consisting of a careful survey, with charts, maps and plans, setting forth, the extent, population, health, work, production, income and social condition of the African colonies; secondly, that a record be made of the complaints and demands of these colonies as expressed in the last hundred years by spokesmen of these people; third, a demand be drafted signed by Africans, descendants of Africans the world over, and all friends of humanity of whatever color and race, to have appointed in some equitable way, a small committee, which should have the right to attend all meetings of the assembly, with the right to discuss all matters pertaining to African colonies."

[PAN-AFRICAN FEDERATION]

COLORS AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
~~69 FIFTH AVENUE~~ 20 West 40th Street
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

28 January 1946

22-9-12

My dear Mr. Padmore:

I have been so busy getting into my new office and attending to Mrs. Du Bois in her severe illness that I have not had a chance to write you. Won't you please let me know how things are going? What is the cocoa situation?

Mr. White has not yet offered to call a public meeting with regard to the Pan African Congress and American Negro aid but if he doesn't act pretty soon, I shall go ahead.

How is the office getting on? What publications have been made or planned? Let me hear from you as soon as possible.

My regards to you and all my friends.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N. W. 1
England

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
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ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
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NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

1 April 1946

My dear Mr. Padmore:

This is in answer to your kind letter of February twenty-seventh. I have just finished the manuscript of a book, "The World and Africa" and this explains my delay. I am off for California but am asking my assistant to send you this letter while I am away.

I am enclosing a manuscript of Pan Africa which you are at liberty to use in your publications and to cut if necessary.

22-9-23

I would like to approach the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization in September with a plea to allow some of us to sit in as consultants and speak as friends of the colonies of Africa. Could you arrange some sort of statement from the Pan African movement which would justify such a request and send it to me?

I shall write you again as soon as I return from California.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois*

W. E. B. Du Bois

* Dictated but not signed

Mr. George Padmore
22, Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London, N. W. 1
England

Pan-African Federation.

Departments—
Financial Committee.
Pan-African Institute.
African People's Trust.
Publication Department.
Regional Committee
Consumers' and
Producers' Co-operation.
Adult Education.
African Authors' Library.

President—
DR PETER M. MILLIARD.
Hon. Treasurer—
J. E. TAYLOR, M.A (Cantab.)
General Secretary—
HON. T. R. MAKONNEN.
Asst. Hon. Secretary—
E. A. COWAN.

Head Office:—
~~38, OXFORD ROAD,~~
~~MANCHESTER 1,~~
ENGLAND.
22, Cranleigh House, Cranleigh Street,
London, N.W.1.

16th April, 1946

AFFILIATED BODIES.

International African Service Bureau.

Negro Welfare Centres.

Negro Association.

Kikuyu Central Association Kenya.

African Progressive Association, London.

Coloured Workers Association, London.

Seirra Leone Section African Youth League.

Friends of Africa Freedom Society, Gold Coast.

Coloured People's Association, Edinburgh.

United Committee of Coloured and Colonial People's Association, Cardiff.

African Union, Glasgow Universary.

Association of Students of African Descent, Dublin.

22-9-26

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have to tahnk you for your letter of the 1st April, with enclosed manuscript, which we shall gladly use. When writing previously I was not certain whether we had a transcript of your survey of the Negro Problem in America, which you made at the Congress. I find now that we have not, and I should be very grateful if you could let me have a few pages at your earliest convenience, as we are now going ahead with the printing of the Congress report.

The Committee has the matter of credentials for you to the General Assembly of the United Nations in hand, and we shall be sending them to you in due course. Your proposals should be in conformity with the decisions taken at our Congress last October, and you may be assured of our fullest support.

The Federation is shaping well, but our great need is money, as there is absolutely nothing in the till. Anything you can do to help financially will be much appreciated.

I have taken over more or less the international work, as it seems to me that this needs an experienced hand. We are meeting with great response, and I am quite astonished at the amount of enthusiasm and fervour that is manifesting itself among the rank and file of the Colonial movements. There is an almost spontaneous movement towards unity in all parts. Lately we have been approached by an organisation in Tanganyika, which speaks of East African unity.

I hope to hear from you again soon. Meanwhile, my very best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

George Padmore

George Padmore

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
Department of Special Research,
N.A.A.C.P.,
20, West 40th Street, N.Y.

21-62-6

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(21)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

...the time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME ... RD TIME at point of destination

1938 MAY 10 AM 11 31

BRL80 INTL=CD MANCHESTER VIA MACKAY RADIO 38 9

NLT DR DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLOTERRACE (HAM 9015): BALTO=

[PANAFRICAN FEDERATION SALUTE YOU ON GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY CONGRATULATIONS TAKES OPPORTUNITY TO REALIZE [WITH PROFOUND GRATITUDE LIFELONG STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS] SINCEREST WISHES FOR CONTINUED HEALTH AND HAPPINESS OF FAMILY=

[PETER MILLIARD PRESIDENT=]

2302=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

22, Cranleigh House,
Cranleigh Street,
London, N.W.1.

21st May, 1946

Dear Dr. Dubois:

This is by way of giving you a brief report of the varied activities on which the Federation has been engaged during the past several weeks, as I know you would like to know what we have been doing and with what results.

We carried on a campaign for the Jamaica strike which occurred earlier this year, and held meetings in several places. Mr. Nethersole of the Trades Union Congress, and Manley's party, was over here, and we took advantage of his presence to have him address meetings on behalf of Jamaica. We were successful in collecting almost £100, and we are receiving letters of grateful appreciation from the militant organisations in Jamaica.

22-9-30

The question of flogging in the Colonies, in particular its reintroduction in Trinidad, about which you will read in the copy of the Colonial Parliamentary Bulletin which I have sent to you separately, has been one of our concerns. We have also taken up the case of the suppression of Zik's press in Nigeria. To keep you informed about this I am sending you, under separate cover, a pamphlet, which will give you the details. The Governor is trying by every possible means to force Zik to abandon his papers, because he supported the Nigerian strike. The Government of Nigeria is anxious to abolish any kind of militant press, and is going all out to this end.

Following the strike in Buganda last year, a number of persons were deported to Seychelles island, and this matter has been agitating a number of liberal-minded persons here. We are taking it up, too. Then there is the question of food for the starving Africans in South Africa.

All these matters mentioned in the two paragraphs above we have been discussing with the Centra Against Imperialism, about which I have already written to you, to see whether by joint action, and through the connections they have with Parliamentary members, we cannot get something done. At our last meeting, we had reluctantly to decide about the South African natives that there was little we could do to help them in a material way, as there is little enough food to spare in this country and it is extremely difficult to export anything. We can only leave it to the coloured people of America to continue their support and assistance. They already recognise the seriousness of the problem, and we must hope that they are doing everything possible to help alleviate it. With regard to the other matters mentioned, we are arranging a combined delegation to the

Colonial Office, where we shall raise them all, and I will let you know the results of our conversations. I have forgotten to mention that we have been in touch with a number of African organisations in connection with the removal of the Kikuyu from their lands in Kenya. The restrictions being placed on these people are becoming tighter than ever. The problem is most serious, and we must raise world-wide support in behalf of the natives there.

In the Colonies, as soon as we get out our short history of Pan-Africanism, it is our intention to make a world wide drive for affiliation of the various organisations to the Federation. In this I would like to solicit your moral support, which you can demonstrate in this way. We shall send you the addresses of the Colonial organisations to which we shall write, and we would then like you also to write to them, pointing out to them the importance of the Federation and how essential it is for them to join it.

At the moment there is over here, to take part in the Conference of International Farmers and Agriculturalists, Prof. Ranga of India. He is Secretary of the Foreign Department of the Indian Congress and a member of the Central Legislative. He is very anxious to draw together in unity all Asiatics and coloured peoples throughout the world. He is coming over to America and wants to come and see you about building up a world association of Asiatics and coloured peoples. He wants your support in connection with the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ bringing together of the Federation, the Indian Congress, the Javanese, and other groups. They would like us to send a delegate, and we are proposing that you should go to India to represent us, and if possible, one of us from this side.

I am getting all the documents ready for the September conference of UNO, as well as credentials. We are taking care of this, and by July or August you will have everything. We are drawing up the documents about the various questions and matters which the people want remedied or altered.

The next All West Indian Trade Union and Labour Conference takes place in Jamaica some time at the end of this year, and we would like you, on account of your proximity, to go down there. It will be either in November or December, but we will let you know more about it. Meantime, Dr. Milliard is preparing to leave for British Guiana Trade and Labour Conference taking place in June. He will try and pass in at New York and see you.

Now there is a personal matter in which I would like your assistance. I believe there has been a recent shake-up at Howard University. I do not know to what extent it will affect the appointment of new people, but I am interested to do something for a very gifted young man, named Nicholson, now wasting his time here to his complete frustration, disappointment and misery. The enclosed recommendations from his various professors speak for them-

seleves and will leave you in no doubt as to Nicholson's capabilities. I should be most grateful if you could use your influence to get him a professorship, even if only a temporary one. It would help him not only financially, but more important, spiritually, and it would make it easier, I have no doubt, for him to get a post at the West Indian University, when that is ultimately established.

Finally, we all here hope that you had a very happy celebration. We were very delighted to hear about it, and all our thoughts were with you.

Most sincerely yours.

George Padmore

22-9-31

ENCLOSURE FROM
PAN AFRICAN
FEDERATION)

SUPPRESSION OF THE PRESS IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA

A218/16

By NNAMDI AZIKIWE, M.A., M.Sc.

Chairman of Zik's Press Limited;
Chairman of Comet Press Limited;
Editor-in-Chief of the Associated Newspapers of Nigeria;
Member of the Institute of Journalists, London.

AFRICAN BOOK COMPANY, LIMITED

Nigerian Spokesman Building

ONITSHA, Nigeria.

SUPPRESSION OF THE PRESS IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA

The General Strike in Nigeria lasted for 44 days beginning from June 22, 1945. The ***West African Pilot*** and the ***Daily Comet,*** two daily newspapers printed and published in Lagos, Nigeria, British West Africa, were suppressed for 36 days.

Outside of Lagos, the hub of the greatest labour crisis in West Africa, very few people are aware of the detailed information regarding the circumstances which led Sir Gerald Whiteley, Officer Administering the Government of Nigeria, to invoke the Defence Regulations and prohibit the publication of these two newspapers, at his pleasure and in his absolute discretion.

With malice towards none, I have endeavoured to outline the salient facts, in the light of my personal knowledge, as a record of this aspect of the contemporary economic history of Nigeria:

1. On May 21, 1945 the African Civil Servants Technical Workers Union of Nigeria presented to His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government, Sir Gerald Whiteley, a memorandum in which they demanded an increase of the Cost of Living Allowance as the cost of living had gone up and was causing the workers untold hardship, and threatened to go on strike at midnight on June 21, 1945 if their demand was not met.

2. On June 11, the Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Nigeria, Mr G. F. T. Colby, in a letter which was published in the press, replied on behalf of the Nigerian Government and rejected the demand giving

economic reasons why the Government would not accede to the request.

3. The workers felt that the Government reply was not satisfactory and, in a letter dated June 15, also published in the press, their President, Mr T. A. Bankole, with the full approval of his Executive Committee, expressed their dissatisfaction with the Acting Chief Secretary's reply and reiterated their determination to go on strike as previously stated in their letter of May 21.

4. On June 21, Mr Bankole and his committee who, for nearly one month, had prepared the rank and file of the workers for a general strike, having worked up the men to a frenzied pitch, suddenly gave it out to the press that they had resigned their offices. The workers, thus left without leaders but determined to carry out their resolution, at midnight of June 21, went on strike whilst their leaders remained at work.

5. On Thursday, June 28, at 2.45 p.m. I received a letter from the Public Relations Officer (Mr D. C. Fletcher) intimating that His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government, Sir Gerald Whiteley, wanted to see me at 3 p.m. I was staying at Yaba, six miles away. I quickly got ready and went. After exchanging courtesies, Sir Gerald asked me to urge the strikers to return to work. I told him that the strikers did not consult me before going on strike, and that they would not harken to such advice. I suggested they might listen if the Government could give some assurances. I pointed out that when the cost of living allowance was given in 1942, the Governor at that time, Sir Bernard Bourdillon,

had told the workers that the allowance was based on the increase on the cost of living since the war, and that it will be reviewed according to the fluctuations in the cost of living; that is to say, that it would be decreased if the cost of living went down and would be increased if it went up.

6. It was clear from the figures published by the Government from time to time in the ***Nigeria Gazette*** that the average rise in the cost of living since the award of the COLA was about 30%. The cost of living index had shown a steady rise since April, 1942. I suggested to Sir Gerald that a promise of an interim increase of 20% of the existing wages of the workers, and an assurance that they would not be victimised if they went back to work were likely to make them return. I said that if he would give those assurances, I would go and speak to the workers.

7. Sir Gerald refused to give the assurances unless the workers returned to work immediately. I told him frankly that nobody who understood the temper of the workers would endeavour to appease them without some assurances. Sir Gerald then told me that I was interested in prolonging the strike and that that was why I refused to act as an intermediary, a statement which I resented but which in the light of what happened later I found was fully meant by Sir Gerald Whiteley.

8. I denied his insinuations and pointed out to him that in my opinion the underlying causes of the strike were attributable to social and economic forces intensified by the war. At the interview, Sir Gerald, thinking erroneously that I was the person who instiga-

ted the strike, threatened punishment to the companies of which I am the Chairman and even said that Government might withdraw advertising through the companies' papers. And it may here be said that since the strike Government departments have written withdrawing their advertisements from the Zik Group of newspapers, whilst they continue in their contemporaries.

9. On Thursday, June 28, 1945, Sir Gerald Whiteley broadcast over the Lagos Radio Rediffusion Service and appealed to the workers to resume work immediately. After criticising their illegal act, Sir Gerald criticized trade union leaders as follows: "The leaders also must appreciate that they too made a mistake in presenting their original demands in the form of an ultimatum."

10. On Thursday, July 5, 1945, the Government published an extraordinary issue of the ***Nigeria Gazette*** embodying Government Notice No. 776 in respect of the enactment of Regulations No. 19 of 1945 made under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Acts, 1939 and 1940, Nigeria Defence (Press) Regulations, 1945, on July 4, 1945, which restored stricter control of the press which had been relaxed some months previously. The idea behind this was at first difficult to see. The public was amazed as the Emergency Powers (Defence) Acts, 1939 and 1940, which gave the Governor power to make the Defence Regulations, were part of the war measures and not a weapon to be used in case of industrial disputes between the Government and the workers.

11. In the morning of July 5, the Public Relations Officer was said to ring up the Editor of the

West African Pilot, Mr C. U. M. Gardner, on the telephone requesting him to send a Reporter to his office as he had "hot" news for his paper. The Public Relations Officer is the Chief Press Officer. He holds press conferences with members of the press and Government publications in the press are issued through him. It is, therefore, a usual thing for him to send for an editor or a reporter to come for news for publication.

12. Mr Gardner, relying on the request, sent Mr J. G. Cookey, one of his best reporters, for the news. Mr Cookey took down notes in pencil which were read over by the Public Relations Officer. It was not usual for the Public Relations Officer to sign or initial the notes. The substance of the interview was about the incapability and inefficiency of the trades union leaders.

13. At 7 p.m. the same day, July 5, Mr Gardner received a letter from the Public Relations Officer informing him that a new press law under the Defence Regulations had been made and adding that His Excellency would not give further warning should there be a violation of this law.

14. On Friday, July 6, the ***West African Pilot*** published the interview with the Public Relations Officer under a single column headline: "TRADES UNION LEADERS ARE INDICTED BY P.R.O." the full text of which reads as follows:

> "On the subject of trades unionism in Nigeria, Mr D. C. Fletcher, Public Relations Officer, maintains that the present crisis has proved the incapability and inefficiency of the Nigerian trades union leaders, in that they have failed woefully to guide their members along the right lines, with the result that they find themselves where they are today.

"He observed that the Nigerian worker allows himself to be led by the nose, and listens to every sort of advice.

"There are trades union ordinances and regulations which bind workers and their leaders, and such leaders are supposed to know these things before they assume the leadership of the workers.

"When any trades union registers itself, he went on, the Labour Department provides it with rules, regulations and ordinances, and it is for the members of the union, especially the leaders, to study them carefully.

"In this present crisis, Mr Fletcher continued, there was no necessity for the Commissioner of Labour to have interrupted, in so far as the unions had leaders.

"Mr Fletcher went on to say that, in fact, the Labour Commissioner was not officially approached, but when they did, he gave them advice which resulted in the resignation of those leaders just at the last moment.

"The allegation that government might enact laws to bind workers from going back on strike should the arbitration fail, he went on, was not true, as it was not possible.

"He emphasised that the cause of the labour crisis had been due to the leaders not being well read in the laws binding workers.

"He assured, in conclusion, that the conditions stipulated in the Commissioner of Labour's notice of Tuesday, July 3, were genuine and that government would see to implementing them accordingly, should the workers obey."

15. Regarding the publication there could be no doubt that what the Public Relations Officer said, as was published, was a correct summary of the position. These trades union leaders had for nearly one month encouraged the rank and file of the workers to go on strike and had actually given

the Government an ultimatum which was to expire at midnight on June 21. On June 21, before the ultimatum expired, the leaders published a bulletin in the press and told the rank and file that the strike was illegal and should be postponed. The rank and file, who were not in the mood to step back from their march towards a strike, promptly passed a vote of no confidence in the leaders, dismissed them from their offices, and appointed new leaders.

16. It is clear that these particular leaders stood condemned by their own actions. They should have read the Defence Regulations dealing with strikes. If they did not it was criminal negligence. If they did they should have known that they were leading the workers in the path of illegality. And their ***volte face*** at the last moment could make no difference. The Government made the mistake of pinning hopes on these discredited leaders who have not only lost the confidence of the workers but were regarded with the greatest suspicion by them. The workers, after dismissing the discredited leaders, decided they must go on strike and, at midnight, on June 21, they went on strike.

17. These facts were known to the members of the public in Lagos and in the Provinces. The disagreement between the workers and their leaders was not a private matter. It was published in all the Lagos papers. So that the fact of incapability and inefficiency of the discredited leaders was not only known to the public but was on everybody's lips. And Sir Gerald Whiteley himself referred to it in his broadcast referred to in Paragraph 9 above.

18. In the issue of July 21, the ***Nigerian***

Eastern Mail, printed at Calabar, published the following editorial comments on the general strike: "Here not only is the Commissioner of Labour at fault but also the trades union leaders whose duty it was to be fully and accurately informed of the legal position before contemplating so grave a step as a general strike."

19. The Honourable S. B. Rhodes, C. B. E., Member of the Executive Council at the time, and now Judge of the Supreme Court, in his appeal to the workers, published in the ***Eastern Nigeria Guardian*** of July 26, said: "An African gentleman whose opinion I always respect, said to me the other day that, Nigeria is suffering from two serious illness, bad trades union leaders and very bad followers. He said the leaders are bad because they should have known that it was illegal for them to have called on a strike....." The effect on the public and on the strikers of the publication of the interview with Mr Fletcher was therefore negligible as the publication said nothing that was new to the public.

20. On Saturday, July 7, at 2.15 p.m. I received two letters addressed to the Managing Director of Zik's Press Limited and to the editor of the ***West African Pilot***, respectively, summoning us to come to the Government House the same day at 3 p.m. (45 minutes later). A similar letter had been sent to the Editor of the ***Daily Comet***.

21. At the appointed time, the three of us went to the Government House. On arrival at the Government House, we found His Excellency sitting with the Honourable the Chief Secretary to the Government, the

Honourable the Attorney-General and the Public Relations Officer. His Excellency addressed us and said that Mr Fletcher had denied to him the reported interview which had appeared in the ***West African Pilot*** and the ***Daily Comet*** on the previous day, Friday, July 6, and that consequently, in his unquestionable opinion, it was a false publication under the newly enacted Defence Regulations (i.e. Regulations of July 5, which were brought to the knowledge of the Editor of the ***West African Pilot*** at 7 p.m., on the same day).

22. At the interview, although Mr Fletcher was present, he uttered not a single word. His Excellency never told us whether Mr Fletcher denied giving an interview to the ***West African Pilot*** or the accuracy of the report nor did he say in what particular the interview was false. His Excellency asked us if we had anything to say why the Defence Regulations should not be invoked? We pleaded extenuating circumstances but submitted that we should not be penalised on the private denial of Mr Fletcher without being given a fair chance to defend ourselves.

23. It should be borne in mind that the report of the interview was published in the morning of July 6, and that until we appeared before His Excellency, at 3 o'clock, on the 7th, Mr Fletcher did not at any time in any way either publicly or privately deny to us the accuracy of the report. Nor has he, up till today published what, according to him, was the accurate report of what he did say to the reporter, Mr Cookey.

24. On Sunday, July 8, an order was served on us, signed by Sir Gerald Whiteley, prohibiting the

printing and publishing of the ***West African Pilot*** and the ***Daily Comet*** until further notice and, in accordance with the said order, the two papers ceased publication immediately.

25. On Saturday, July 14, at 12.01 a.m., I left Lagos as a "fugitive" from assassination, in accordance with advanced information, but not before I had contacted the Colonial Office and many other organisations in the United Kingdom and the United States.

26. On Sunday, July 15, at 1 a.m., I arrived at Onitsha, my homeland, after crossing the River Niger from Asaba, 432 miles away from Lagos. I took refuge in the fastnesses of the jungles of my nativeland and related my experiences to my relatives, literate and illiterate.

27. On Monday, July 16, the Chief Secretary to the Government (Mr G. B. Stooke) addressed a letter to me, requesting me to come to the Nigerian Secretariat to see him in his office for a ***tete-a-tete***. It was a personal letter. Mr Gardner replied informing him that I was ***incommunicado***. I must say that whilst Mr Gardner's letter was a fact, yet had I been in Lagos, I would not have gone outdoors that day (as I disclosed to Dr Harold Moody of the League of Coloured Peoples, London, in a cablegram sent subsequently).

28. On Monday, September 17, the ***West African Pilot*** reported on its front page that burning or attempts to burn certain papers and documents

had taken place in the Public Relations Office, that is, "the office desk of Mr D. C. Fletcher, Public Relations Officer." The drawer was alleged "forced open and partially burned." The Police was reported to be investigating and "the finger prints of all the staff, including that of Mr Fletcher himself and his assistants, were taken."

29. As a result of the ban both the Zik's Press Limited and the Comet Press Limited have sustained heavy financial and other losses. It is public opinion throughout Nigeria and other parts of the world, and especially among West African soldiers in Burma and the Middle East, according to messages we have received that, the ban on the ***West African Pilot*** and the ***Daily Comet*** was high handed in the extreme.

30. The ***West African Pilot*** was suppressed on July 8. After 36 days the ban was lifted on August 14. The newspaper lost 33 working days. With an average daily earning of £41, the newspaper sustained loss amounting to no less than £1,353. The ***Daily Comet*** also sustained a loss of no less than £396 in consequence. The two papers together lost £1,749. These figures could be verified if required. If we add damage to the goodwill which is estimated at £2,000 for the ***West African Pilot*** and £1,000 for the ***Daily Comet,*** the total loss will be £4,749.

31. Due to the ban placed on the ***Pilot,*** it was imperative, from the point of view of business expediency to suspend publication of the ***Southern Nigeria Defender*** and change its venue from Warri to Lagos. It was closed down on July 16, 1945, at Warri, and

resumed publication at Lagos, on August 2, 1945. This meant a loss of 14 working days. The daily earnings of the ***Defender*** approximate £7. Transport of staff, machinery, furniture etc. come to £100. The goodwill of the ***Defender*** is estimated at £200. Therefore, loss of revenue and out of pocket expenses, caused by the prohibition order on the ***Pilot*** come to £398.

32. The two companies have thus suffered financial losses to the tune of £5,147, simply because Sir Gerald Whiteley, in his absolute and unquestionable discretion, decreed, on the one-sided evidence of a witness, who did not give his evidence publicly and was not cross-examined by those he had accused, that the two papers should be suppressed, during a war which was fought among other aims, in order to preserve the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press, and in which the flower of Nigerian manhood was sacrificed in East Africa, North Africa, the Middle East, Burma and other theatres of war, not to mention the contributions of Nigerian money and raw materials; yet the propriety of the action of Sir Gerald Whiteley cannot be questioned in the courts of law, because it is an executive act, under the Defence Regulations. The only redress open to the two companies is by way of petition to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in London, which had been done.

33. In spite of the financial losses already sustained by the Zik's Press Limited, as indicated above, the Government of Nigeria has withdrawn official advertisements and standing contracts in ALL the newspapers published by the Associated Newspapers of Nigeria, otherwise known as the Zik Group, to wit:

(1) West African Pilot (2) The Daily Comet (3) Eastern Nigeria Guardian (4) Nigerian Spokesman and (5) Southern Nigeria Defender.

34. For making an honest, but avoidable, mistake in publishing certain portion of the address of Sir Arthur Richards, Governor of Nigeria, to the Legislative Council, the ***West African Pilot*** was banned from that assembly, pending the publication of a suitable apology, approved by the Governor.

35. Amongst a section, especially the official section of the European community in Nigeria, we have been accused of being ***anti-European***. The accusation is based on a wrong interpretation of our policy. Our policy is to give the mass of Nigerians hope to live for a New and Better Nigeria. We maintain that our European leaders should live up to the standard which they profess. We believe in efficiency and pay according to a person's worth. We are opposed to privilege in any form, whether among Africans or Europeans. If that is what they call being ***anti-European*** then we remain unrepentant.

36. As I end this summary of the events of the past six months, I recall to mind the immortal lines of William Cullen Bryant:

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again.
Th' eternal years of God are hers,
But Error, wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies among his worshippers."

ABADOM BUILDING,
UPPER NEW MARKET ROAD,
THE WATERSIDE,
ONITSHA, NIGERIA.
DECEMBER 31, 1945.

Printed by Zik's Press Ltd., Onitsha.

[PAN-AFRICAN FEDERATION]

July 12, 1946

22-9-32

Mr. George Padmore
22, Cranleigh House,
Cranleigh, Street,
London, N.W. 1.

My dear Mr. Padmore:

I know that my delay in writing you has been inexcusable but there is something to say in my behalf. As I told you before, Mrs. Du Bois has been in the hospital all this year, and just about two weeks ago we got her back to her home in Baltimore. She is improving slowly but will be an invalid all her life and it has taken a great deal of my time to arrange for her comfort.

In addition to that I found my publisher was anxious to issue immediately my new book, "The World and Africa". I had planned it last year, but of course had not begun writing. So just as soon as I got a little time I began at the book and practically gave it all the time I could spare from Mrs. Du Bois, from the beginning of the year through June.

I have now in the hands of the publisher a book called "The World and Africa", which is an attempt to rewrite world history and integrate the Negro into it; and to put the blame for his being so long excluded upon the African slave-trade to America, and the capitalistic system built upon it. It is of course, a gigantic task and will bring endless criticism because the theme is large enough to take a whole lifetime instead of a few months. But I am convinced that unless I can get this published now, it will be a long time before anyone else will undertake it.

In addition to these two tasks, I have had numbers of lectures in six or seven states, in which I have discussed the Pan-African Congress and its objects; several articles and of course numberless letters.

The chief difficulty however, in the United States, is one that I am sure you have already sensed. We have some powerful Negro organizations but there is naturally a great deal of jealousy between them and diffi-

culty in cooperation. The NAACP, outside of the church organizations, is the oldest and has a firm foundation; it has endowed funds and a very considerable annual income.

As you know, I left the NAACP in 1933, because I was not altogether sure of its program and did not want to undertake at my age, any radical change. I went to Atlanta University and expected to end my days there as a writer and teacher. But it turned out otherwise. My friend, President Hope, who had asked me to return there, died and after ten years I was retired, and again asked to return to NAACP, which I did.

One of my chief objects in that return, and one in which I thought I had the cooperation of the organization, was to revive interest in the Pan-African Congresses. When, however, I made a specific proposal to attend the Congress which was being called in England, I found a great deal of opposition among younger men who had come in the organization. They rather doubted if a "Pan-African" Congress was what we wanted; they thought perhaps a Pan-Colonial Movement would be better, etc. I insisted that our particular mandate was Africa and after great difficulty and delay, I finally was able to take the trip to England.

22-9-33

But before coming, I did not have time or authority to enlist the sympathies and cooperation of a number of other organizations who ought to have been invited to join us. There is, for instance, the Council on African Affairs, headed by Paul Robeson and Max Yergan. It is, as a matter of fact, chiefly interested in South Africa where Yergan was a Y.M.C.A. secretary for a number of years. But it has a constituency and is doing good work: It is charged that the Council financed by the Communists which is probably true. I wanted their cooperation but was not able to ask them officially because of the hesitation of the NAACP. There is the African Academy, run by Nigerian and other West African students; they would cooperate. There are a number of other organizations, especially the large church organizations which always have an interest in Africa, chiefly religious, but nevertheless it is possible to guide them to a social program.

Ever since I returned I have been trying to get the NAACP to sponsor a public meeting by which these cooperating organizations could be brought in to join us in an American Pan-African Movement so as to help the parent body. Although I have appealed to the Board and the Secretary, I have not been able to accomplished anything. I did not want to start out on a movement of this sort on my personal initative; as it might involve a certain disloyality to the NAACP which I do not want to appear to promote.

However I am certain of this; first of all, as I wrote you before, we must make a concerted and widely signed appeal to the U.N. assembly on behalf of the colonies of Africa when it meets in September. Fortunately, as matters now stand, it will not be until about the end of September when it meets which will give us part of July, all of August and most of September to prepare. What I have in mind, is to ask first a number of individuals to meet me in New York next month and talk over the plan. The immediate start which I have in mind is a small "Pan-African Exposition"; a series of charts and maps which will show the

exact status of the various parts of Africa. This can be carried out on a small scale and from time to time extended and enlarged. I have talked to the American Minister to Liberia who has just resigned after more than a decade of service there, and I have suggested that perhaps such an exposition might be used as part of the Liberian Centennial. I shall see him again in a few days and get his reaction. Sometime during the week of July 14, I am going to get together a small committee and talk about the possibilities of my plan especially of the possibility of arranging an exhibit for the benefit of the United States Assembly in September; also a method of approaching the assembly so that the Pan-African Congress could sit as observer or consultant at their meetings. I will let you know the result of the preliminary Conference as soon as possible.

After that I shall hope to call a larger Conference during August or early September. Out of that, it is possible that financial help may come. I don't know how much but it has not been feasible for me to do anything toward that as yet. I attended the meeting at Madison Square Garden to send food to South Africa. I spoke briefly as a representative of the Pan-African Congress.

22-9-34

Meantime I wish you would let me have the information on several matters: first, just what has been done since I left concerning the West African cocoa situation? Secondly, what is the situation with regard to our offices in London, and what persons are working there. How are the publications getting on?

I hope to hear from you soon. My best regards to friends and especially to yourself. I have forwarded copies of Mr. Nicholson's recommendations to the President of Howard with a personal letter. I hope something may come of it.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

Pan-African Federation.

Departments—
Financial Committee.
Pan-African Institute.
African People's Trust.
Publication Department.
Regional Committee
Consumers' and
Producers' Co-operation.
Adult Education.
African Authors' Library.

President—
DR PETER M. MILLIARD.
Hon. Treasurer—
J. E. TAYLOR, M.A (Cantab.)
General Secretary—
HON. T. R. MAKONNEN.
Asst. Hon. Secretary—
E. A. COWAN.

Head Office:—
58, OXFORD ROAD,
MANCHESTER 1,
ENGLAND.

7th August, 1946

42-8F-54

AFFILIATED BODIES.

International African Service Bureau.

Negro Welfare Centres.

Negro Association.

Kikuyu Central Association Kenya.

African Progressive Association, London.

Coloured Workers Association, London.

Seirra Leone Section African Youth League.

Friends of Africa Freedom Society, Gold Coast.

Coloured People's Association, Edinburgh.

United Committee of Coloured and Colonial People's Association, Cardiff.

African Union, Glasgow Universary.

Association of Students of African Descent, Dublin.

Mr. Trygve Lie,
The Secretary General,
United Nations Organisation,
NEW YORK

Sir:

This letter is to introduce Dr. W.E.Burghardt Du Bois, the distinguished scholar, and President of the Fifth Pan-African Congress.

Dr. Du Bois has been duly accredited as the representative of the Pan-African Federation, to which is affiliated the progressive and labour organisations of East, West and Southern Africa, as well as of the West Indies. Dr. Du Bois has been given a mandate by the peoples of these territories to act as observer at the meetings of the Trusteeship Committee at the forthcoming session of the United Nations Organisation, and to make such representations as are necessary on behalf of the inhabitants of the mandated territories of South-West Africa, Tanganyika, the Cameroons and Togoland.

We therefore beg most respectfull, that all courtesies and facilities shall be extended to Dr. Du Bois to assist him in the discharge of this assignment. We also take this opportunity of wishing you, Sir, and the United Nations Organisation all success in its efforts on behalf of peace-loving humanity.

Yours faithfully,

Peter M.Milliard
President

T.R.Makonnen
General Secretary

Pan-African Federation.

Departments—
Financial Committee.
Pan-African Institute.
African People's Trust.
Publication Department.
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President—
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HON. T. R. MAKONNEN.
Asst. Hon. Secretary—
E. A. COWAN.

Head Office:—
58, OXFORD ROAD,
MANCHESTER 1,
ENGLAND.

42-F-79

AFFILIATED BODIES.

International African Service Bureau.

Negro Welfare Centres.

Negro Association.

Kikuyu Central Association Kenya.

African Progressive Association, London.

Coloured Workers Association, London.

Seirra Leone Section African Youth League.

Friends of Africa Freedom Society, Gold Coast.

Coloured People's Association, Edinburgh.

United Committee of Coloured and Colonial People's Association, Cardiff.

African Union, Glasgow Universary.

Association of Students of African Descent, Dublin.

9th August 1946.

Mr Trygve Lie,
The Secretary General,
United Nations Organisation,
NEW YORK. N.Y. U.S.A.

Sir,

This letter is to introduce Dr W.E.Burghardt Du Bois, Director Research Department, NAACP, 20, West 40th Street, New York. N.Y.

Dr Du Bois is the President of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, and has been duly accredited as the representative of the Pan-African Federation, which is a Federation of organisations of African Peoples and Peoples of African descent throughout the world, and to which is affiliated National Movements and Labour Organisations throughout continental Africa and the West Indies.

Dr Du Bois has been given a mandate by the peoples of these territories to act as observer at the meetings of the Trusteeship Committee at the forthcoming session of the United Nations Organisation and to make such representations as are necessary on behalf of the inhabitants of the mandated territories of South-West Africa, Tanganyika, the Cameroons and Togoland.

We therefore, most respectfully beg that all courtesies and facilities shall be extended to Dr Du Bois to assist him in the discharge of this assignment. We also take this opportunity of wishing you, Sir, and the United Nations Organisation all success in your efforts on behalf of peace-loving humanity.

Yours faithfully,

(Peter Milliard)
President.

(T.R.Makonen)
Secretary.

Paris, 9th August, 1946 PAN-AFRICAN FEDER.

Dear Doctor:

It was a great relief to me to have your letter, as it clarifies a number of points. We are all profoundly sorry to hear about the seriousness of Mrs. Du Bois's condition. You had mentioned about her illness in a previous letter, but we had thought that she was on the way to recovery. In the circumstances we can very well appreciate your difficulties, and sympathise with you.

We have not been unmindful of your request regarding credentials from the Federation, so that you can make representations on behalf of the African communities concerned in connection with the problem of trusteeship. You will be receiving a formal credential signed on behalf of the Executive Committee, which we would like you to present to Mr. Trygve Lie, the Secretary General, asking that facilities be extended to you as an observer at the Trusteeship Committee (No. 4) meetings. For there is where the big issue will be fought out. I am enclosing a copy of the letter, which will be coming to you direct from Manchester.

I am writing this letter from Paris, where I am reporting the Peace Conference. You will no doubt read my despatches in the Chicago Defender. I am, however, carrying out the assignment primarily for the Free Press Journal of Bombay, who have appointed me their special correspondent to cover the Conference. I shall not take up any time in discussing the trends here. You will no doubt follow my interpretations. Unfortunately, the Colonial issue is excluded from the agenda here though the Abyssinians are trying to get the matter raised when the Italian draft treaty comes up for discussion.

22-9-46

I have with me certain documents concerning the South African question which I shall post directly from Paris. They contain sufficient material to enable you to get a clear appreciation of the position of the African population within the Union of South Africa on the question of the inclusion of South West Africa. You will be pleased to know that the World Federation of Democratic Youth has been holding a conference here during the past week at the Lycée Henri IV, at which they adopted a resolution on the non-inclusion of South West Africa in the Union, and I am enclosing a copy.

Now concerning the work of our Pan-African Federation. Since your departure we have concentrated upon the immediate tasks of popularising the decisions of our Congress, and this has been quite successful. We have had no difficulties in getting our resolutions printed in the various Colonial newspapers, and we now have in the hands of the printers a small brochure containing the resolutions and your excellent historical review of Pan-Africanism. We hope to have this out at an early date and you shall receive copies for distribution on your side of the Atlantic. We intend to give this brochure as wide as possible a circulation in the Colonies. This should not be difficult since we have contacts not only with individuals but with organisations in all of the Colonies. After this publicity campaign has been crystallised, we intend to consolidate the organisational structure of the Federation by drawing in all Colonial organisations of a progressive character as affiliated bodies.

Objectively the task we set ourselves is fairly easy. Our difficulty is that we have not enough cadres in England who can afford sufficient time to carrying out the work. We are handicapped in just the opposite way from the NAACP. They have a machinery and the means to maintain that machinery; we have neither the machinery nor the means to create one. However, we are not allowing this to stand in our way. We shall find ways of overcoming it. Ideologically speaking, Pan-Africanism, it can safely be said, has found wide response throughout the black world. This is indicated by the wholehearted support which our Congress has received. The only criticism which I have noted comes from Schuyler, and we all know of Schuyler's cynicism. Therefore, criticism from that quarter need not be taken seriously.

While we have found no opposition to our ideas, we cannot just sit upon our past achievements; we must push forward. And that is ahwt I have constantly in mind. If you think it advisable I will get the Federation to address a letter to Mr. White, asking the NAACP for a contribution. The auditor has just presented us with the financial statement of the Congress, which shows a small deficit, and if we could get a contribution of, say, $500, from the NAACP, it would not only help us to pay off the deficit but enable us to pay for the Congress Report and defray its distribution. It is upon these concrete needs that I would make our appeal to the NAACP. I am confident that in time we shall find a solution to our temporary financial difficulties, for the organisation is very mindful of the need of keeping our overheads down to the minimum. Our present financial position has prevented us from embarking upon the formal establishment of the London headquarters, as we did not want to undertake this responsibility without an assured income. However, the work is being carried on from my London address, and in this I have the close co-operation of Abrahams and Miss Pizer, who is giving her secretarial services voluntarily. Manchester has engaged Mrs. Livings as a full-time worker, so much of the work is distributed between the two centres.

L4-6-22

Now, unfortunately, Dr. Milliard, the President of the British section, has had a heart attack and is laid up in hospital. At one time he was in a very dangerous situation. I saw him just before I left for Paris, and I must say that he is now showing signs of improvement and we hope that he sill soon be out of danger. His breakdown came suddenly while he was driving his car and was the result of strain and overwork. It will be necessary for him to take a long rest. Just before this unhappy happening we were planning to send him to America to join you at the September conference of UNO; he had already secured his passport and made arrangements for his passge when he had this attack.

Your letter confirms what we knew about the Council of African Affairs. We are very glad to note the assistance they were able to render to the natives of South Africa in collecting food, and in this connection you will be disturbed to know that the South African Government, not satisfied with allowing these people to starve and trying to prevent their receiving outside help, is making capital out of the parcels which American Negroes are sending them. I met a young fellow from South Africa who was a delegate to the Y outh Conference and he told me that the Government of South Africa has imposed a tax of 20% on the food which Max Yergan is sending there. As this fact may not be generally known, I think you should use it in your column.

In regard to Yergan, I do not know the man personally , but there are now quite a number of South African Negro doctors in England, most of whom are in Manchester and Birmingham; and as they are connected with the Federation, I have had the opportunity of getting their opinions on Yergan. To say the least, it is very low. It would appear from what they assert that Yergan identified himself as much as possible with the white church community in South Africa (the YMCA) and treated the Africans, even the intellectuals at Fort Hare, the students and Professor Jabavu, with the greatest contempt. He was so disliked that it affected his work among the Africans and contributed to his having to leave South Africa. Whatever the truth of these assertions, his name undoubtedly stinks among the South Africans in Britain. No doubt his present efforts constitute an attempt to redress his lost statu^s, for he seemed to have had a warm welcome when he originally went out. No doubt, too, he has contacts with the Communist Party in South Africa and that gives a link with the communists in this African Council, but I am afraid that it will take more than a few food boxes to make this man Max Yergan persona grata with the African intellectuals. However, that should not prevent us with collaborating with them as far as possible.

About your book. I think it very wise of you to make hay while the sun shines. The points of view which we seek to present in w hostile white world have to be put forward at psychological moments, so when one can get a publisher receptive to the idea of presenting our manuscripts, one has to put all other matters aside and seize the opportunity. There has recently been an awakening interest in Britain in the American Negro problems. Gunnar Myrdal's books have been brought out, and the others in the same series, and Horace Cayton's book on Chicago has been well reviewed. I would like you to send me a copy of your manuscript and I will try to see whether Gollancz will publish it. He has just brought out Mrs. Robseson's "African Journey", and as a Jew and one of the biggest English publishers he is usually receptive to minority points of view.

Regarding the cocoa situation. Nickoy has had to return home. His mission was a failure from the point of view that he never got an audience with the Colonial Office. On the other hand, the Colonial Office has promised Parliament to issue a new statement on the cocoa affair. Up to the time Parliament went into recess this was not done, but as soon as the white paper appears I will send you a copy. So matters remain as they were when you were here. Cocoa is being bought by the Government and marketed by them, principally in America.

As to the publications, I am writing a letter to the Socialist Book Centre, the wholesale distributors of the Pan-African Federation publications, asking them to send you a dozen copies of "The Voice of Coloured Labour", which is the latest pamphlet we have brought out. I do not remember whether I sent you a copy of it.

The Federation is not in touch with Yergan's group, although we had invited them to the Pan-African Congress as well as the Garvey organisations and the African Academy of Arts and Research. The latter replied to our invitation and expressed their regret that they were unable to send over a delegate as the time was so short. The Y ergan group never replied. Since the Congress we have maintained close contact aith the Garvey group and the African Academy of Arts and Research. I am acquainted with several of the young len associated with this organisation. They are chiefly from West Africa and they are in wholehearted agreement with the aims and objects and the resolutions of the Congress. So there should be no difficulty in your collaborating with them.

22-9-48

I think thatbthe best policy to adopt in the situation as it exists in America i^s not to create a new organisation, but merely to set up a sort of co-ordinating committee, with a council composed of representatives from all of the organisations interested in Africa and peoples of African descent; this would serve as a kind of rallying point whenever action round some concrete problem is desirable. For example, I would make as the immediate campaign the Trusteeship problem in connection with the forthcoming conference. I had an article shortly after the last Trusteeship meeting here which I sent to the Crisis. I do not know whether it has appeared, but in that article I attempted to give an interpretation and analysis of the Trusteeship idea and made a comparison with the old League of Nations mandates. I wanted to have it reprinted as a pamphlet so as to send it out to the Colonies as an eye-opener, but unfortunately I have no money to pay for the printing of it. Lack of money is our greatest handicap, for unlike in America, we have no rich ones among us, and you will not doubt be surprised to know that all of the work that has been done all these years has been done on a purely voluntary basis. We have never had a paid secretary or anything of the kind. To a large extent this is merely in keeping with the British tradition of public service. For few people in England get paid for their public work. It has its virtues - it avoids a lot of corruption; but it also has its drawbacks, for men must eat , and in a community such as ours consisting of the poorer citizens, it imposes an unusually hard strain. As you will see from the financial account when you receive it, all of the money which was contributed towards defraying the Congress expenses was on a voluntary basis.

I have read the document you enclose with your letter. It is a good document and contains a concrete proposal. It has the endorsement of the Pan-African Federation, and I am attaching a list of organisations to whom I would suggest that you send copies of the document for their endorsement. I think, if time is against us, it is safe to assume that the document has the endorsement of these people.

I am in Paris for a little while, but I shall be returning to London at the end of the Conference, and therefore it will be best for you to address all communications to my address there. If I stay here longer, they will be forwarded to me.

Please give our very kindest wishes to Mrs. Du Bois and assure her of our deep sympahy. Please also accept our best regards for yourself.

Very sincerely yours, George Padmore.

George Padmore

22-9-49

Pan-African Federation.

Departments—
Financial Committee.
Pan-African Institute.
African People's Trust.
Publication Department.
Regional Committee
Consumers' and
Producers' Co-operation.
Adult Education.
African Authors' Library.

President—
DR PETER M. MILLIARD.
Hon. Treasurer—
J. E. TAYLOR, M.A (Cantab.)
General Secretary—
HON. T. R. MAKONNEN.
Asst. Hon. Secretary—
E. A. COWAN.

Head Office:—
58, OXFORD ROAD,
MANCHESTER 1,
ENGLAND.

42-8-53

AFFILIATED BODIES.

International African Service Bureau.

Negro Welfare Centres.

Negro Association.

Kikuyu Central Association Kenya.

African Progressive Association, London.

Coloured Workers Association, London.

Seirra Leone Section African Youth League.

Friends of Africa Freedom Society, Gold Coast.

Coloured People's Association, Edinburgh.

United Committee of Coloured and Colonial People's Association, Cardiff.

African Union, Glasgow Universary.

Association of Students of African Descent, Dublin.

14th August 1946.

Dr W.E.B.Du Bois,
Director Research Dept.,
NAACP. 20 West 40th St.
NEW YORK. N.Y.

Dear Dr Du Bois,

I enclose letter of Credential to the Secretary General of United Nations Organisation.

Wishing you every success in your undertaking as representative of the Pan-African Federation. We shall be very glad to hear what transpires.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

T.R. Makonnen.

Secretary.

W. DuBois (PAN-AFRICAN FEDER)

MAILING ADDRESS—ADRESSE POSTALE
BOX 1000, NEW YORK 1, N. Y., U. S. A.

CABLE ADDRESS—TELEGRAMME
UNATIONS NEW YORK

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK • FIELDSTONE 7-1100

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

REFERENCE:

1501-3-1/RJB

6 September 1946

21-9-09

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of 9 August signed by you and Mr. Makonen and addressed to the Secretary-General, which has been referred to this Department for reply.

I note particularly your suggestion that Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois should act as an observer on behalf of your organization at the meetings of the Trusteeship Committee during the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly and also make representations on behalf of the inhabitants of certain mandated territories.

Your request for Dr. Du Bois to represent your organization as an observer is being referred to the appropriate Department of the Secretariat for consideration, and you will receive a further communication on this matter in due course.

21-9-10

With respect to any "representations" which Dr. Du Bois might wish to make, however, I have the honour to inform you that participation of any nature in the proceedings of the General Assembly and its Committees is limited to those having official status.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

V. Hoo

Victor Hoo
Assistant Secretary-General
Department of Trusteeship and Information
from Non-Self-Governing Territories

Dr. Peter Millard,
President of the Pan-African Federation,
58 Oxford Road,
Manchester 1,
England.

[PAN-AFRICAN FED.]

22, Cranleigh House,
Cranleigh Street,
London, N.W. 1

6th November, 1946

My dear Doctor:

The attached letter from the Executive Office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations has just come to my attention, and I am hastening to send it on to you. It would seem from this reply that the credential which I sent from Paris for the signature of Makonnen and Peter Milliard was sent direct to Mr. Trygve Lie instead of being sent on to you for presentation by you personally. It is all rather a mix-up, but I feel that as the Assembly is likely to continue its session for some time, if you present this letter you may be able to make some arrangements to act as observer, if you have not already done so.

I have been back in London for about three weeks now, but have been extremely busy ever since ly return trying to clear up arrears of work and correspondence. I have, however, been following events at UNO. Only today we read a speech in reply to Smuts from the Indian representative. All the coloured organisations have drawn up a document which has been sent to Mr. Trygve Lie. I am asking Dr. Joseph-Mitchell, Secretary of the League of Coloured Peoples to send you a copy of the document by airmail. It is a protest against the demand of the Union of South Africa for the incorporation of South-West Africa.

The Congress Report is in the hands of the printers, and in the New Year, after it is ready we shall start a campaign for affiliation and financial support from the organisation in the Colonies.

I hope that you are in good health, and that Mrs. DuBois is keeping up. Please tender her my good wishes and accept the same for yourself.

Sincerely yours,

George Padmore

22-9-46

[PAN-AFRICAN FEDER.]

DO NOT TYPE

Pan-African Federation

REGIONAL COUNCIL—Southern Section.

NATIONAL OFFICERS.

President—
DR. PETER M. MILLIARD.

Hon. Treasurer—
J. E. TAYLOR, M.A., (*Cantab*)

Hon. General Secretary—
T. R. MAKONNEN.

Asst. Hon. Secretary—
E. A. COWAN.

Regional Administrator—
K. O. LARBI, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Regional Secretary—
KWAAME NKRUMAH, M.A., M.Sc.

60 Burghley Road
Tufnell Park :: ::
LONDON N.W.5

22 Cranleigh House,
Cranleigh Street,
London,N.W.I.

AFFILIATED BODIES.

International African Service Bureau.

Negro Welfare Centres.

Negro Association.

Kikuyu Central Association Kenya.

African Progressive Association London.

Coloured Workers' Association London.

Seirra Leone Section African Youth League.

Friends of Africa Freedom Society, Gold Coast.

Coloured People's Association, Edinburgh.

United Committee of Coloured and Colonial People's Association, Cardiff.

African Union, Glasgow University.

Association of Students of African Descent, Dublin.

22-9-95

Dec.2,1946.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Dear Jawaharlalji:-

I have been requested by the Executive of the Pan-African Congress to extend the greetings of all Africans and peoples of African descent in Britain to you.We would very much like to meet you,but we fully realise the urgency of your mission and wish you all success.

Our Congress is in close fraternal relationship with the National Congress external department through our mutual friend, Comrade N.G.Ranga,as well as Comrade Dinker Sakrikar of the All-India Students' Congress.

You will be pleased to know that we have been able to establish an Asiatic--African United Front Committee in this country,which has set itself the task of fostering co-operation between all subject peoples.Already we have achieved much success, and to-night we are holding a public meeting (regret that you cannot be with us)at which representatives of the Sudan Delegation and Norman Manley,K.C.president of the Jamaica Socialist Party, will be among the speakers.

I am posting you an autographed copy of my latest book:"How Russia Transformed Her Colonial Empire".Hope you will find the time to look into it.

Good luck! Our thoughts will always be with you.

Comradely yours,

George Padmore.

22, Cranleigh House,
Cranleigh Street,
London, N.W.1.

[PAN-AFRICAN FEDER.]

12th December, 1946

Dear Doctor:

I have seen a number of Colonial newspapers with a report of the Resolution which you sent to UNO claiming representation there for the coloured peoples. It would seem that this Resolution has received pretty wide publicity. I am including it in the Congress Report, which I have now sent to the printers, and I would like you to send me as soon as possible a list of the organisations who were among the "undersigned".

After all this time I have had myself to get down and take the Congress Report into shape and get it ready for the printers, as no-one else seemed to have got on with the job. It seems that the brunt of the work does fall upon me, and I am trying hard to keep up with it. As far as the Report is concerned there is also the question of finance, and I would like you to advise me as to how to approach Walter White to help us to pay for it when it has been printed. When it is ready, I shall start a campaign among the Colonial organisations for affiliation on the basis of the Report, and get them to send affiliation fees, but I have been holding my hand until the Report is out, as I feel that it is better for us to go to these people with something concrete in our hands.

22-9-107

I am keeping well in touch with all our contacts in Africa and the West Indies, and also with our Asiatic friends. The Indians are anxious to build up an Asiatic-African Unity Front, and we have actually established in London an Asiatic-African Unity Committee, which sponsored a meeting to put the Sudanese case on December 2nd, as you will see from the enclosed handbill and Resolutions. I had a word with Nehru when he was here, just for a moment before a meeting at which he spoke, and he would like the Pan-African Federation to send a representative to the Conference of Asiatics and Africans which they are proposing to hold some time next year. I am wondering whether it is possible for you to go, particularly as you could perhaps get there more easily. I understand, however, that there might be difficulty about your leaving Mrs. Du Bois in her present condition. But let me know what your feelings are about this.

Norman Manley came over to defend a young RAF from Jamaica who was brought on a charge of murder, and for whose defence the Federation set up a Fund. The man was acquitted without the case even going to the Jury. We used the opportunity, which was very short, to have Manley speak at the Sudan meeting, and it was extremely successful. I am in constant touch with the members of the Umma Party who are here in a delegation concerned with seeing that the British do not sell out their country to Egypt, and I am sending you all the relevant documents under separate cover.

With the entry into Moody's League of Coloured People of a progressively-minded secretary, M. Joseph-Mitchell, we are now collaborating most successfully with that organisation, which took the initiative in getting out a Resolution on South-West Africa, ahich our Federation, as well as other coloured organisations in this country, signed and sent off to UNO. We watched very closely the proceedings on this matter and are quite up to date on it.

I am, if anything, more busy than ever. There is a constant stream of people passing through here, and there is always some question being brought up which takes up time and attention. I am anxious to build up the Federation

but I want it to be something solid, and am very anxious to build up a following before we have our programme concrete, as outlined in the Report. I have always in my mind the fate of Garvey's organisation, and the situation it left when it failed. Nevertheless, I am using my influence to assist the growth of movements and a forward-looking vanguard wherever the opportunity seems to be ripe, and at last I see a definite stirring in East Africa which needs nurturing and assisting in the right direction.

I do hope that you are well, and that Mrs; Du Bois is bearing up. Please give her my warm wishes, accept the same for yourself.

Sincerely y ours,

George Padmore

22-9-108

P.S. I am being frequently asked by Asiatics going to the States to place them into touch with you as the person most likely to help them in reaching organisations, groups and individuals who will help them in getting acquainted with the problems of our people in America. So please do not be surprised if young men turn up from time to time with letters of introduction. I know you will do your best to help them.

(PAN-AFRICAN FEDERATN.)

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE 20 W. 40TH ST.
NEW YORK 3, N. Y. NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

30 December 1946

22-9-111

My dear Mr. Padmore:

I have your letter of December 12. First of all remember that the N.A.A.C.P. is not yet definitely committed to the African program. Against the desire of the secretary and several powerful members of the board, I was sent to the Fifth Pan African Congress. Since then, although I have made several recommendations, the board has taken no action until the last meeting, December 9. They then agreed to the enclosed resolution, and ordered the appointment of a committee, of which I am to be a member, to make recommendations. This is a start but no more than a start. Any effort now to get Mr. White to recommend an appropriation of money for printing the report of the Fifth Pan African Congress would, I am sure, be quite in vain. I do, however, have distinct hopes of getting the whole organization back of the next Pan-African Congress and back of any colonial organization which may be set up or forecast.

I am enclosing the addresses of the organizations which were willing to back our petition to the United Nations. I did not go further than word the petition, because, after all, its presentation and acceptance would have meant very little. Practically all visitors were admitted to most of the sessions and the mere right of listening was not worth contending for. On the other hand, at present, it is out of question to attempt to secure the right of petition on colonial matters. The nearest we got to that was Romulo's resolution which merely asked the various imperial powers to convene colonial assemblies. Starting from that we may be able to do something but it is at present rather doubtful.

I am glad to hear of Manley and the Sudan meeting and am awaiting the material which you are sending. I have come in contact with many of the Asiatics; Madame Pandit and the head of the delegation to the Assembly. I shall write again soon. My best regards to you, Mr. Abrahams and others.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House, Cranleigh Street
London N.W. 1, England

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

Editor: E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

27th March 1946

All Communications to:

"WEST DENE"
3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND

Telephone: BUCkhurst 2463.

Your Ref. _____

Our Ref. ESP/BW

W.E.B.DuBois Esq.,
20 West 40th Street,
New York City.

Dear Mr.DuBois,

I was sorry not to see you again before you left England. I am enclosing herewith a copy of "New Times and Ethiopia News", just to give you the latest information. I hope that you will see your way to agitate in America against the proposals of Mr.Byrnes of placing the Ex-Italian Colonies under Trusteeship. This will really mean a new Colony for someone, probably Britain. Ethiopia is going ahead well, and her progress will be a help to the whole of the coloured races. I do hope for your energetic support.

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

E.Sylvia Pankhurst.

22-9-21

31 July 1946

My dear Miss Pankhurst:

I am very sorry I did not have the chance to talk with you frankly while I was in England. I do not think that you or most English liberals have any clear idea of the status and effort of American Negroes. Whenever we try, as of course we must try, to help our fellow Africans in other parts of the world, our work is looked upon as interference and with that attitude goes usually the assumption that we are busy bodies who must be ignored.

22-9-43

As a matter of fact time will prove, if it has not already proven, that the fight which descendants of American slaves have made in the United States, is one of the most significant in the world; and that its results are of importance not simply for themselves and for Americans but for all peoples of the world who are today in contact and commerce with the darker races.

We American Negroes have not only the wish but the duty to do all we can in the interpretation of interracial problems for the benefit of the world and particularly for Great Britain the leading world colonial power.

No one has appreciated more than I the long and courageous effort which you have made for the freedom of Ethiopia; but I strongly believe that you would be helped if your alliance with American Negroes and your understanding of their efforts were more complete. The Ethiopians themselves for a long time have been misled by the idea that any appearance of sympathy between them and American Negroes would be unwise. This of course is simply yielding to the divide and rule philosophy of colonial powers. It is not simply a matter of common blood, which is certainly great between Ethiopia and us, but much more than that, it is a question of cultural status and sharing the same problems of oppression.

There was a time when the Negroes of Haiti kept as far as possible from intercourse with and knowledge of American Negroes; but they found out in the attempt which the United States made to conquer Haiti, that it was the political power of American Negroes which blocked the effort and secured at least the beginning of their release. In the same way, Ethiopia needing as it does, capital and technical knowledge, may easily obtain that, at least in part, from America and at the same time have behind that political power on the part of American

Negro which may save this power of capital from turning Ethiopia into a semi-slave state of American imperialism.

What I want is not blind acceptance of any thesis of this sort on your part or that of Ethiopia, but I do want sympathetic conference and understanding and frequent exchange of ideas. Certainly that cannot hurt and that is what is absent today.

The mass of American Negroes is still poor and ignorant but it has a large and growing intelligentsia and leadership. We are represented in congress, in the State legislatures, in the city governments and on the bench both federal, state and city. I deeply desire that in the future there shall be increasing conferences between Americans of Negro descent, Africans, and their white friends, looking to cooperation of every sort in order to free the African peoples.

I had hoped that we might have conference on this matter and lay some plans for the future, but unfortunately we were both so busy that that did not take place during my last visit to England. I trust that something in this line may be done in the future.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst
"West Dene"
3 Charteris Road
Woodford Green
Essex, England

44-6-22

[Pankhurst]

E. Sylvia Pankhurst

Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital Fund

Patrons:
THEIR IMPERIAL MAJESTIES THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF ETHIOPIA.
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77-6-22

W.E.B. Du Bois, Esq.
Color and Democracy,
Colonies and Peace,
Department of Special Research,
20. W. 40th St.
NEW YORK. U.S.A.

ESP/AB 11th October, 1946.

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

I also was sorry not to have a chance to talk with you again. I have always had sympathy for the American Negro and had some lively experiences when I was in the United States on that account.

I have always desired that the American Negro should give political support to Ethiopia and I often observed that whilst they were very generous in helping various war funds I could have wished that they might have concentrated on helping Ethiopia rather than

PRINCESS TSAHAI MEMORIAL HOSPITAL COUNCIL

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(Standing Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations).

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Tsehafi Wolde Ghiorguis
(Minister of the Pen).

Vice-President:
The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Continued.

11th October, 1946.

W.E.B. Du Bois Esq.

22-9-78

British and other funds which had great support from other sources.

I have tried to make the cause of Ethiopia ~~made~~ more known in America, especially to the Negroes, through "New Times and Ethiopia News" and by other efforts, but thus far my success has not been very great.

The Ethiopian Diplomatic Officials in America are, of course, handicapped. It would not be considered correct for them to take part in any political movement in the United States, and if they were to appear to do so on behalf of the Negroes, this would be officially resented by the United States Authorities. That is their view and no doubt it is correct.

Unofficial people do not work under the same obstacles. At the present time the policy of the United States at the Peace Conference has been decidedly pro-Italian and if Ethiopia is to

win back her lost Colonies, much requires to be done to improve United States policy.

Can the Negroes of America take this up in a wholly disinterested manner without asking for any official support or expressions of approval from the Ethiopian Legation?
This is the line we take here; we never ask for any official approval for what we do for Ethiopia. The Legation is perfectly able to tell the Foreign Office if it chooses, that we are acting independently and cannot be controlled from any Ethiopian source; the same consideration applies here as in the United States

22-9-79

I am fully sympathetic with your view that capital, whether from America or abroad, may have dangerous results in Ethiopia, both to the Country and to the individual worker. My advice always is, as far as possible, to get everything done, as much as possible, by the Government or the Cooperatives, which have been started, and

and not to encourage the private capitalists from abroad into the Country, but lack of capital forces people some times to resort to methods which are not the best. Ethiopia has achieved a great deal in the short time since her liberation and is making good progress, but under extreme difficulties.

I feel that for the time being she cannot do much to help others but requires help from every possible source. When she is strong she will be a great support to the African people all over Africa and also to the American Negro.

I fully agree with you that there should be sympathetic conference and understanding and exchange of ideas. I make a few suggestions which Ithink would help Ethiopia and promote understanding.

1. You should send us lists of addresses where we could send literature about Ethiopia (pamphlets, etc.) Some of these could be given away, but as there is a limit to

22-9-80

W.E.B. Du Bois, Esq.

that it would be good also to have addresses of places where it would be possible to sell literature on Ethiopia, in order that the financial strain could be reduced.

2. Are there any Negro Newspapers in the United States who would like to receive a weekly or monthly letter about Ethiopia?

3. Would you join with others in forming in America a Branch of the International Ethiopian Council for Study and Report?

4. Could you get some members of Congress to act as advisers and to ask questions in Congress relative to United States policy on Ethiopia?

The Council you might form might consist of Negroes and Non-Negroes I express no opinion. ~~I exchange no information~~ about that; you know conditions in United States better than I do. Or it might be of all Negro & there might also be a joint body.

22-9-81

The Council, when formed, might be mainly of individuals, or it might be formed by representatives of Societies or it might be formed both of individuals and of representatives, but if it is to be formed it should be formed at once, or you might form a special Sub-Committee of your own Organization and leave it to others to do anything they thought fit independently.

For Ethiopia the coming year is of vast importance because the ~~Colonial~~ question of Eritrea & Somaliland will be settled during the coming year.

As you say the Negroes are represented in Congress and in the States Legislatures.

I am enclosing "New Times and Ethiopia Issues with reports of the Paris Conference which may be fuller than others which

you have been able to see. These will aquaint you of what happened in Ethiopia during the Conference.

I am not sure whether you are taking the Paper, but I shall put you on the list if you are not. If you will send a subscription I shall be obliged, as our free list is unduly large and we have a struggle to make ends meet.

5. PRINCESS TSAHAI MEMORIAL HOSPITAL.

22-9-82

This is exceedingly important for Ethiopia as it will be the first medical and nursing Training School in Ethiopia and is the only existing Hospital with plenty of room for extension and, therefore, the capacity to become a really important Institution.

We have appealed to the British public and received a good deal of support, but last year money came in very slowly owing to British and European claims and to the fact that Britain is now very poor and the sources to which we have to go are bled white. Could our efforts be reinforced in the United States by a Committee

Continued. 11th October, 1946.

W.E.B. Du Bois, Esq.

there raising funds independently it would indeed be helpful. At present we have not raised enough to pay for the building and equipment and money is urgently required.

It is essential for Ethiopia to get out of the hands of Foreign Missionary Societies, British Institutes and Governments and be able to run her own affairs independently of foreigners. When she can do all that help will be received without great difficulty, but she has to achieve an independent status of her own; and for her people to be trained instead of having to rely on foreign Doctors and Technicians is essential.

The difference which an efficient Ethiopia would make to the rest of Africa is beyond computation.

Foreign Military rule over the African people, an example of which we have recently seen in Eritrea, must be terminated, and we have to work both politically and culturally to this end.

W.E.B. Du Bois Esq.

I have put forward a few of my views and should be glad to receive your comments.

I am sending under separate cover a few pamphlets which I hope will be of interest.

I am very anxious to get the Memorial Hospital going; after that there are many other developments which we might help to promote if we have a body of people prepared to give their support.

Yours sincerely,

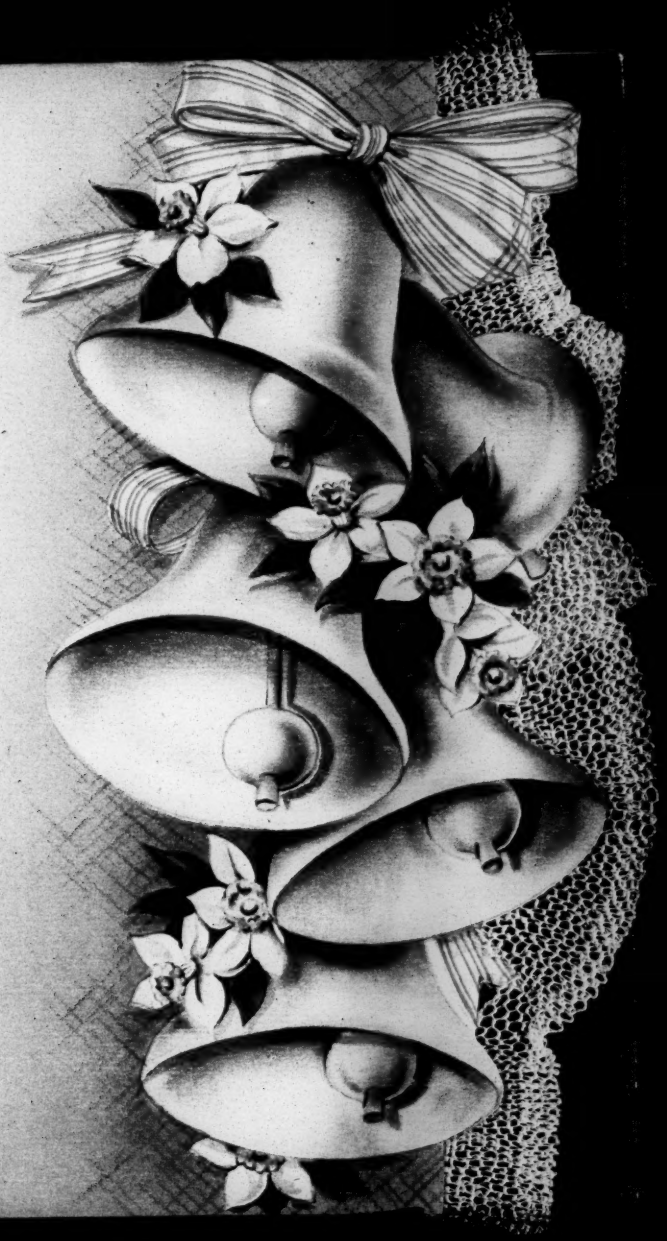
Sylvia Pankhurst.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

22-9-84

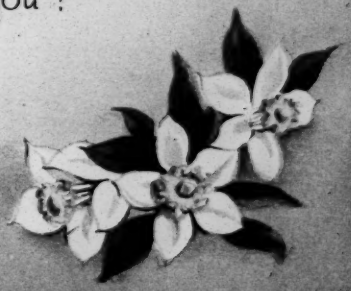
Congratulations
on Your
Golden Wedding
Anniversary

50



Through fifty years in all you've done,
You two have traveled life as one --
One in sorrow and success,
One in love and happiness;
Now, remembering fifty years,
With all their laughter and their tears,
It must be wonderful to know
How love within the heart may grow
For fifty years and yet be new --
Congratulations -- both of you !

Best wishes,
Amy B. Parks
Jessie B. Parks
Adella G. Parks



(PARKWAY COMM. HOUSE)

Parkway Community House

5120 South Parkway
Chicago 15
ATLANTIC 1020

21-21-42

October 1, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
President, Pan African Congress
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your letter concerning the petition of the Pan African Congress to the Assembly of the United Nations has followed me around the country on my vacation. Therefore, you haven't heard from me before. Although I won't be able to be in New York on October 5, I certainly endorse the petition.

Yours very truly,

Horace R. Cayton

Horace R. Cayton
Director

HRC:mc

[Penn. Railroad]

14 June 1946

Sir:

My wife is leaving Montefiore Hospital, June twenty-fourth to return to her home in Baltimore. We need a drawing room or a compartment with toilet facilities from here to Baltimore on that day on any train leaving between ten and noon.

I shall want two railway tickets and there will be a third ticket used by my granddaughter but she will have a return ticket to Baltimore so that will make three passengers. Will you kindly make me a reservation and as soon as you let me know I shall send you a check.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

City Passenger Agent
The Pennsylvania Railroad
Pennsylvania Station
New York City

(Price)

281 EMBARCADERO ROAD
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

21-29-7D

May 6, 1946

It will take more than the fifty-six years since Commencement 1890 to make one forget how disturbing the entrance of Mrs Grover Cleveland was and who made the best speech of the day. And the good wishes of all your friends are as continuing for you and yours.

(Price L.S.S. '90)

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief

PEOPLE'S
The VOICE

210 WEST 125th ST., N. Y. C.
MOnument 2-5110

21-27-46

M A Y
24th 1
9
4
6

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It seems that everytime I get in touch with you it is to ask a favor. This time it is no exception.

It occurs to us here at PV that one of the most exciting, exceptional and vital features that we could possibly give our readers is one done by you on the golden anniversary of your splendid fight against imperialist forces and what we may hope for the next fifty years if we all join you in a fight against imperialism.

I don't believe that such a feature would conflict with any other newspaper committments you may have and it would make us very proud to present such a feature in our Fotoscope. It need not be more than 750 words. However, we could use up to 1,000. I would like to know as soon as possible if you will do this feature for us sometime within the next three or four weeks so that we can properly plan for and illustrate it.

I hope you will say yes.

Sincerely,
Marvel Cooke

Marvel J. Cooke
Assistant Managing Editor

M
J
COOKE
M
L

31 May 1946

21-24-50

Dear Marvel:

I should be glad to write an article on the Golden Wedding. Let me know about the deadline.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Marvel Cooke
The Peoples Voice
210 West 125th Street
New York City

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief

PEOPLE'S
The VOICE

210 WEST 125th ST., N. Y. C.
MOnument 2-5110

21-27-47

JUNE 1
First 9
4
6

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 31. I am happy that you are going to do your "Golden Wedding."

I should like to have your dopy in (750 to 1000 words) by Friday, June 14, announcement of the feature to be made in the June 22 issue, so that our art department may have time to illustrate it properly.

Thanks again. I'll do as much for you sometime.

Sincerely,

Marvel

Marvel Cooke
Assistant Managing Editor

MC/kj

21-27-48

13 June 1946

Dear Marvel:

Enclosed is the article which I rashly promised you. I hope it will suit. I have thoughtfully enclosed a blank bill.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Marvel Cooke
The Peoples Voice
210 West 125th Street
New York City

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief

PEOPLE'S
The VOICE

210 WEST 125th ST., N. Y. C.
MOnument 2-5110

21-27-49

JULY
8th
1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We appreciate your running the risk of letting us determine the amount of your remuneration for your recent article in The People's Voice.

We are asking our business office to send you a check for $25.00. This is by no means a measure of our evaluation of the article; rather it is a reflection of our limited financial resources which last week's fire all but wiped out completely.

Again many thanks for the article and for your generosity.

Very truly yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson
General Manager

D
A
WILKERSON
M
L

New York City
20 West 40th Street
29 July 1946

PEOPLE'S VOICE
210 West 125th Street
New York City

to

W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr.

2/-7

one article $25.00

20 August 1946

21-7-21

My dear Marvel:

Mr. Wilkerson promised me twenty-five dollars for that article which I did for you. I have not yet received it. Will you kindly remind him.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Marvel Cooke
The Peoples Voice
210 West 125th Street
New York City

21-7-20

4 October 1946

My dear Marvel:

Here is an answer to the complaint that I sent to the Fifth Avenue Coach Company.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Marvel Cooke
The Peoples Voice
210 West 125th Street
New York City

9 December 1946

21-2-51

My dear Mr. Wilkerson:

Pursuing the conversation which we began last night, I have in mind a column of short paragraphs headed "Pan Africa". It would present each week the latest news of all groups of persons of Negro descent outside the United States. It would be patterned on the Old Horizon which I used to prepare for the Crisis. It would be more fact than opinion but, of course, some opinion would creep in. I know by experience that a short paragraph is read by very many more people than longer expressions of opinion.

If such a column was prepared from week to week, it would be more costly than the ordinary column because it would involve more clerical help and postage for gathering the data. Nevertheless, I think it would be an excellent idea and I do not believe that the Chicago Defender would object.

Think it over and we will talk about it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B; Du Bois

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
People's Voice
210 West 125th Street
New York City

21 March 1946

21-18-4

My dear Mr. Perdue:

Mrs. Du Bois, as you know, is in the hospital here suffering from partial paralysis. She is improving and I want to bring her home in May. We ought to have some kind of moving staircase or small elevator to help her get from the first to second floor. Have you any suggestions as to kind and price? I shall be much oblige for any advice.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Saul M. Perdue
2410 College Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

CONTRACTS AND
ARCHITECTURAL SERVICES

PHONE:
HAMILTON 4868

SAUL M. PERDUE
BUILDING CONSTRUCTION
2410 COLLEGE AVENUE
BALTIMORE, MD.

23 March 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I have written the Inclinator Company of America, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in reference to the ascending stair you wish to install for Mrs. DuBois.

This Company manufactures an INCLINATOR that can be installed on the present stair-way. It is the simplest type of equipment and should be the least expensive. It can, at the same time, serve you adequately.

Additional information will be forwarded as rapidly as the manufacturers make it available to me.

Very truly yours,

Saul M. Perdue

Saul M. Perdue

27 March 1946

My dear Mr. Perdue:

I have just had the enclosed letter from the Inclinator Company of America. Will you get in touch with these people at your convenience. Thank you for your cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Saul M. Perdue
2410 College Avenue
Baltimore 14

[ENC. FROM Perdue]

The INCLIN-ATOR

The "Elevette"

INCLINATOR COMPANY OF AMERICA

Originators and manufacturers of simplified Electric Passenger Lifts for the Home

C. C. CRISPEN, President
PAUL R. KRUM, Secretary

311-315 S. CAMERON STREET
HARRISBURG, PENNA.

March 26, 1946

Mr. Saul M. Perdue
Building Construction
2410 College Avenue
Baltimore 14, Md.

Dear Sir:

21-18

Responding to your letter of March 23rd, we are pleased to inclose herewith circular matter illustrating and describing our Residence Elevators.

We note that you have a client who wishes to install an INCLIN-ATOR type of lift in his residence. You inquire as to the possibility of having the installation made the latter part of April. We wish to advise that at present the best delivery we can promise is approximately 16 weeks.

We are represented in the Baltimore territory by the Blake Palm Elevator Corporation, 100 West 22nd St., Baltimore, Md. We are mailing a copy of this letter to our representatives asking that they contact with you at their earliest convenience and give you further information concerning our product.

Thanking you for your interest, we remain,

Yours very truly,

INCLINATOR COMPANY OF AMERICA

P. R. Krum
Secretary

PRK/cb
Incl.
C.--Blake Palm

SAUL M. PERDUE
2410 COLLEGE AVENUE
HAMILTON 4868
BALTIMORE 14, MARYLAND

7 April 1946

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER
VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It seems that the Blake Palm Elevator Corporation, to whom we have been referred, is a one man concern and that he is out of town continuously. His secretary did inform me on Thursday, however, that "he will be back from Jersey and in the office on Monday".

I expect, then, to contact him tomorrow and to get him out to your home to estimate costs immediately.

Very truly yours,

Saul M. Perdue

Saul M. Perdue

21-18

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

9 May 1946

21-18-3

My dear Mr. Perdue:

I hope you found the house key and my suggestions. I still incline to the southeast corner of the living room. It will save us putting in a door but of course I will leave this to your judgment. I do hope we can get the room finished by June first.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Saul M. Perdue
2410 College Avenue
Baltimore

CONTRACTS AND
ARCHITECTURAL SERVICES

PHONE:
HAMILTON 4868

SAUL M. PERDUE
BUILDING CONSTRUCTION
2410 COLLEGE AVENUE
BALTIMORE, MD.

May 11, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. Haug and Mr. Amendt, plumber, have agreed to proceed with powder room installation at your home. They have been provided with the necessary sketch and should begin the work immediately.

Further investigation showed that your idea to locate this room in south-east corner is more practical. The door there, plumbing (that I thought was in north corner), and living room modifications unite to force us into the south-east area.

Very truly yours,

Saul M. Perdue

Saul M. Perdue

21-29-82

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

(148)

SYMBOLS

Day Letter
Night Letter
LC=Deferred Cable
NLT=Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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BRL310 DL PD=BALTIMORE MD 12 340P 1946 MAY 12 PM 3 51

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE=

:THE SAUL PERDUES LIKE HUNDREDS OF FRIENDS THROUGHOUT THE LAND REJOICE WITH YOU ON THIS YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY ACCEPT OUR CONGRATULATIONS AND GOOD WISHES FOR MANY MORE YEARS OF JOYOUS LIVING TOGETHER=

MR AND MRS SAUL M PERDUE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

July 9, 1946

Mr. Saul M. Perdue
2410 College Avenue
Baltimore, Md.

21-15

My dear Mr. Perdue:

Will you kindly take up with Mr. Amendt the plumber the whole question of our sewer connection? As I said to you the sewer has had to be dug up every other year since we have been in the house and I think it ought to be finally corrected so as to be safe. Please talk to him about this and let me know what decision you come to. I shall be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

1 October 1946

Dear Mr. Perdue:

Enclosed is a bill and check for the plumber. If the bill is alright, kindly forward the check to him.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

21-18

Mr. Saul Perdue
2410 College Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

150-51 Linden Blvd
Jamaica 4, L. I.
December 29, 1946

Dr. W. E. Burghart Du Bois
% Nat'l Asso. for Advan. Col. People
20 West 40th Street
New York 17,
New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

My English course at Long Island University includes a term paper, due date, January 7, 1947.

Owing to the lack of any course in Negro History, I thought it would be enlightening and appropriate to choose a topic of this nature; and in so doing, it seems fitting to write on two of the most outstanding contributors to race education and scientific race knowledge, yourself and the late Dr. Booker T. Washington. I have read several publications by and about both you and Dr. Washington in preparation of this term paper. May I hear from you in regard to the following questions? Any other comments would be appreciated.

22-9-118

Do you still believe that special attention to the "Talented Tenth" (relative to solving the Negro racial problem) is the best method of approach to the task of improving race relations between the whites and blacks in America? What is your opinion regarding the quality of race relationship now prevalent as compared to that when you conceived the idea of the "Talented Tenth"? Do you believe that, had your idea been put into effect in the manner in which you desired, present relations would be much better than they are?

Thank you for your kind attention.

Very sincerely yours,

Cecil Peterson

Cecil Peterson

Saturday A.M.

Dear Dr Dubois:

I have just dropped in with my 2 year old nephew, Dudley for a little chat!

We have left the promised picture. (Better late than never — I hope.) My wife did not get back on it for some months.

With best regards,

Houston Peterson

21-19-63

Social Work - 1946

28 January 1946

21-19-64

My dear Mr. Peterson:

I am so sorry I wasn't here to welcome you last Saturday and to meet your little nephew. I am delighted with the picture. Please thank Mrs. Peterson very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Houston Peterson
Cooper Union
Cooper Square
New York City

[PHELPS-STOKES]

Telephone: AShland 4-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

Copy to Dr. DuBois & Dr. Diggs. L.A.R.

January 14, 1946

21-24-03

Dear Dr. Stokes:

Your note of January 11 th, inquiring as to the status of the material for the Encyclopedia of the Negro, and expressing the hope that two copies of the new proof may be available when you come to New York on Wednesday, February 13th, was received this morning.

We have communicated by telephone with the offices of Dr. Du Bois and Miss Phelps and wish to report as follows:

Dr. Diggs advises that they have all of the material in hand (including Dr. Logan's work) and expect to finish the corrections, etc., by Thursday of this week - January 17th - following which they will send it to Miss Phelps at the H. W. Wilson Co.

Miss Phelps' Secretary, Mrs. Graham, advises that Miss Phelps is ill with the flu, but they hope that she may be able to return to business sometime this week. However, they will do their best to get two proofs (one for Dr. Logan, and one for you and Dr. Du Bois) ready by Wednesday, February 13th, but are not very hopeful that it can be done.

I am sending copies of this note to Dr. Du Bois and Miss Phelps so that all may be clear as to what is desired and hoped for, and we shall keep in touch with them and let you know of the progress made.

Sincerely yours,

L. A. Hoy

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Pine Crest Inn, Tryon, N. C.

(PHELPS-STOKES)

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101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

January 20, 1946

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Tryon, North Carolina

21-26-57

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am greatly obliged to you for your important letter of January 13th. I feel truly grateful to you, Miss Diggs, and Mr. Logan for your long labor in putting the Encyclopedia into what I am sure is now excellent shape. In spite of its recognized value, some of the criticisms of the first edition were evidently justified, due largely to the fact that so many had worked on the manuscript, and that Mrs. Donohugh did not have as good a critical eye as we expected. I think that this revision has been well worth while and will be a permanent source of satisfaction to all concerned. I would advise as follows:

1. If revisions do not require any considerable repagination, go ahead with corrections as planned.

2. If revisions require much repagination, and if Addenda are all new entries, consider throwing all together in one new alphabet. I would then write a new note to the "Revised and Enlarged Edition".

3. If there is any doubt, await my return to New York on Wednesday, February 13th. I could see you at the Phelps-Stokes Fund office at 3:P.M.

4. I am asking Mr. Roy to get from Miss Phelps the necessary approximate estimate of costs for 1000 copies after you and he have had a chance to confer about this letter and to decide on the probable best course.

It is gratifying to think that every criticism and suggestion of reviewers has now been taken into account. The fact that most of these were of a minor character does not mean that they were not important for the highest accuracy obtainable is essential.

Personally, I am convinced that in the long run this work represents one of the most important undertakings in which you and the Phelps-Stokes Fund have been connected, and we must see it through in a satisfactory way.

Very sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes
R.L.H.

Anson Phelps Stokes

APS
RLH

Copies to Doctors Davis, Jones,
Logan and Tobias

(PHELPS-STOKES)

10 May 1946

21-26-58

My dear Mr. Stokes:

Dr. Diggs tells me that she has finished the work on the Encyclopaedia and I hope all is now well. I am sorry that I was not here to help her but I have been in the far west lecturing.

As I remember in your letter last year you said that the appropriation of one hundred dollars annually for research was going to be continued by your board. I may be mistaken in this and will understand if you cannot afford this. At any rate I do not want to spend money which I do not have and I thought I would mention the matter to you.

I am glad of Mr. Tobias' installation. I trust this will find you in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Lenox, Massachusetts

[PHELPS-STOKES]

21-24-04

26 September 1946

My dear Mr. Roy:

Enclosed is a note about the Colored Seventh Day Adventists which may be in time for use in the Encyclopedia and may not. At any rate I put it into your hands.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. L.A. Roy
Phelp-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

November 5, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have just finished my thirty five years of work in helping to direct the policy of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, having handed over my duties to Mr. Jackson Davis last week, just as those of Dr. Jones were handed over to Dr. Tobias last spring. I am preparing a thirty five-year report in which I am making my major theme the progress of the Negro during this period. Of course I realize that the Phelps-Stokes Fund has only been one of many and that only a minor factor in the changes, but the occasion gives me the opportunity to summarize the great advances that have been made.

There are two points where perhaps you can give me some help. Have you any summary with dates of the important constitutional decisions of the last ten years affecting the Negro? I have in mind such decisions as the Texas Primary case, the Missouri University case, and one or two of the transportation cases. If so, if you could send me a circular or pamphlet which summarizes these, or from your own knowledge dictate a page to me of what you consider to be the most important cases and dates, I would greatly appreciate it.

22-9-93

Also I am preparing what I have never seen, a table of the most important events indicating progress in the status of the Negro during the period. If you happen to know of any such table of dates I should like to know where it is found as I might find a few that would be suggestive and that I have overlooked. At any rate I hope you will let me send you this table of dates when I have finished with it, for any suggestions or comments that may occur to you.

With increasing appreciation of the significance of your vital contributions to the cause of Negro progress, I am

Always sincerely yours,
Anson Phelps Stokes
H.

(Dictated by Dr. Stokes, but signed in his absence)

P.S. I enclose envelope for reply.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

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Lenox, Massachusetts.
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2, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

November 6, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On October 31st Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes retired from the Presidency of the Phelps-Stokes Fund after thirty-five years of distinguished service to education and race relations in the United States and Africa. Members of the Board and Staff of the Fund invite you to participate in a testimonial to him that will take the form of a folio of letters of appreciation to be presented to him at the annual meeting of the Board to be held in New York on Wednesday, November 20, 1946. It seems particularly fitting that you should take part in this testimonial in view of your sympathetic interest and participation in the work that Dr. Stokes has done through the years.

Will you not, therefore, write a letter that may be included in this folio, and address it to him personally, mailing it to the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue. It will be appreciated if you will use your regular stationary. Your letter may be either typed or hand-written.

We would appreciate receiving your letter in time for the formal presentation, but in any event it will be included in the folio as finally assembled.

Sincerely yours,

Channing H. Tobias

CHT
RLH

Channing H. Tobias
Director

21-24

[Phelps-Stokes Fund]

8 November 1946

21-24-07

My dear Dr. Stokes:

On the occasion of your retirement from active work with the Phelps-Stokes Fund, may I express to you and to the officers of the Fund my great appreciation of the opportunity which I have had in the last ten years or more of working with you. Your optimism and broad understanding have often given me courage and tempered my own judgment. I am especially appreciative of your willingness to listen to me even in cases when you did not altogether agree. I hope that you will still have many years of work before you, in a world today which sorely needs workers of your kind.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

[Phelps-Stokes Fund]

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

November 12, 1946

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21-24-05

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The original of this just arrived by air mail from South Africa and I thought it important to get a copy into your hands at once.

Thank you very much for your splendid letter in the New York Times this morning.

Sincerely yours,

Channing H. Tobias

CHT
RLH

Channing H. Tobias
Director

[Enc. From Channing Tobias]

COPY

Temple Chambers
4, Wale Street
Cape Town

30th October, 1946

Dear Dr. Channing Tobias:

After the interest you have shown in the matter of the mandate of South West Africa, I feel I should send you the enclosed memo as containing some ideas for a just solution of the South West African mandate, and we should be grateful if you can do anything to help at this late hour.

I and no one that I know here has so far seen a copy of the 10,000 beautifully got-up pamphlets by the Government of the Union of South Africa. There is no doubt that everything has been done to prevent the true friends of the Native people of South West Africa from enabling these primitive people

(I) to know their existing rights under the mandate;

(II) to know what their position would be under a new mandatory agreement in terms of the United Nations' Charter and

(III) the position of African Natives inside the Union.

Moreover, no attempt seems to have been made by the United Nations to fulfil their sacred trust to backward peoples in the mandated area of South West Africa, though from what we can see in the Press every other power to whom a mandate has been given has agreed to embody both the letter and the spirit of the provisions of the United Nations' Charter. For example, Great Britain has done so in regard to Tanganyika, Togoland and the Cameroons. It is somewhat disturbing that South Africa alone should reject these safeguards for the aboriginal population and that the Nations of the world appear to be abandoning all sense of responsibility on their part. I hope I am not stating it too strongly.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Douglas M. Buchanan

[PHELPS-STOKES]

14 November 1946

21-24-06

My dear Mr. Tobias:

Thank you for your letter and enclosure of November 12. The enclosure is not altogether understandable because while there are references to certain paragraphs, paragraphs four and five do not seem to be included. Nevertheless what there is included is of very great interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Channing Tobias
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Telephone: AShland 4-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

THE TRUSTEES OF THE PHELPS-STOKES FUND
request the pleasure of your company
at an informal Tea to be given
in honor of
DR. ANSON PHELPS STOKES
and
DR. THOMAS JESSE JONES
who have recently retired as
President and Educational Director,
respectively, of the Phelps-Stokes Fund,
in the Office of the Fund
Room 1410, 101 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.,
on Wednesday afternoon, November 20, 1946
from four to five o'clock

To: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

R.S.V.P.

14 November 1946

Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund:

I regret very much that I cannot attend the reception to Dr. Stokes and Dr. Jones Wednesday afternoon, November 20. I am speaking at that time at the National Board of the Y.W.C.A.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-24

Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

November 26, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

21-19-16

I think I have called your attention in the past to the unusually useful character of the little magazine entitled Race Relations, published by the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg. I am forwarding you the current number, also the number of the Race Relations News, which contains some interesting comments. I should think that it would probably be worth while for your office to subscribe to this, so shall not send on additional numbers. Don't trouble to acknowledge this.

Dr. Tobias has secured for me a statement entitled "Equal Justice Under Law," which gives the most important Supreme Court cases in which I was interested, so you needn't trouble about this further.

Sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

December 17, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am sending you herewith a rough copy of the section in my Thirty Five Year Report that gives dates in the field of Negro progress during the period. I would greatly appreciate it if you would look it over and return it to me with any suggestions for addition or corrections. If I could have this in a week or ten days I would appreciate it. Of course I recognize full well, as the note at the foot of the first page of dates indicates, that it would be absurd to mention some of these minor Phelps-Stokes Fund events, except as this is also a thirty-five year report of the Fund's service.

21-19-17

I have asked Dr. Logan to send me a few notable dates in connection with the progress of the Negro in Latin America and in relations between the American Negro in this country and his relations in the southern continent. I think the thing is worth doing, so hope that if you note any conspicuous omissions or slips you will let me know. As this is an extra copy you may make your marks right on the manuscript provided they are in red or blue, or some other color, and easily distinguishable.

I have heard from Miss Diggs several times, including a letter today, which indicates that she is a candidate for a Guggenheim Fellowship. I think highly of her and her work.

Miss Phelps at the Wilson Company informs me that the revised edition of the Encyclopedia of the Negro Preparatory Volume has been completed and is in the hands of the binders. I am hoping for good reviews and shall always look back with pleasure to our association in this interesting enterprise.

Very truly yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Best Greetings of the Season
to you and Mr. Graham.

Enc.

cc. to Phelps-Stokes Fund

for W. E. B. Du Bois

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS December 18, 1946

To many kind Friends:

As you know, the Phelps Stokes Trustees arranged for a Tea to Dr. Jones and myself on the occasion of my resignation from the Board and its Chairmanship, which took place as of November first. At this time you were among many friends who wrote letters of appreciation for what I have tried to do in behalf of the Negro's rights and education. The letters form a group which will always give me both pleasure and inspiration but I am well aware that only as we have gained support from other friends has the Phelps-Stokes Fund been able to do its work. Furthermore, I realize that much of the credit that has come to me should go properly to Dr. Jones and Mr. Roy, and their assistants on our small staff. They have been splendid.

21-19

We expressed our special appreciation to Dr. Jones with a volume of mimeographed letters a few years ago after his twenty five years of service, and this is apparently the only reason why the Staff did not suggest that letters should also be written to him at this time. A portrait of him by Mrs. Reyneau was, however, presented to the Fund with appropriate remarks by Dr. Tobias.

I have just finished my portion of the Thirty-Five Year Report of the Fund. A good deal of it will be given to a factual study of the improvement in the Negro's status and in race relations in the third of a century since the Phelps-Stokes Fund was founded, an improvement in which the Fund has played a small but honorable part. A copy will be sent you from the office early in the new year. It will also contain the reports by Dr. Jones on the last fifteen years' work of the Fund and by Mr. Roy regarding the Fund's financial status and its contributions to various causes summarized both for the last fifteen-year period and for the Fund's entire history.

I am, with deep appreciation, kindest regards and best greetings of the Season,

Sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

Your generous letter was greatly appreciated.

18 December 1946

Dear Dr. Stokes:

Here are a few corrections which may help. It is an interesting list.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-19

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Lenox, Massachusetts

[Phelps-Stokes Fund]

18 December 1946

Page 62-B 1914-W.E.B. Du Bois completes his series...

62-C 1914- Davis was appointed General much later than this perhaps 1941

62-c 1915- Date of Booker Washington death. I never heard of the New Republic article.

62-C 1917- Date should be 1919 for Dr. Du Bois establishes Pan-African Congress

62-E 1925- Alain Locke edits The New Negro

62-H 1940-PHYLON, ajournal of race, founded by Dr. Du Bois at Atlanta University

21-24-02

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

December 20, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

22-9-114

Thank you immensely for your letter of December 18th and for the six suggestions of minor corrections and additions in my Table of Dates. They are all appreciated. It may interest you to know that I took the 1917 date for the founding of the Pan African Congress from Dr. Woodson's The Negro in our History, page 555, fifth revised edition. It may also interest you to know that The New Republic article is referred to by Myrdal. On page 1178 the reference to it is thus stated:

WASHINGTON, Booker T., "My View of Segregation Laws." The New Republic, vol. 5, no. 57; December 4, 1915; pp. 113-114.

I am particularly grateful for catching the error with reference to General Davis. I hope that I would have caught it myself in my revision, but I cannot be sure. The putting of his appointment as General in 1914 instead of 1940 was undoubtedly due to a misunderstanding in dictation.

Again many thanks. I am glad that you think the list an interesting one. The corrections will be noted.

While on the subject of dates in the history of the Negro I most earnestly hope that you are making arrangements either for the publication yourself of a full autobiography, or for leaving your papers to some institution or individual with the idea that an autobiography will be finished after your death. I know of course the delightful little pamphlet that you published some years ago on your development in each of seven decades, but what is needed is a full length story, for whether you will acknowledge it or not, the part that you have played in the progress of the Negro in this country and in Africa is a most notable and important one. You have had a unique position. As you know, during your middle period, when your work was so largely that of a controversialist, I did not always see eye to eye with you, but I have never for a moment questioned your ability, your unselfishness, or your ideals, and have generally heartily agreed with your ultimate aims. I see more clearly than ever, as I consider the progress in the past thirty five years, what a large part you have had to play in it. Surely if you have not time to prepare an autobiography there are some very competent Negro scholars such as Charles H. Thompson, or Alaine Locke, or Dr. Logan, or others who could do the work admirably. Would that our mutual friend James Weldon Johnson were here to do it.

I imagine that friends or relatives must have frequently presented this idea to you, but I want at least to be among those who reinforce the suggestion.

Always sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

cc. to Phelps-Stokes Fund

31 December 1946

22-9-115

My dear Mr. Stokes:

Thank you for your letter of December 20th. You will be glad to know that Miss Shirley Graham who wrote the book on Carver and has just received the Messner Prize for a biography of Frederick Douglass, has long insisted that one of her projected books will be a biography of myself. In the meantime, Herbert Apteker, a Columbia doctor of philosophy, is going over my letters and articles with view to publication. Between these two it is possible that something will be done in the matter which you mention. I trust that you and family had a pleasant holiday.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Lenox, Massachusetts

PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, Inc.

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1922 THIRTEENTH ST., N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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627-9 BROAD STREET, PHILADELPHIA 47, PA.

NATIONAL EXEC. SEC., LYNWOOD W. BROWN
2009 NORTH AVE., RICHMOND 22, VA.

NATIONAL TREAS., DR. GEORGE L. HIGHTOWER
250 AUBURN AVE., N. E., ATLANTA, GA.

NATIONAL BUS. COUNSELLOR, JAMES A. JACKSON
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GEORGE A. BLAKEY, 3458 S. STATE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.

OFFICE OF
ATT'Y GEORGE A. PARKER
NATIONAL PRESIDENT
1922 THIRTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

October 17, 1946

42-18-74

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Your letter of October 11, 1946 addressed to Dr. R. A. Billings, Atlanta, Georgia, former President of the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity has been forwarded to me. I wish to thank you for the invitation extended to the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity to participate with other organizations in your petition to the assembly of the United Nationa by the Pan-African Congress.

I wish to assure you that the Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity heartily endorses the sentiments expressed in your petition. I am signing the same on behalf of our Fraternity and returning it to you. I have appointed Dr. Laurence D. Reddick to represent Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity. Dr. Reddick can be reached at the Harlem Branch of the Y.M.C.A., 137th Street, New York City.

If you will be kind enough to notify me as to the date when the petition will be presented I shall endeavor to be present.

Very truly yours,

George A. Parker

George A. Parker
National President
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity

GAP:ejc

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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BRL225 8=WASHINGTON DC 12 1125A

1946 MAY 12 PM 2 25

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

2301 MONTEBELLO TERRACE=

CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES FOR MANY MORE YEARS=

MR AND MRS WILLIAM PICKENS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

21-25-7

1 November 1946

Dear Mr. Prattis:

Here are some articles rather in the nature of a daily diary which Dr. Diggs has sent home from South America. Look them over and see if there is anything that you can use in the Courier, if not kindly return them to me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Pittsburgh-Courier
2628 CENTRE Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa.

21-25-6

13 December 1946

Gentlemen:

Please send me a copy of your issue of November 30, 1946, New York edition. Stamps enclosed

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Pittsburgh Courier
2091 Seventh Avenue
New York City

(PIZER)

5-12-12

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

(126)

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BRL235 INTL=CD LONDON VIA RCA 26 MAY 11

NLT DOCTOR DUBOIS=

:2302 MONTEBELLO TER BALTO=

1946 MAY 12 PM 2 31

[HAPPY ANNIVERSARY AND LONGER LIFE FOR SELF AND FAMILY FROM YOUR ENGLISH ADMIRERS DOROTHY PIZER DOROTHY LIVINGS PATRICIA CRIPPS]

2302 COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[P.M.]

8 October 1946

Dear Sir:

Enclosed find my check for $7.40. For this please send P.M. for six months to Miss Du Bois Williams, West Hall, Northfield School for Girls, East Northfield, Mass.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

P.M. Subscriptions
164 Duane Street
New York City

21-29-51

[Porter]

Atlanta Ga - 5 - 12 - 46

Dear Friends

Value this as you will after my explanation.

Even while I was planning my courtesy to you, the great shock that unnerved me, and benumbed my brain came.

Our friend Charley Johnson's death affected the whole city

men wandered up and down, and forgot their chores and obligations.

He went home about nine o'clock, and at 2 - the same night he had died. and his wife was in at all the rush and effort, and suffering.

21-29-52

He was just back from the races at Louisville and his heart betrayed him.

Now I know this is no leading for a letter of congratulation to a couple who has gone through the punishing experience of married life for 50 years.

I know. We - my wife and I are 4 years over and wonder at the graciousness of our heavenly master.

You have performed an incredible journey in a very creditable way. My wife and I want to felicitate you two and will pray God's blessing, and that He will continually keep you and yours in the hollow of His Hand.

With unvarying friendship
Dr. and Mrs. J. R. Porter.

Inclosure

Mrs. Bruce Porter
3234 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco 18, California

May 29th

Dear Dr DuBois.
Harvard's Commencement
will be held on Thursday
afternoon, June 28th. I hope
this word is not too long
delayed, I have it just this
minute from the East.
Our brief hour with you
was a great pleasure to

21-19-86

ps. With best remembrances,
I am
Sincerely yours
Margaret James Porter.

To 12
13
14

190
55
65
75
65
450

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

821A

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

21-29-16

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

BRL2 9=BAYPORT NY MAY 12 821A

1946 MAY 12 AM 8 28

MR AND MRS W DUBOIS=

2302 MONTBELLO TERRACE=

:CONGRATULATIONS AND MAY YOU HAVE MANY MORE YEARS TOGETHER=

W K POST=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

21-26-97

3 October 1946

My dear Mr. and Mrs. Post:

Ages ago you sent me a most interesting postcard with your whole family limned upon it. I was so interested and pleased that I laid it aside to answer at my leisure. You know of course what happened. Nevertheless, I want to tell you that I remember with great pleasure meeting you in San Francisco and I hope to see you again. Meantime I have seen Waldron Kintzing Post and exchanged jokes over you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. and Mrs. Langdon Post
1262 Lombard Street
San Francisco, California

Post War World Council
112 East 19th Street
New York 3
April 8, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Frank Crosswaith has passed on to me the very welcome news that he spoke to you about our desire to have you write a pamphlet on the colonial problem for us and that you indicated your willingness to do so. We have had an impressive array of qualified writers do our Post War World Council pamphlets but I can think of no one who is as eminently suited as you are for this particular subject. I am sending you, under separate cover, copies of a few of our pamphlets to give you an idea of the sort of thing we have produced. At present we have at the printer a manuscript by Clarence Senior, Self-Determination for Puerto Rico, our next pamphlet. It seems that, after discussing our own colonial problem, it would be most fitting to publish one on the total problem next. Do you think you could arrange to meet and discuss this with me and the Chairman of our publication committee, Broadus Mitchell? I shall be happy to arrange a time and date suitable to you if you will give me a few alternatives. With much gratitude, I am,

Sincerely,
Elsie Elfenbein
Executive Director

Norman Thomas, Chairman
Oswald Garrison Villard Treasurer

POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL

112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
Telephone: GRamercy 7-5970

April 8, 1946

Dr. W. E. DuBois
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

21-19-46

Frank Crosswaith has passed on to me the very welcome news that he spoke to you about our desire to have you write a pamphlet on the colonial problem for us and that you indicated your willingness to do so. We have had an impressive array of qualified writers do our Post War World Council pamphlets but I can think of no one who is as eminently suited as you are for this particular subject. I am sending you, under separate cover, copies of a few of our pamphlets to give you an idea of the sort of thing we have produced. At present we have at the printer a manuscript by Clarence Senior, Self-Determination for Puerto Rico, our next pamphlet. It seems that, after discussing our own colonial problem, it would be most fitting to publish one on the total problem next.

Do you think you could arrange to meet and discuss this with the chairman of our publication committee, Broadus Mitchell? I shall be happy to arrange a time and date suitable to you if you will give me a few alternatives.

With much gratitude, I am,

Sincerely,

Elsie Elfenbein

Elsie Elfenbein
Executive Director

EE/eh

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Chairman

MRS. C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS
Vice-Chairman

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Freda Utley
*Oswald Garrison Villard
*Noah A. C. Walter
*Mrs. C. Dickerman Williams
*Bertram D. Wolfe
Mrs. Webster Woodmansee
John L. Yancey
Frank P. Zeidler

*Member of the Executive Committee

20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N. Y.
April 14, 1946

21-19-26

Miss Elsie Elfenbein
Executive Director
Post War World Council
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Miss Elfenbein:

In accordance with your letter of April 8th I shall be glad to prepare the pamphlets which you have in mind.

I shall be in my office early in May.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

30 July 1946

21-19-47

Dear Madam:

April eighth you wrote me about a pamphlet on the colonial problem for the Post War Council. I note in your letter a paragraph that I overlooked that you wanted to discuss with me and Broadus Mitchell the title and scope of such a pamphlet. If it is not too late, I should be glad to have such a meeting at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Elsie Elfenbein
Post War World Council
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.
22D DISTRICT NEW YORK

COMMITTEES:
INVALID PENSIONS
LABOR
INDIAN AFFAIRS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

D.

August 10, 1946

22-9-50

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois,
Color & Democracy,
NAACP
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, New York.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Your communication regarding the United Nations assembly received and its contents carefully noted. I agree with your plan one hundred percent. Be assured of my desire to help although my time at the present is limited. Because of my interest, hope you will keep me informed.

Sincerely yours,

A C Powell Jr.

d.

132 West 138 Street,
New York 30, N.Y.

[POWELL]

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
Member Audit Bureau of Circulations

2340 EIGHTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 27 · N·Y·
TELEPHONE·ACADEMY 2-7800

September 24, 1946

42-8F-32

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
President of the Pan African Congress
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your invitation to attend a meeting at the Library on October 5th. I think this movement has a praiseworthy purpose, and I will be glad to be of assistance.

Yours very truly,

C. B. POWELL
Editor and Publisher

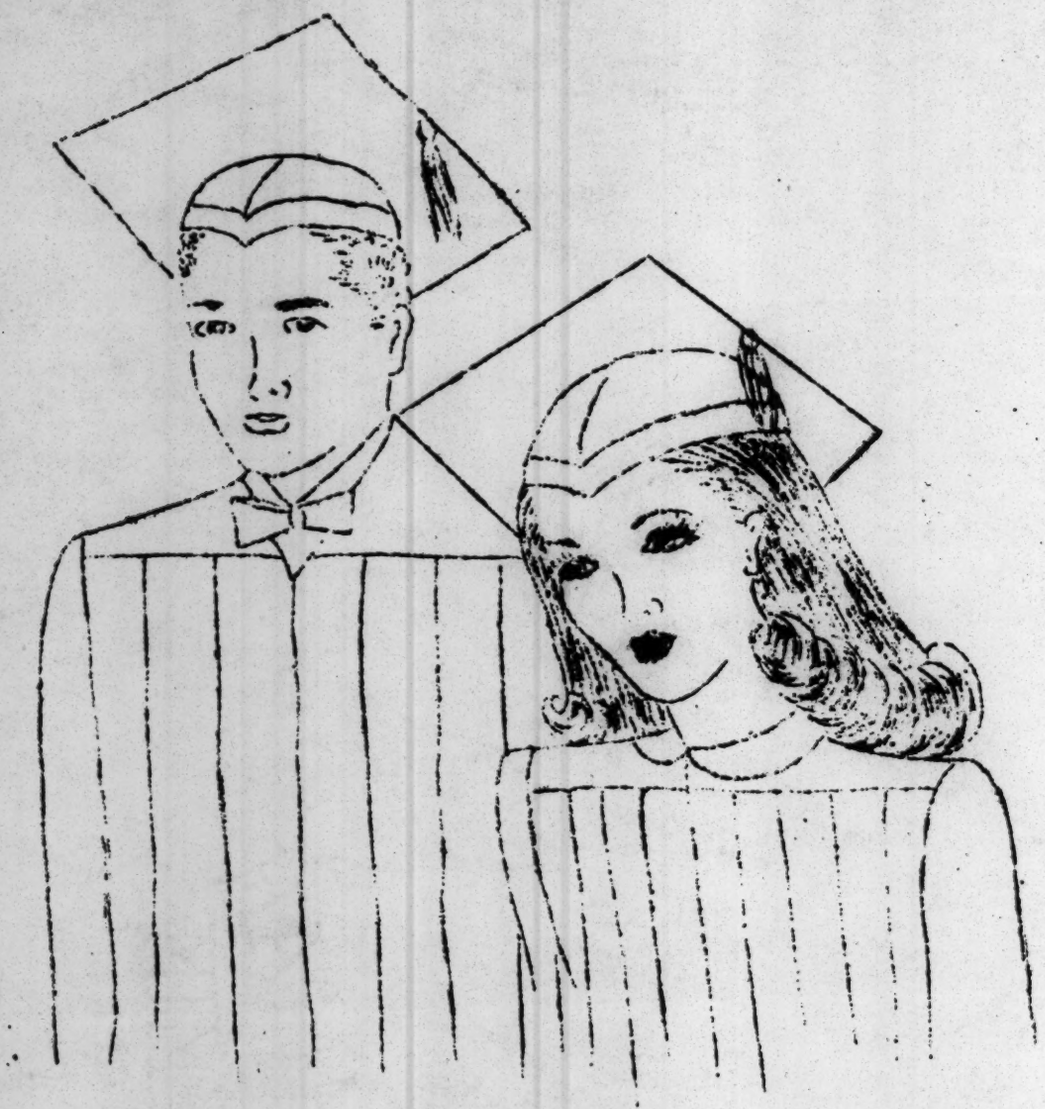
Alger L. Adams
Assistant to the Editor

ALA:B

[PRAIRIE VIEW]

VOLUME XIV MAY - 1946 NUMBER 9

21-12



PRAIRIE VIEW UNIVERSITY
Prairie View, Texas

NEWS LETTER

PRAIRIE VIEW UNIVERSITY — PRAIRIE VIEW, TEXAS

VOLUME XIV — MAY - 1946 — NUMBER 9

A CALENDAR -

1. May - 1946
   - (a) Entertainment - Cadet Officers ..... May 7
   - (b) Honors Day ..... May 7
   - (c) Annual Junior-Senior Entertainment ..... May 14
   - (d) Annual Alumni Meeting ..... May 18
   - (e) Parents' Day, Baccalaureate and Commencement exercises - Dr Mordecai W Johnson, Howard University .. May 19
   - (f) Final Examinations - Second Semester ..... May 20-22
   - (g) End of Second Semester ..... May 23
   - (h) Faculty Institute - Library Service ..... May 27-29

2. June - 1946
   - (a) Summer School Opens ..... June 3
   - (b) Workshop - Library Service ..... June 3 - July 6
   - (c) Workshop - English ..... June 3 - July 6
   - (d) Workshop - Sciences ..... June 3 - July 6
   - (e) Cooperative Community Education Workshop, Tyler, Texas (Tillotson, Bishop, Sam Huston, Wiley, Texas and Prairie View) June 3 - July 6

B INSTITUTE - FACULTY PARTICIPATION LIBRARY SERVICE -

It is essential that every member of the staff participate in the building up of an effective and functional Library Service of an institution. Prairie View University is holding a three days institute under the theme "Increasing Library Service through Faculty Participation" here May 27-29. Dr Virginia Lacy-Jones, Director of the Library School of Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia has been engaged as Consultant during the period of the Institute. Along with her will be other outstanding Librarians who will participate in the program. It is also the purpose to invite the Librarians and faculty members of all of the Negro Colleges in Texas to join with the faculty at Prairie View in this important Library Service Institute. The schedule for this activity will be distributed just as soon as all assignments have been made.

C CONGRATULATIONS -

Professor Jonel L Brown was given leave in September 1945 to complete the work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. We are pleased to announce that Professor Brown has completed the work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and has returned to resume his work at Prairie View. The Committee directing his work at the

University of Wisconsin has been high in its praise of his splendid ability. Beginning with the next Regular Session, 1946, half of Dr Brown's time will be used by the State Department of Education in connection with the Negro Schools of Texas and half will be used in giving resident instruction at Prairie View. The part time assignment with the State Department of Education is significant and important in that it closes the final gap between Prairie View and the Public School System of Texas. Congratulations are in order, Dr Jonel L Brown!

D WORKSHOPS -

In keeping with the trends of functional education, Prairie View University will participate in four Workshops during the Summer School of 1946; namely-

1. The Co-operative College Community Education Workshop will be carried on under the sponsorship of six Senior Negro Colleges in Texas from June 3 to July 6 at Tyler, Texas. Texas College will be the host institution. The participants in this Workshop will be Bishop, Wiley, Texas, Tillotson, Samuel Huston and Prairie View.

2. The Science Workshop which was so successful last summer will be continued this summer under the direction of Dr T P Dooley and staff members of the Science Department at Prairie View.

3. The English Workshop will run concurrently with the first term of the Summer School under the direction of Miss Anna L Campbell and the members of the English Department.

4. The Workshop in Library Service will be in charge of Professor O J Baker and the members of the University Library staff.

In addition to the participation of the Prairie View faculty in these Workshops, the services of outstanding Consultants will be provided from time to time. These Workshops will bring to the campus fifty or sixty progressive teachers from the Negro High Schools in Texas.

E WE SHALL ALWAYS REMEMBER!

The faculty, students and friends of Prairie View have witnessed more outstanding events sponsored by the institution this year than at any other time in its history. Of all the significant and important happenings on the campus not one has evinced as much interest and enthusiasm as the presence of the only living Negro General in the United States army, Brigadier General Benjamin O Davis. The General's presence at the Annual Inspection of the ROTC Cadet Corp April 25-26 was most stimulating to the Unit. The institution was honored by his presence and it will long be remembered by those of us who were here.

F AND FINALLY -

THE PRESIDENT - ELECT, PRAIRIE VIEW UNIVERSITY: DR EDWARD B EVANS

The selection of the Head of any Negro institution is a task fraught with many significant implications and possibilities; and, most particularly is this true with Prairie View University. Every administration of an institution niches an important epoch in its history. Therefore, the person who assumes the leadership of Prairie View must be a man not only well trained, but he must have experience, a broad mind, must be far seeing and big enough to envision the total program and philosophy of the institution which is well known at this time: - "Prairie View seeks to serve the Negro citizens of the Southwest at the points of their greatest needs". The President-Elect has been connected with Prairie View for twenty-seven years and his experience with the institution can be generally broken down as follows:

A. Major Assignments
1. Served as Vice Principal of Prairie View 10 years
2. Director of Summer School 16 years
3. Acting Director of Division of Agriculture
4. Director of Athletic Activities 18 years
5. Acting Principal - Summer 1934
6. State Director of Negro Agricultural Extension Service 5 years

B. Chairman of Important Standing Committees
1. Co-ordinating Committee
2. Registration, Classification and Graduation
3. Student Personnel
4. Student Publications
5. Curriculum
6. Athletics

C. Special Assignments
Chairman of
1. Committee to Study Per Capita Cost at Prairie View
2. Committee to Formulate the Educational Objectives and Philosophies of Prairie View
3. Post Graduate Medical Clinic.
4. Dining Hall Operations

D. Present Assignment

On leave to direct the planning for the erection of a School of Veterinary Medicine at Tuskegee involving an expenditure of $750,000; also, to build a course of study, select a faculty and student body for the same.

We have known and worked with Dr E B Evans for twenty years. It is our candid and honest opinion that the Board of Directors acted wisely when this selection was made. He is prepared for the position in training, experience and personality traits. He did not seek the position; the position sought him. We believe that he has qualities of a real administrator. A real administrator is not a man who gets things done merely because of his power, his title or his authority, but rather a man who gets things done because the richness of his life and the quality of his personality command rather than demand the respect and cooperation of his entire staff personnel and the community at large. Dr Evans comes to Prairie View at the period of high tide and the greatest expansion in its history. He will find an educational program going which he helped to formulate; a capable and loyal faculty; and, a fine student body, all working toward one common objective - a Greater Prairie View and a Greater Service for the State.

21-12

I am

Yours truly,

W R Banks
Principal

WRB:c

P S: Meeting the usual time and place. WRB

PRAIRIE VIEW UNIVERSITY
Prairie View, Texas

November , 1946

Dr W E B DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr DuBois:

The Class of '30 is completing a volume of letters to Mr Banks. Will you oblige us with one to or about him?

Very truly yours,

R W Hilliard,
President, Class '30

RWH:rev
Enclosure

21-20

[Prairie View Univ.]

WILLETTE RUTHERFORD BANKS

Principal W R Banks, of Prairie View University in Texas, went on limited retirement September 1, 1946. The Class of 1930 came to Prairie View with him in 1926. This class wants to present him with something that he will cherish. We could think of nothing more appropriate than a bound volume of personal letters from persons, far and wide, who have known of his 37 years (20 at Prairie View), of service to the cause of education of his people. Will you submit an 8½ x 11 letter, leaving a margin of one and one half inches on the left hand side? We are enclosing a stamped envelope for your convenience.

Please mail the letter within two weeks, if possible.

R W Hilliard,
President, Class of 1930,
Prairie View University
Prairie View, Texas

/rev

Lecture
[Prairie View College]

3 December 1946

My dear Mr. Banks:

21-14-36

I am going to make a lecture trip in the South in February and March. I want to come by Prairie View and spend about a week with you and Mrs. Banks. I am writing to the president formally and suggesting a lecture; perhaps you will take this up with him. I am enclosing a copy of the letter. My best regards to you and Mrs. Banks and hope that you are in good health, I am well but Mrs. Du Bois is still bedridden although improving.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. R. Banks
Prairie View College
Prairie View, Texas

Prairie View University
Prairie View, Texas

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

December 11, 1946

lecture for 1947

21-14-34

Dr W E B DuBois
30 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr DuBois:

We are indeed happy to have your letter of December 3 in which you announce the possibility of your coming to Texas early next year. The matter will come before the Cabinet next Monday and I feel that everything will be satisfactory.

Mrs Banks joins me in best regards to you and Mrs DuBois.

I am

Yours truly,

W. R. Banks

W R Banks
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—M. W. GRAND LODGE—A. F. & A. M. (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED Sept. 27, 1870. Consolidated 1878
Meets 3rd Tuesday in July.
Chas. V. Hendley, M. W. Grand Master
Box 1729, Birmingham, Alabama.
W. M. Martin, R. W. Grand Secretary, and C. C. F. C.
Box 1704, Montgomery, Alabama.

ARKANSAS
—M. W. PRINCE HALL, G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1872
Meets 2nd Tuesday in August.
E. U. Reed, M. W. Grand Master
208 Masonic Temple,
Pine Bluff, Arkansas.
W. M. Williams, R. W., Grand Secretary,
Route 1, Box 87,
England, Arkansas.
I. T. Gillian, C. C. F. C.
1211 E. Madison Street,
Little Rock, Arkansas.

ARIZONA
—M. W. SOVEREIGN, G. L.—F. & A. M., INC., (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1919
Meets 1st Monday in May.
Lloyd D. Dickey, **M. W. Grand Master,**
9 No. 12th Street,
Phoenix, Ariz.
W. B. Scott, R. W., Grand Secretary,
1222 E. Monroe St.,
Phoenix, Arizona.
W. C. Brown, C. C. F. C.;,
1309½ E. Washington St.,
Phoenix, Arizona.

CALIFORNIA
—M. W. SOVEREIGN G. L.—F. & A. M. AND JURISDICTION (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1856
Meets 3rd Monday in July.
George R. Vaughns, M. W. Grand Master,
1027 Adeline St., Oakland 7, Calif.
L. D. Dandridge, R. W., Grand Secretary,
1972 Santa Anna Blvd.,
Los Angeles, California.
Titus P. Martin, C. C. F. C.,
2036 W. 31st St., Los Angeles, Calif.

COLORADO
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M. OF COLORADO AND JURISDICTION
—ORGANIZED 1876
Meets 2nd Monday in August.
James T. Sims, M. W. Grand Master,
2511 Marion St., Denver, Colo.
V. G. Snow, Grand Secretary,
1008 Cypress, Pueblo, Colo.
S. C. Hunter, C. C. F. C.,
518 South Weber St., Colorado Springs, Colo.

CONNECTICUT
—M. W. GRAND LODGE—F. & A. M. (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1873
Meets 2nd Tuesday after 1st Monday in Sept.
Fred N. Groves, M. W. Grand Master,
259 Goffe Street,
New Haven, Connecticut.
W. S. Taylor, R. W. Grand Secretary,
155 Scranton St.,
New Haven, Connecticut.
Wm. H. Hickman, C. C. F. C.,
104 Foote St.,
New Haven, Connecticut.

DELAWARE
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1849
Meets 4th Monday in June.
G. O. Carrington, M. W. Grand Master
1324 French Street,
Wilmington, Delaware.
P. William Turner, R. W. Grand Secretary,
805 N. DuPont St.,
Wilmington, Del.
Chester Fortune, Jr., C. C. F. C.,
1708 Cambridge St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1848
Meets Semi-Annually—2nd Wed. in June and Dec.
Simpson W. Wallace, M. W. Grand Master,
1204 Kenyon St., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.
Addison W. Chapman, R. W., Grand Secretary,
225 Rhode Island Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.
John E. Smith, C. C. F. C.
1812 9th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

FLORIDA
—M. W. UNION G. L.—F. & A. M. INC. (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1870
Meets 4th Tuesday in April.
C. H. Henry, M. W. Grand Master,
P. O. Box 247, Quincy, Fla.,
P. A. Mitchell, R. W. Grand Secretary,
P. O. Box 341,
Jacksonville, Florida.
A. W. Smith, M. D., C. C. F. C.,
822 Davis Street, Jacksonville, Florida.

GEORGIA
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1870
Meets 2nd Tuesday in June.
John Wesley Dobbs, M. W. Grand Master,
Masonic Temple, 330 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia.
Sol. C. Johnson, R. W. Grand Sec'y and C. C. F. C.
Tribune Building,
Savannah, Georgia.

ILLINOIS
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M. AND JURISDICTION
—ORGANIZED 1867

Meets 2nd Tuesday in October.
Ashby B. Carter, M. W., Grand Master,
5633 Wabash Ave.
Chicago, Illinois.
J. H. White, R. W. Grand Secretary,
6203 S. Vernon Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois.
Dr. Jno. C. Ellis, C. C. F. C.,
Decatur, Illinois.
135 E. Decatur St.,

INDIANA
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1856

Meets 1st Wed. after 3rd Tues. in August.
Cornelius R. Richardson, M. W. Grand Master,
P. O. Box 208, Richmond, Ind.
Harry S. Hastie, R. W. Grand Secretary,
418 Lincoln Ave., Evansville, Ind.
W. W. Waldon, C. C. F. C.
117 N. Union St., Kokomo, Ind.

IOWA
—M. W. UNITED G. L.—A. F. & A. M. (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1887

Meets Monday before 2nd Tuesday in July.
Paul Goodloe, M. W. Grand Master,
1107 - 12th St., Des Moines, Iowa.
C. T. Culbertson, R. W. Grand Secretary,
713 S. Capitol Street, Iowa City, Iowa.
B. N. Hyde, C. C. F. C.
819—13th Street,
Des Moines, Iowa.

KANSAS
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—A. F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1875

Meets 4th Wednesday in August.
Dr. J. G. N. Soanes, M. W. Grand Master,
400 Minn. Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
Chester Gaskins, R. W. Grand Secretary,
1520 N. 5th St., Kansas City, Kansas.
C. G. Matthews, C. C. F. C.
1401 N. 13th Street, Kansas City, Kansas.

KENTUCKY
—M. W. GRAND LODGE F. & A. M. INC. (P.H.A.)
—ORGANIZED 1867

Meets 1st Tuesday in August.
Chas. H. Howe, M. W. Grand Master,
366 E. Fourth St., Maysville, Ky.
W. H. Perry, Jr., R. W. Grand Secretary, C.C.F.C.
2230 W. Chestnut St., Louisville, Ky.

LOUISIANA
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1863

Meets Tuesday before June 24th.
John G. Lewis, Jr., M. W. Grand Master,
P. O. Drawer 228, Natchitoches, Louisiana.
R. U. Clark, R. W. Grand Secretary, C. C. F. C.,
P. O. Box 727, Raynes, Louisiana.

MARYLAND
—M. W. UNITED G. L.—A. F. & A. M. AND JURISDICTION (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1845

Meets 3rd Monday in August.
Willard W. Allen, M. W., Grand Master,
McCulloh and Mosher Streets, Baltimore, Md.
Alvan Stanley, R. W. Grand Secretary,
2525 McCulloh Street, Baltimore, Maryland.
A. A. Dixon, C.C.F.C.
1117 Whitlock Street,
Baltimore 17, Md.

MASSACHUSETTS
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M. AND JURISDICTION
—ORGANIZED 1791

Meets 1st Thursday in December.
Morris J. Hicks, M. W. Grand Master,
3 Woodbine St., Roxbury 19, Mass.
Elmer J. Puello, R. W. Grand Sec'y & C. C. F. C.
1095 Tremont St. (Masonic Temple),
Boston, Mass.

MICHIGAN
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1865

Meets 4th Tuesday in April.
Dr. John W. Moore, M. W. Grand Master,
3101½ Industrial Ave., Flint, Michigan.
Heywood Gantt, R. W. Grand Secretary,
6709 Hartford Ave., Detroit, Mich.
V. A. Bristol, C. C. F. C.,
1241 Jos. Campau, Detroit, Michigan.

MINNESOTA
—M. W. GRAND LODGE—F. & A. M. (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1894

Meets 3rd Tuesday in August.
L. E. Tarver, M. W. Grand Master,
603 St. Anthony Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Benj. F. Henderson, R. W. Grand Secretary,
906 St. Anthony Ave., St. Paul 4, Minn.
J. A. Robinson, C. C. F. C.,
220 Selkirk Ave.,
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

MISSISSIPPI
—M. W. STRINGER G. L.—F. & A. M. (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1875

Meets 1st Monday in December.
John L. Webb, M. W. Grand Master,
Box 556, Hot Springs, Arkansas.
J. B. Greeene, R. W. Grand Secretary,
Gulfport, Mississippi.
W. H. Cox, C. C. F. C.,
Box 275,
Friars Point, Mississippi.

MISSOURI
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M. AND JURISDICTION
—ORGANIZED 1865

Meets 2nd Wednesday in July.
Dr. G. B. Key, M. W. Grand Master,
4 South Compton Avenue,
St. Louis, Missouri.
Elmer Dotson, R. W. Grand Secretary,
1811 E. 9th St.,
Kansas City, Missouri.
F. W. Dabney, C. C. F. C.,
2432 Montgall Ave., Kansas City, Missouri.

NEBRASKA

—M. W. GRAND LODGE—A. F. & A. M. AND JURISDICTION (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1919
Meets 3rd Wednesday in July.
Clayton P. Lewis, M. W. Grand Master,
1951 Vine St.,
Lincoln, Neb.
Robert Harris, R. W. Grand Secretary,
2537 Burdette Street,
Omaha, Nebraska.
W. L. Seals , C. C. F. C.,
2808 Binney Street,
Omaha, Nebr.

NEW JERSEY

—M. W. UNITED G. L.—F. & A. M. (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1848
Meets 1st Monday after June 24.
Dr. Edgar S. Ballou, M. W. Grand Master
50 Forrest Street,
Montclair, New Jersey.
Edward C. Jones, R. W. Grand Secretary,
75—4th Avenue,
Long Branch, New Jersey.
Maurice B. Musson, C. C. F. C.
22 Lexington Ave., Montclair, N. J.

NEW MEXICO

—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1921
Meets 3rd or 4th Monday in June.
M. C. Rhoten, M. W. Grand Master,
2044 Isleta Road,
Albuquerque, New Mexico.
V. E. Grant, R. W. Grand Secretary, C. C. F. C.,
Box 166, Carlsbad, New Mexico.

NEW YORK

—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1845
Meets 1st Wednesday in June.
Louis Fair, Jr., M. W. Grand Master,
456A McDonough St.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.
S. M. Fray, R. W. Grand Secretary,
454 W. 155th Street,
New York City.
Jno. R. Lee, C. C. F. C.,
465 W. 148th St.,
New York, N. Y.

NORTH CAROLINA

—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1866
Meets 2nd Tuesday in December.
James E. Shepard, M. W. Grand Master,
N. C. College for Negroes,
Durham, North Carolina.
Rev. C. W. Lawrence, R. W. Grand Secretary,
Box 1447,
High Point, N. C.
Z. Alexander, C. C. F. C.,
Box 342, Charlotte, N. C.

OHIO

—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1849
Meets Sunday before 3rd Wednesday in August.
Clyde E. Moss, M. W. Grand Master,
586 Lynn St.,
Chillicothe, Ohio.
C. F. Casterman, R. W. Grand Secretary,
9613 Thorn Avenue,
Cleveland, Ohio.
Rolla S. Huston, C. C. F. C.,
147 N. Ohio Ave.,
Columbus, Ohio.

OKLAHOMA

—M. W. ST. JOHN G. L.—A. F. & A. M. (P.H.A.)
—ORGANIZED 1891
Meets 2nd Tuesday in August.
Amos T. Hall, M. W. Grand Master,
107½ N. Greenwood Ave.,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.
E. T. Busby, R. W. Grand Secretary,
Chandler, Oklahoma.
B. A. Wayne, C. C. F. C.,
416 E. Davenport St.,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.

ONTARIO (PROVINCE)

—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1855
Meets 3rd Monday in August.
Allan Millben, M. W. Grand Master,
1145 McDougall St.,
Windsor, Ont.
Henry W. Walker, R. W. Grand Sec'y, C.C.F.C.,
1277 Goyeau St.,
Windsor, Ontario.

PENNSYLVANIA

—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1815
Meets 2nd Monday in December.
Joseph W. Givens, M. W., Grand Master,
412 Bakewell Bldg.,
Pittsburgh, Penn.
W. M. Newby, R. W. Grand Secretary,
3808 N. 17th St.,
Philadelphia, Penn.
J. C. Swinson, C. C. F. C.,
1406 N. Brouvier St. Philadelphia, Penn.

RHODE ISLAND

—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1858
Meets 2nd Tuesday in June.
G. H. Stockett, M. W. Grand Master,
25 Dunbar Ave.,
East Providence, R. I.
J. G. LeCount, R. W. Grand Secretary, C. C. F. C.,
42 Westminster St.,
Providence, R. I.

SOUTH CAROLINA

—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1868
Meets 2nd Tuesday in December.
J. S. Stanback, M. W. Grand Master,
145 Center St., Chester, S. C.
J. E. Dickson, R. W. Grand Secretary,
P. O. Box 992, Columbia, S. C.
J. B. Lewie, C. C. F. C.,
701 Richland St., Columbia, S. C.

TENNESSEE
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1870
Meets 1st Monday in August.
F. L. Brewster, M. W. Grand Master,
816 E. 8th St.,
Chattanooga, Tenn.
C. F. Oglesby, R. W. Grand Secretary, C. C. F. C.,
200 So. 4th St.,
Memphis, Tenn.

TEXAS
—M. W. GRAND LODGE. F. & A. M.
AND JURISDICTION (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1875
Meets 4th Tuesday in June.
William Coleman, M. W. Grand Master,
Box 625,
Fort Worth 3, Texas.
William M. McDonald, R. W. Grand Secretary,
C. C. F. C.,
Box 1478, Fort Worth 1, Texas.

VIRGINIA
—M. W. GRAND LODGE—A. F. & A. M. (P.H.A.)
—ORGANIZED 1875
Meets 3rd Tuesday in September.
A. J. Smith, M. W. Grand Master,
761 23rd St.,
Newport News, Va.
C. V. Wilson, R. W. Grand Secretary, C. C. F. C.,
810 Fifth Street,
Lynchburg, Va.

WASHINGTON
—M. W. PRINCE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1903
Meets 2nd Monday in July.
E. J. Brown, M. W. Grand Master,
Route 8, Spokane, Wash.
E. A. Campbell, R. W. Grand Secretary,
1724—25th Avenue,
Seattle, Washington.
F. U. Harris, C. C. F. C.,
1529 So. Tacoma Ave., Tacoma, Wash.

WEST VIRGINIA
—M. W. GRAND LODGE, A. F. & A. M. (P. H. A.)
—ORGANIZED 1877
Meets 2nd Tuesday in June.
James W. Hutton, M. W. Grand Master,
326 S. Maple Ave.,
Martinsburg, West. Va.
Gregory W. Whiting, R. W. Grand Secretary,
C. C. F. C.,
Bluefield Teachers College,
Bluefield, West Va.

WISCONSIN
—M. W. PRINE HALL G. L.—F. & A. M.
—ORGANIZED 1925
Meets 4th Tuesday in June.
G. L. Glover, M. W. Grand Master,
2122 N. 7th St.,
Milwaukee 5, Wisc.
Leon F. Peterson, R. W. Grand Secretary,
125 S. Park Ave.,
Beloit, Wisc.
J. Earl Jones, C. C. F. C.,
841 W. Somers St.,
Milwaukee, Wis.

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—ORGANIZED 1854 (Prince Hall Affiliation)
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A. A. Scottish Rite of Freemasonry,
Southern Jurisdiction, U. S. A.
—ORGANIZED 1869 (Prince Hall Affiliation
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McCulloh and Mosher Sts., Baltimore, Md.
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Sec'y-Gen. H. E.,
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Mrs. W. E. DuBois

PROVIDENT HOSPITAL
AND FREE DISPENSARY

1514 DIVISION STREET, BALTIMORE 17, MARYLAND

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT

November 6, 1946

Dr. W. B. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
c/o NAACP
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have your letter of November 4th, in which you inquire about hospital service under your Associated Hospital Service contract.

We are certain that Mrs. DuBois will be covered under your contract if you have her listed. The coverage always depends on the wording of the contract. I am certain that she will be under the plan.

If you will, therefore, check your contract, you should find a section which indicates that where you utilize the facilities of a hospital, away from the city in which your plan does business, they will allow a certain fee. If there is anything further that I can do in this connection, please write me.

Very sincerely yours,

J. L. Procope
Superintendent

JLP:o

WE SHARE

[Provident Hospital]

14 November 1946

My dear Mr. Procope:

I was informed yesterday by the Associated Hospital Service over the telephone that the Service would pay the hospital in flat rate on Mrs. Du Bois bill. They will probably communicate with you or with me. In that case, I shall write you immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-8

Mr. J. L. Procope
Superintendent of Provident Hospital
1514 Divison Street
Baltimore 17, Maryland

[Publisher's Weekly]

[PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE]

July 7, 1936

21-7-22

Gentlemen: Will you please change
the address on our copy
of
from
W. E. B. DuBois
to the following:
Editor of Highlights
Sincerely yours,
W. E. B. DuBois
Encl.

Publisher's Weekly, 62 W. 45, NYC
Opportunity, 1133 Broadway, NYC
New Times and Ethiopia News, 3 Charteris Rd, Woodford Green, Essex, England
West Africa, Chansitor House, 37-38 Chancery Lane, London W.C.2, England
Federal Council Bulletin, 297 Fourth Ave., NYC 10
Jewish Frontier, 45 East 17, NYC 3
Ultra, Apartado 1649, Habana, Cuba

PULSE MAGAZINE
PUBLISHING CO.
WASHINGTON 20, D.C.

2627 BOWEN ROAD, S. E.
ATLANTIC 4452
Uptown Office: NORTH 2984
716 FLORIDA AVE., N. W.

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October 30, 1946

21-19-41

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
20 West 40th,
New York 18, New York.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have read your statement in the Nation of September 7, 1946, on Higher Education and its Financial Support.

We are preparing for our January 1947 issue, and believe that the question you raise on the support of Negro higher education is interesting. We should like very much to have a brief article developing the thought as outlined in the Nation for the January issue.

Won't you please let us hear from you so that we may plan for and make all arrangements for the article?

Pulse magazine is in position to give good coverage and advertising to your copy. Our deadline is the 27th of November for publication in the January issue.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Sincerely,

Helen S. Mason

HSM/pbc

Helen S. Mason

A - D - V - E - R - T - I - S - E
A Good Way to *Spell* BETTER BUSINESS . . . *It's Time Tested*

Reg to write article

4 November 1946

21-19-44

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of October 30, I beg to say that I could not undertake to write a magazine article unless I was paid for my time and trouble. However you might publish the address which I made to the Southern Negro Youth Congress. It is seven typewritten pages long, double spaced and if published, must be published entire. If you wish to see it, I will send it to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Helen S. Mason
Pulse Magazine
2627 Bowen Road, S. E.
Washington 20, D. C.

PULSE MAGAZINE
PUBLISHING CO.
WASHINGTON 20, D.C.

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HENRY D. WESLEY

21-19-42

November 6, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your kind response to our letter. Will you please let us know what your fee is for writing a brief article.

We should like very much to have the privilege of reading your address which was made before the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

Sincerely,

Helen S. Mason

Helen S. Mason

HSM/pbc

A - D - V - E - R - T - I - S - E
A Good Way to *Spell* BETTER BUSINESS . . . *It's Time Tested*

14 November 1946

21-19-43

Dear Madam:

For a short article on the subject of the support of Negro higher education, to be ready November 27, I should charge twenty-five dollars. On the matter of my speech to the Southern Negro Youth Congress, I have turned the manuscript over to the secretary of the congress and he will get in touch with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Helen S. Mason
Pulse Magazine
2627 Bowen Road, S. E.
Washington 20, D. C.

[redacted]

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21-13-72

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Clifford F. Welch

September 18, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association Advancement Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Queens Legislative Council, a non-partisan citizens organization, is holding its Second Annual Award Dinner at the Forest Hills Inn, Friday evening, October 18, at 7 P.M.

Our Dinner last year paid homage to two Americans, Senator Robert F. Wagner and Mr. Edward Byckowski, for their contribution to the betterment of the community and the nation.

This year the theme of our Dinner will be the honoring of outstanding citizens who have carried forward the banner of the Roosevelt tradition.

The Council has already been honored by the acceptance of its invitation to Franklin Delano Roosevelt Jr. to receive such an award, and by the acceptance of Dr. J.Raymond Walsh who will present the award. Other invited guests are Henry Morganthau, Mrs. Sidney Hillman, Norman Corwin and Susan B. Anthony.

As you know, unfortunately, our borough has been made the "base of operations" of Hamilton Fish, Robert Harriss, Vincent Rottkamp, the Christian Front, and the American Rock Party.

We would be very much honored to have you participate with us on this occasion. We feel that your presence and your words, especially at this time, would be invaluable and help to counteract some of these influences.

May we look forward to your favorable consideration of this invitation, and an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Saul Kamen

Dr. Saul Kamen
Chairman

17 Washington
18 Nelson

22 May 1946

21-19-22

My dear Miss Randolph:

Congratulations on your birthday. I am sending one of these invitations as a souvenir. It ought to have gone to you in the first place.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Richetta Randolph
251 Decatur
Brooklyn 33, New York

RICHETTA G. WALLACE

Social Menus 1946

251 Decatur Street
Brooklyn 33, New York

May 31, 1946

21-26-106

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

It was so good of you to send me the little note about my birthday & and thank you for sending me also the invitation for your and Mrs. Du Bois' Golden Wedding Anniversary. This goes among the many other mementos I have of our long friendship.

Sincerely yours,

Richetta G. Randolph

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York City

5 February 1946

21-12-07

Dear Dr. Reddick:

I have been trying to get by to talk with you but do not seem to find the time. Sometime in March, I want to have a meeting and make a report to the public on the Pan African Congress and the Pan African movement in General. I should like to have it in your auditorium if you can find time and place. I want to invite various organizations interested in Africa to take part.

I am inviting the NAACP to join and to contribute something for expenses but I do not know whether they will or not. If they do not, I shall have to pass the hat.

Can you cooperate with me in this? I should be glad to hear from you. The exact date we can talk about later.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
104 West 136th Street
New York 30

21-29-22

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DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

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CONGRATULATIONS ON THE WONDER AND BEAUTY OF YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING. NOW LET US LOOK FORWARD TO THE COMING DIAMOND JUBILEE=

RUTH AND L D REDDICK.

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NEW YORK, N.Y. AUG 21 9-PM 1946

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Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N A A C P
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

SCHOMBURG COLLECTION [REDDICK]

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

104 W. 136th St.

August 20 19 46

21-21-34

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I think it might be worthwhile to add to the list of invited persons for the August 31 conference Mr. James Clinton King c/o Weeks, 29 W. 119th St. N.Y.C.

Mr. King is from Barbadoes and I think would be a good contact for us there.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
CURATOR

form 081 [vi-13-45 20m]

26 August 1946

2-19-57

Dear Mr. Reddick:

We have sent out invitation to twenty-eight organizations and persons to attend the conference at the Library, August thirty-first, at two p. m. I presume we will have somewhere between a dozen and twenty-five persons. My idea is that the meeting is not for organized action but for plans and advice. I shall bring a proposed statement and program for further action. I can be reached here until that time.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
New York City

[Reddick]

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135TH STREET BRANCH
SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

New York, November 7, 1946

21-12-05

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am enclosing the names of the African leaders left with me by Mr. Robert Gardiner. He believes that you may feel free to write them and enclose a copy of the petition to the United Nations.

Dr. Raymond Easmon
147 Westmoreland Road
Freetown,
Sierra Leone

Dr. J. B. Danquah
c/o The Observer
Cape Coast
Gold Coast

Rotimi [?] Williams Esq.
Barrister-at-law
Lagos
Nigeria

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
CURATOR

Dr. We E. B. DuBois
Director of Research
N A A C P
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

LDR:RRT

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CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
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SCHOMBURG COLLECTION
104 WEST 136TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

New York, December 10, 1946

21-19-56

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Jim Ford has been to see me several times and I think he has been to see you, too. Out of these talks has come an idea that the three of us--you, Ford and I--might be able to put through together.

Each of us would do a long essay of personal history. This would not be the usual "objective" and formal thing which put readers to sleep, but would be rather intimate and gracious, capturing some of the humor and paradox of incident while at the same time keeping an eye on the large focus.

In this vane, you might want to do the Pan-African Congresses--when and where the idea was first thought up, the pushing and pulling to get the meetings together, who came and what was said, and the various adventures and difficulties, ending up finally with some estimate of their effectiveness in terms of the world struggle of Negroid peoples and in terms of your own personal development.

Ford could do something similar for the radical international movement and the Negro question. More than anyone, with the possible exception of Padmore, Ford has been on the inside of great efforts to organize Negroes or for Negroes to organize themselves in terms of left wing trade unionism on a world scale. He has attended most of the conferences--public and secret--and has vivid memories of incidents and personalities. Such a story has never been committed to paper.

For my part, I could do the Africans I have known. I would start out with Kalibala, the first African I ever saw, and, in a series of portraits, impressions and interpretations, bring the story down to Kuma, whom I met for the first time the other day.

As I see it, these three essays should be about 60 or 75 pages in length each. We ought not to depend upon any heavy research. We could just look up our own notes and then dictate. These should be readable and interpretive above all else.

If you think this idea worthwhile, the three of us could eat together some time soon and prepare a memorandum for a publisher.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
CURATOR

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 East 40 Street
New York, N.Y.

19 December 1946

21-19-55

My dear Mr. Reddick:

Answering your letter of December 10, I am a little skeptical about the book as you outline it. I do think that it would be possible to write three essays involving some incident or incidents of personal history. But as the Pan African Congress would not do in my case and I am using practically all of the material in my forthcoming book "The World and Africa" which is due for publication in January.

Moreover in your case the chapter outline is about other people rather than yourself. As I say, something of the sort that you have in mind might be written but I do not see as yet just what I can contribute. I will think it over.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. L.D. Reddick
Schomburg Collection
104 West 136th Street
New York City

QUENTIN REYNOLDS • VINCENT SHEEAN

12-13-73

October 11, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Last month a group of qualified Mississippi voters filed a petition with the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures charging that Bilbo's narrow victory in the primary was the result of a reign of terror which he openly instigated, thus preventing tens of thousands of Negro voters from going to the polls. The evidence of violence which served as the basis for the charges and the formal petition to the Senate was prepared by the Civil Rights Congress. These charges, which form a legal basis to bar Bilbo from being sworn into the new Senate, are now being investigated by the Senate Committee.

This means there is a real possibility that Senator Bilbo can be unseated at the opening session of the Senate in January.

The Civil Rights Congress is bringing this matter to the American people by launching a popular petition campaign addressed to all Senators, urging that action be taken to oust Bilbo. In this way Senators and Senators-elect can be informed of the determination of voters throughout the nation that Bilbo be removed from the Senate on the grounds that he is an avowed member of the Ku Klux Klan, an open inciter to hatred of Jews, Negroes and national minorities, and that he prevented Mississippians from casting their ballots thru violence and intimidation.

We, as individuals, are interested in furthering the effort to unseat Senator Bilbo. We invite you to join us on a select committee of prominent citizens, to be called the National Committee to Oust Bilbo, sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress. Your presence on this committee would help materially in developing the sentiment which already exists among so many sections of our people, and which remains only to be expressed.

We hope you will agree to lend your name for this worthy movement. Will you please indicate to us your willingness to serve by signing the enclosd card.

Sincerely,

Quentin Reynolds

Quentin Reynolds

Vincent Sheean

Vincent Sheean

uopwa #16-39

[Encl.]

Dear Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Sheean:

You may use my name on the National Committee to Oust Bilbo which is being launched under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

uopwa #16-39

21-13

161 West 88th Street
New York 24, New York
February 21, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

04-42-12

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have never had the pleasure of meeting you but I have a copy of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary Number of PHYLON. The last paragraph on page one-hundred and fifteen gives me courage to write as if you were an old friend.

A notice of the Rally to be held February 28,1946, in Madison Square Garden for the F.E.P.C. has just been received. That started me to thinking about a Rally on the subject of food as it is related to health--not profit. That dream was turned into a burning flame of determination with an article in PM on Thursday, February 7, 1946, by Albert Deutsch. "COULD A TWO-WEEK BLITZ WIPE OUT VENERAL DISEASE" Deputy Surgeon General Warren F. Draper of U.S. Public Health Service seems to think it might be done with Pencillin if we could have that two weeks preceeded by the right amount of education. What could be wrong in having a TWO-WEEK BLITZ of education NOW? What are we waiting for? Do we still have too many people? Is that the reason we are standing by and watching them die at the rate they are going?

If veneral diseases could be cleared with substance in a capsule taken by mouth then do you think it takes a scientist with a college degree or a Medical Doctor to understand that diet has something to do with the disease in the first place?

The following question has bothered me for a long time but I have been afraid to ask anyone if there were statistics anywhere that would help me answer it. Afraid of being misunderstood. The question is. Among Jews who do not eat pork do we find as many cases of veneral disease as among people who eat pork? I have wanted these figures especially regarding Negroes and Jews. I believe it would be a weapon that would give me opportunity to act in a number of ways to help in bringing about better conditions and the same opportunities for the Negro People--my special life goal. Maybe the whole thing is "crack-pot" but thinking about it has helped me to find out a number of other things.

21-24-41

Why can't we have rallies where hundreds and even thousands of people are told--in a few sentences--what they are doing to their health by supporting the breakfast-food millionaire? That being only one example in the field of refined foods. Why can't we get behind this move of our President and tell the people the truth--all of it--about wheat and other whole grains as they are related to health?

What do you think might happen if a few million of "we, the people" wrote to radio broadcasting stations and asked for a two-week educational campaign on food and health? Would that be one way to give the Deep South a chance to vote? I believe if "we, the people" could be awakened to just one piece of truth about food such as this whole grain bread our President is trying to give us, or the green in vegetables, that we would figure a lot of the rest out for ourselves.

If the Church Men of our Nation were reminded of this responsibility I believe they would support this special educational program. Dr. Du Bois, I want fifty or a hundred copies of that article in PM,--or the same information--in leaflet form, together with stamps and paper for a personal note to go with each leaflet. I know we have enough Ministers who would busy themselves with the job of stirring the atmosphere of the Nation to justify that little experiment.

"The blind and the lame came to Him in the temple, and He healed them" Why don't we--I am one--who claim to be christians stop this war--accidents and disease--that is taking so many more lives than the military war? Are we--including myself--afraid to act as if we believed "If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace; and he will deliver us out of thy hand, O king." Or do we who claim to be christians prefer to continue to praise Him in words then listen to "Bob-White" songs and music by way of radio as our guide for food purchases --"Now if ye be ready that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, . . . ye fall down and worship the image . . ." What is the Golden Image today? Who is the King? Do we have a Daniel and do we have Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego today?

Dr. Du Bois, you are in the field of research. Will you ask those questions of me? Trying to answer them might make of me a better christian. What do you think?

Sincerely yours,

Beth Reyvelle

Beth Reyvelle

COPY

February 8, 1946

21-24-4/2

Dear Mr. President:

On October 31, 1945, I said in my letter, when you "go up into the mountain apart . . ." try to remember that you are not "alone." Tonight I repeat those words because I know how hard it is to remember. Even "Jesus cried with a loud voice, My God, My God, why, . . .

Tonight I want to repeat all of that letter of October 31, 1945. We, the people, must find a way to understand better what you are trying to do for us. This is one reason why I believe we will love you more when we do understand.

My father had pellagra for years--I never say him as a well man. He was never cruel to me or to animals except when he was drunk. Yet he was kept in an asylum and I was called "the old crazy man's girl."

I remember one thing too well. Even though we lived ona farm his diet consisted almost entirely of pork, hot biscuits--made from white flour, molasses, and coffee. I have prayed and I have believed that God would let me live to see a man who would give all people the chance to have foods He created for them to keep their bodies and minds healthy.

And "if I give my body to be burned, but . . . Mr. President, I love you.

Sincerely yours,

Beth Reyvelle

[Enclosure from Beth Reyville]

COPY

161 West 88th Street
New York 24, New York
February 17, 1946

21-24-43

Mr. K. B. Willson
National Better Business Bureau, Inc.
405 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Willson:

Since receiving your letter of December 17, 1945, and the little booklet from the Educational Division called FACTS YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT SCHEMES, I have been unable to get this thought out of my mind. How can I do my part in getting others to study this booklet and take advantage of the help that your office offers.

Mr. Willson, I believe, if we, the people, knew enough about the schemes mentioned in this booklet to avoid them we would think out most of the others for ourselves. I have always believed that within our formal system of education we must have another system that can keep people aware of day-to-day events and things vital to every-day living--"a wheel within a wheel."

The result of this thinking--I have a scheme! My questions about the creation of this scheme may not come within the scope of your activities but maybe you can give me some advice and suggestions.

I want to organize, what I think of as, Listening-study groups. Bring together a group of like-minded people for the purpose of listening to radio programs and then follow that with a short period of laboratory work--literally tear the "thing" apart and then try to build it back again.

But the people I am most concerned about work long hours and get very little money for that work--more work is always waiting at home. These people have some type of physical ailment; they eat foods that bring on a feeling of grogginess of body and mind. When they do have energy to go out for the purpose of learning, about the only contribution allowed them is a donation when the hat is passed--money with which to pay the speaker who has a college degree or some special prestige. Their ideas are sought in various ways but recognition seems to get lost in the shuffle.

I want to collect things which would be useful to

21-24-44

such people. Select convenient locations for meetings and store collections there. In addition to this suggest that each member--at each meeting--donate some article that has been made for this purpose or that has lost its usefulness to the owner. Pool all the goods and at the close of the meeting--instead of serving food--have a rummage sale. Each person is allowed to select what he can use and pay for it what he feels the article will be worth. But have one special piece of merchandise that would lend special interest or information to the subject being studied and auction this. Pool the money and from this money pay each member a certain amount for each hour spent at this meeting. With the balance create a fund for paying old people and young people, who cannot be employed in industry, for extra hours of listening and study. Maybe pay a small amount for every concrete, written suggestion from members. However, during all of this listening time every one can be using his hands at something.

This outline is not intended as final in form or details--additions and changes should be made. Would you point out dangers and difficulties?

I may be wrong but this is the part I have prayed to see controlled. That all students be paid alike in money for effort--letting God act as judge regarding the worthiness of that effort; That this paying for that time can continue at a minimum of seventy-five cents an hour--three quarters--and not more than one dollar and fifty cents--three fifty cent pieces; That no group will ever take up collection to pay only one man--the speaker; That no group will ever let a jack pot collect to be given to a lucky number; That students be paid seventy-five cents an hour and the leader one dollar and fifty cents. But the memebers take turns at being leader--rotate.

I am working in a laundry. I want to see these listening-study groups created among the laundry workers all over the Nation--an example.

Sincerely yours,

Beth Reyvelle

P. S. You can give me the laws regulating auction and rummage sales. And you can "keep an eye" on me because through some method we, the people, must have an opportunity to know the facts--"Lest We Forget."

B. R.

21-24-45

3 October 1946

My dear madam:

Your suggestions of February 1, 1946 have much of importance in them. Of course the difficulty is to get any considerable number of intelligent people to unite on programs like the wiping out of the disease. Nevertheless the matter is of great importance and I hope that more people will become interested in it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Beth Reyvelle
161 West 88th Street
New York 24, N. Y.

TROWBRIDGE 0147

DR. A. A. ROBACK
8 PRESCOTT STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASS.

March 6, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

21-19-23

No doubt you will be glad to hear that the Schweitzer Jubilee Book is off the press and will be ready for distribution in a week or so. Although the price is $7.50, and dealers have to pay $6.75 plus postage, it is available to contributors at $5.15 (postage included) - a little over cost price, as the edition is very limited.

Offprints up to 100 are available in the case of your article.

100	offprints -	10.00
75	"	8.50
50	"	6.00

This includes the charges of packing and transportation plus insurance. Because of the shortage of paper, in order to insure offprints, we have had to sacrifice about 150 copies of the complete Schweitzer volume.

Kindly let us know whether you wish the offprints, remitting at the same time.

Sincerely

A. A. Roback

[Enc.?]

The Albert Schweitzer Jubilee Book

EDITED BY

DR. A. A. ROBACK

with the cooperation of

PRES. J. S. BIXLER
COLBY COLLEGE

PROF. GEORGE SARTON
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

" Aemulus studiorum et laborum "

DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER

A cultural event of unusual significance, not only because the man who is thus being honored on his seventieth anniversary himself embodies a unique combination of high endowment in different fields of endeavor imbedded in deep ethical foundations, which led him to subordinate his great gifts in music, philosophy, and New Testament research to the one simple task of healing the diseased blacks in equatorial Africa, for whom he built a hospital, but also because we know of no other recently published volume where so many of the most distinguished personages of our time foregather to pay homage to a man who can truly be called one of the greatest of our generation.

Indeed, it might be difficult to find in our century anyone greater than Albert Schweitzer—distinguished scholar, chief authority on Bach, consummate artist on the organ, relentless critic of society, but above all an ethical personality who is the exemplification of a miracle through his very living.

His works have been translated into a dozen languages, and have been read by millions. Many books have been written about him. His name has become an inspiration to men and women in all walks and in many countries. His life history is a serial lesson in social ethics. Defying the elements and relinquishing the comfort and glory that would have been his, had he chosen to continue his academic and artistic activities, he elected to consecrate his existence to saving not souls but lives of wretched Negroes in the African jungle.

The Albert Schweitzer Jubilee Book tells his absorbing story, discusses his work and works which, in his case, blend so beautifully. It is not altogether devoted to Schweitzer, but contains also contributions of a humanistic nature by authorities known throughout the world.

It would take up too much space to describe the achievements of even a single one. There are 24 contributions, including a bibliography. Two indexes and 11 illustrations round out the volume.

Who are the contributors?

A few of the contributors

ERNST CASSIRER
One of the most profound philosophers of our time; formerly Rector of Hamburg University, late Visiting Professor at Oxford, Yale, Columbia.

EDWARD L. THORNDIKE
America's foremost educational psychologist, teacher of thousands of subsequent professors, throughout the world—the luminary of Columbia's Teachers College.

ALFONSO REYES
Chief literary figure in Mexico, President of El Colegio de México, formerly Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary to Brazil, Argentina, France, etc.

SIR PHILIP MANSON-BAHR
Distinguished tropical physician. Director of the Clinical Division at the London School of Hygiene, etc.

CLEMENT C. CHESTERMAN
Has advanced our knowledge of tropical medicine to a considerable extent.

JULIAN S. BIXLER
Philosopher of distinction, President of Colby College.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY
Foremost authority on Hindu and Moslem culture, at least in this country.

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University Extension Lecturer

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President, Colby College

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by Everett Skillings
Professor Emeritus, Middlebury College
Chairman, Albert Schweitzer Fellowship

THE BLACK MAN AND ALBERT SCHWEITZER
by W. E. B. DuBois, Ph.D., LL.D., D. Litt., L.H.D.
Prof. Emeritus of Sociology, Atlanta University

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by Joachim Wach, Ph.D., Th.D.
Professor, History of Religions, Brown University; formerly Professor University of Leipzig

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by Edward L. Thorndike, Ph.D., LL.D., Sc.D. (Hon.)
Professor Emeritus, Teachers College
Columbia University

SCHWEITZER'S AESTHETICS AN INTERPRETATION OF BACH
by Leo Schrade, Ph.D.
Professor Yale University

THE TRANSCENDENTALISM OF ALBERT SCHWEITZER.
by Archibald T. Davison, Ph.D., F.R.C.M., Mus.D (Hon.)
Chairman, Department of Music, Harvard University

A few of the contributors

WERNER JAEGER
World's foremost authority on Greek culture, professor at the Universities of Berlin, Chicago, and Harvard.

GEORGE SARTON
Author of the monumental voluminous *History of Science* and editor of *Isis* and *Osiris*.

ARCHIBALD DAVISON
The man who made the Harvard Glee Club what it is. His triumphal tour is still remembered vividly in European capitals. Head of Harvard University's music department.

DALLAS B. PHEMISTER
Head of the Department of Surgery, Chicago University, and surgeon of note.

KIRSOPP LAKE
Harvard's famed Oriental archaeologist and Biblical historian.

ALICE EHLERS
One of the world's most gifted harpsichordists, professor of music, University of Southern California.

W. E. B. DuBOIS
The most outstanding Negro in America, eminent sociologist and promoter of race justice.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER'S CONTRIBUTION TO ORGAN-BUILDING
by Carl Weinrich
Organist and Choirmaster, Princeton University and Instructor of Organ, Columbia University and Wellesley College

MUSICAL DAYS WITH ALBERT SCHWEITZER
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Professor of Music, University of Southern California

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by Ernst Cassirer, Ph.D., LL.D.
Formerly Professor of Philosophy (also Rector), *University of Hamburg, Late Visiting Professor, Yale University and Columbia University*

CIVILIZATION (An Eastern View)
by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Sc. D.
Keeper of Indian Art, Boston Museum of Fine Arts

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by Roland H. Bainton, B.D., Ph.D.
Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Yale University

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Professor of German Art and Culture, Harvard University

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by Alfonso Reyes, LL.D.
President, El Colegio de México, formerly Mexican Minister Plenipotentiary to France, Spain, Argentina, and at various times Ambassador to Argentina, Brazil.

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Professor and Chairman Department of Surgery, University of Chicago

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by Sir Philip Manson-Bahr
Director of the Clinical Division, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

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by Clement C. Chesterman, M.D., O.B.E.
Hon. Sec. British Advisory Board on Medical Missions

MEDICAL MISSIONS AND THE FUTURE
by Ernest Cooke, F.R.C.S.I., L.R.C.P.I. D.P.H., L.M.R.
Physician in Charge Outpatient Clinic, Hospital for Tropical Diseases, London

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by Werner Jaeger, Dr.Phil., D.Litt., Litt.D.
Professor of Classical Philology, Harvard University; formerly Professor at the University of Berlin

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by Kirsopp Lake, D.D., D.Litt., Dr. Phil. (Hon.)
Professor of History, Emeritus, Harvard University

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Assistant Professor of Exegetics, University of Uppsala

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Professor of the History of Science, Harvard University

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Department of Education, Commonwealth of Massachusetts

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The names of the other contributors, too, deserve expanded mention, but the lack of space prevents carrying out the full plan of introduction.

The main feature is that this jubilee volume speaks more than scores of books, and, while paying tribute to the living principle of sacrifice, it has entailed a good deal of sacrifice in being brought about during the War.

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CAMBRIDGE 38, MASS.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find $6.25 covering the price of THE ALBERT SCHWEITZER JUBILEE BOOK, (plus postage), to be sent as soon as off the press.

Name .....

Address .....

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

13 March 1946

21-19-24

My dear Dr. Roback:

I should like a copy of the Schweitzer Jubille Book. I am enclosing $5.15.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. A. A. Roback
8 Prescott Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

14 November 1946

21-13-24

My dear Mr. Roberts:

The Union of South Africa is not fit to rule colored people. Its record in its own territory is probably the worst in modern history. Two million people rule eight million natives and these natives have practically no political rights and hold only thirteen per cent of the land. They are subjected to all sorts of caste restrictions. In Southwest Africa the mandate commission of the League of Nations severely blamed the Union of South Africa for murdering with airplanes and bombs, over a hundred men, women and children in 1920 for non-payment of taxes. Today there are no government schools, almost no hospitalization and of course, no political rights. A country with such a record ofthe Union of South Africa has no right to ask for trusteeship over other colored people. The demand for this annexation on the part of the Union of South Africa is a blow in the face of the ideals for colonies laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Major Roberts
c/o Chicago Defender
166 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1299

SYMBOL

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SI NEWYORK NY AUG 30 1946

DR WEB DUBOIS

409 EDGECOMBE AVE APT 13 H NYK

THE ALARMING RISE OF LYNCHINGS AND CONTINUED IMMUNITY FROM PROSECUTION OF THE LYNCHERS NECESSITATES DRAMATIC, EFFECTIVE ACTION OF DEMOCRATIC AMERICANS ON A NATIONAL SCALE. WILL YOU JOIN BARTLEY CRUM AND MYSELF IN ISSUING A CALL FOR A GATHERING IN WASHINGTON ON SEPTEMBER 22, 23 IN COMMEMORATION OF LINCOLN'S PROJECTION OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION TO LAUNCH AN AMERICAN CRUSADE TO END LYNCHING. THIS CRUSADE WILL EXPRESS THE DETERMINATION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THE LYNCHERS BE APPREHENDED AND PROSECUTED AND THAT THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES ENACT A FEDERAL ANTILYNCH LAW. PLEASE WIRE YOUR REPLY 23 WEST 26TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

22-9-51

PAUL ROBESON

600P

21-26-103

407 N. White St.
Lancaster, S.C.
Sept. 18, 1946

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I am trying to find employment and am writing to ask for your suggestions and aid in securing a job.

Since I saw you last I have had two quarters in Social Service administration at the University of Chicago. I would like so much to get into social work, perhaps in a community center.

My contacts are so few that I am dubious about my possibilities of securing a position through any of them. Would you help me?

Bernard and I have separated since his return from the army. He is working for the veterans Guidance

Center, Southern Branch Post Office, Scotland Hills, Va. I found it quite impossible to influence him in any way after his army experience. I do wish you would write him and advise him against drinking heavily. He is really throwing all of his possibilities away with too much drink.

I hope that you will not mind my turning to you at this time but I feel that you will help me in every way you can.

Please let me hear from you when you have time to write.

I hope that you are well and that you need a worker on your research staff. I should be glad to fill the vacancy, if this is the case. Please don't think me forward in making the above assertion. (Smiles)

Very truly yours,

Gudaly Clinton Babinean

21-26-104

25 September 1946

21-26 105

My dear Audrey:

I have your letter of September 18. I am so sorry to hear of the breaking up of your marriage; but I have always been afraid of that. I knew Bernard was drinking far too much for his good. I shall write to him immediately. In the meantime, the best thing for you to do is to write a number of short letters to possible places of employment. Write them on the typewriter, tell them whose daughter you are, and what schooling you have had. Of course it is more difficult to come in contact with persons in a small South Carolina town than in a larger city. Try these schools, Kentuckey State, Tenn. State, Virginia State, North Carolina A. & M. at Greensboro.

You may refer to me and I shall be glad to help in any way that I can although I see nothing that I know of just now. At any rate I shall be glad to keep in touch with you. I shall be in Columbia, South Carolina, October 20th, to speak. Perhaps I shall see you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Audrey Clinton Robinson
407 N. White Street
Lancaster, South Carolina

21-26-79

28 October 1946

My dear Mrs. Robinson:

I am safe in New York at last and I hasten to thank you and your mother and father for your kind hospitality. I very much enjoyed my visit to Lancaster.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Audrey Robinson
407 N. White Street
Lancaster, South Carolina

25 September 1946

21-26-95

My dear Mr. Robinson:

I have just had a letter from Audrey asking about possible employment. She told me incidently of the breaking up of your marriage. I told her that I have always feared this and for the very reason she mentioned. You have long been drinking too much and I assume that you still are. I know with your intelligence that you must realize that unless you stop this your life is finished. Right in this office we have had recently two cases of brilliant young men breaking down and the real cause was drinking. One has cancer and the other probably has tuberculosis. Why not quit now, turn around and begin again? I shall be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Bernard Robinson
Veterans Guidance Center
Southern Branch Post Office
Scotlandville, Louisiana

Social Mss

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
V.A. Guidance Center
Grambling College
Grambling, Louisiana

October 12, 1946

YOUR FILE REFERENCE:

IN REPLY REFER TO:

21-26-110

My dear Dr. DuBois,

I was very pleased to hear from you. Had it not been for the fact that I was transferred from Scotlandville to Shreveport and then to Grambling, I would have received your letter much sooner. Consequently, my answer would have been more prompt.

I know of no one from whom I would rather receive advise than from you.

Some weeks ago I read your "Defender" column on drinking and gave the matter considerable thought.

Whiskey has never become a passion with me; however, its consumption I will admit has by far been too great.

Your column, your letter, and my thinking have brought me to the conclusion that my stopping drinking over six weeks ago was the right thing to do.

I believe that in a few words I have been able to confess and discuss my unbecoming behavior as it has been related to my drinking; however, I would not attempt to explain what happened to my marriage even in a book.

My broken marriage and my drinking are just as vague in cause and effect as the age old question: "Which comes first the chicken or the egg?"

An inquiry by or concerning an ex-service man or woman should, if possible, give veteran's name and file number, whether C, XC, K, N, or V. If such file number is unknown, service or serial number should be given.

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

YOUR FILE REFERENCE:

2

IN REPLY REFER TO:

21-26-111

Let's compromise on time and say that my marriage was an affair that only a foolish youth would have initiated . To state the matter further, only an ignorant person would have endured such rank nonsense.

I have been debased and maltreated on every hand wherein my marriage to Audrey has been concerned. Perhaps she should return to her first husband and haunt him some more?

Bye the bye, I am living at the home of Mr. Adams, the founder of Grambling College.

As chief of this Guidance center I am organizing it from the ground up. We will handel all colored veterans who live north of Baton Rouge.

Many thanks again for your kindness and consideration.

I hope that this letter found you in the best of health and near to the goals which you have always sought so relentlessly.

Respectfully yours,

Bernard F. Robinson

Bernard F. Robinson

P.S. Please, give Miss Diggs and Mr. Carter my best regards.

B.F.R.

An inquiry by or concerning an ex-service man or woman should, if possible, give veteran's name and file number, whether C, XC, K, N, or V. If such file number is unknown, service or serial number should be given.

21-9-15

10 May 1946

My dear Mr. Robinson:

I want to talk with you about the last Pan African Congress and plans for the future. I should be glad to know when I can meet you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend James H. Robinson
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

20 May 1946

22-9-29

My dear Mr. Robinson:

I wrote you several days ago asking for an opportunity to talk with you concerning the Pan African Congress. Since that letter miscarried I am writing again. The Pan African Congress in Manchester, England in 1945 was the most representative gathering of Africans directly representing their countries which has ever been held and I have been very much embarrassed that no opportunity has been made for me to make public what these Africans want and what they propose to do.

I have suggested several times that the national board of the NAACP should arrange such an occasion but no action has been taken. Before the Congress was held I should have been glad to have invited the co-operation of a number of American Negro organizations to work with me and attend but there again I had no authority to do this unless the NAACP took action.

I think now that the time has come for the status of the Congress to be made clear to American Negroes and their cooperation asked. I have spoken to several persons representing various groups who are willing to co-operate and I want to talk with you.

Will you kindly let me know when I may have a conference with you? My telephone is - Longacre 3-6890.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Reverend James H. Robinson
The Church of the Master
86 Morningside Avenue
New York City

Church of the Master

PRESBYTERIAN

86 MORNINGSIDE AVENUE

NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

REV. JAMES H. ROBINSON
MINISTER

TELEPHONE
UNIVERSITY 4-7363

42-85-80

November 1, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Social Research
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Upon my return to the city I found your letter of the 10th. I am sure that by now you have Mr. M'Badiwe's signature to the document which is to be presented to the United Nations. If you have not, then please consider this letter as an affirmation of my signature to that document. You may count on our hearty cooperation and support.

Sincerely,

Rev. James H. Robinson

JHR:g

[Rohde]

HOMEWOOD
OSSINING
NEW YORK

Sept. 21st 1946

21-21-44

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Many thanks for your kind letter of Sept. 18th. I am sorry that I will not be able to attend the meeting on Oct. 5: because of a previous engagement. But I willingly sign the enclosed petition.

Very sincerely yours.

Ruth Bryan Rohde.

RoKo GALLERY

PAINTINGS PRINTS SCULPTURE

January 29, 1946

Request to sponsor

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

RoKo Gallery will observe Negro History Week with an exhibition of sculpture and paintings opening at 7:30 on Sunday evening, February 10, 1946. We are inviting you to be present as our honored guest at this time. We would be very happy if you could say a few words during the evening.

21-13

There will be representative work by Negro artists, as well as of others who have done creative work based upon the accomplishments and the problems of the Negro. There will also be a benefit sale for the George Washington Carver School, with the artists getting 50% of the proceeds.

Although Negro History Week is observed enthusiastically in other sections of the city, little or nothing is done in the Greenwich Village area. A number of all Negro art exhibits are held during Negro History week, but there is a growing concern in the art world about the discriminatory character of these exhibits and others in which Negroes alone show their work. This feeling is especially strong among Negro artists themselves.

We are attempting to do three things through this show, to demonstrate that work done by Negro artists is an integral part of the best of American culture, to benefit the artists and the Carver School through sales, and to create an awareness of the Negro people's contribution to culture and society. Our specific aim is that this awareness will result in the active participation of larger forces in the fight to end all discrimination and worn out prejudices.

I hope that the above conveys a clear idea of our plan, and that you will find it possible to attend.

Very sincerely yours,

Jane Rogers

Jane Rogers, Director

51 GREENWICH AVENUE, NEW YORK 14, N. Y. CH. 2-7049

412 Near 7th Avenue and 11th Street

[Roko Gallery]

21-13-30

********** 20 West 40th Street

30 January 1946

My dear Miss Rogers:

I have your letter of January twenty-ninth concerning the exhibition of work by Negro artists February tenth. I regret to say that on that evening I have tickets for the concert directed by Dean Dixon at Carnegie Hall and, therefore, cannot be present. Perhaps later in the week I can look in.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Jane Rogers
Roko Gallery
51 Greenwich Avenue
New York City 14

17 July 1946

My dear Madam:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which has not yet been sent but which I am proposing to send to the various organizations named in the first paragraph.

I am writing to ask if you would glance at this and let me know what your reaction is and give me any advice that you may have.

As a member of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, it may be that you would be willing to indicate just what action in the direction of this statement it would be wise for me to follow. I shall appreciate any word that you can send me. You will find my biography in Who's Who in America.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-9-40

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
29 Washington Square
New York City

Hyde Park
Dutchess County

APARTMENT 15-A
29 WASHINGTON SQUARE, WEST
NEW YORK CITY 11

July 22,
1946

42-8-F-33

My dear Mr. Du Bois,

I would suggest that you send your plea to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations for his opinion.

I am not a member of the Economic and Social Council but I am a member of the Nuclear Commission for Human Rights and serve on the Assembly.

Yours very sincerely,

Eleanor Roosevelt

********** 20 West 40th Street

7 January 1946

My dear Mr. Rose:

I hope you have had the door on Yolande's car repaired. Please do it no matter what the cost and do any paint job that is necessary for it. Send me the bill.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Sam Rose
1415 Etting Street
Baltimore

[Rosenwald Fund]

28 January 1946

21-19-62

My dear Mr. Embree:

I understand that Don West is applying for a fellowship from the Rosenwald Fund. I have known Mr. West for sometime and I know the part of Georgia where he is working. I think that the future of the South is going to depend on the kind of man that he is and I strongly recommend that his fellowship by renewed.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Edwin R. Embree
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

21-13-68

February 1, 1946

Dear Doctor Du Bois: Thank you for your note about Don West. We have all been much interested in the work this man is doing. While you know the terrific competition for the small number of awards we give each year, we shall certainly give this man extra consideration because of your recommendation.

I am interested in your new letterhead. You have done splendid service not only in the realm of color and democracy at home, but also in the colonies. More power to you!

Very truly yours,

ERE:MM

Edwin R. Embree

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois , Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

[ROSENWALD FUND]

21:13-69.

4 February 1946

My dear Mr. Embree:

Thank you for your letter of February first. I am glad you are going to try and help Don West. In all the recommendations that I have made to you during the years, I have but one grouch and that was the refusal of the Rosenwald Fund to give my assistant, Miss Diggs, a fellowship. I think you missed a great opportunity there, and that you will be interested to know that in spite of this, she went to Cuba and last year received her doctorate in philosophy and letters. She is back at her desk helping me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Edwin R. Embree
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15

21-13-70

Renewal fund

13 February 1946

My dear Madam:

I strongly support the application of Don Lee West for a renewal of his fellowship. I have great hopes in his work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Received June

2C-13-71

13 February 1946

My dear Madam:

Murphy L. Kibbe was a student of mine for two or three years in Atlanta University about 1938. I have not been in touch with him since then but at that time he was one of the best students that I had ever had with a very clear mind and capacity for work. I do not know, of course, what he could do in novel writing but if he has lived up to his promise, I think he might do well.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

FOR RELEASE MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1946

From the Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

The Review of the work of the Julius Rosenwald Fund by Edwin R. Embree, President of the Fund, just issued lists expenditures for the two-year period, July 1, 1944 to June 30, 1946, of $1,308,576 for fellowships, the education of rural teachers, and programs in race relations. Mr. Embree reported that in accordance with the wishes of the founder, the Fund has regularly used capital as well as income for its programs, and since its organization in 1917 had spent something over twenty million dollars chiefly in Negro education and the equalization of opportunities for all American citizens, and has remaining today assets of approximately two and a half million dollars. The Fund reports that it is now centering its interracial work on education through church groups and organized labor.

21-13

Commenting on human relations in America, Mr. Embree says in the Review: "Cooperation among diverse peoples is a world necessity. In this new and closely interdependent world America is a chief power. Through the sound growth of our own society we have the opportunity to lead in the development of the present sorely troubled earth. It is of more than national significance that we solve our problems of human relations; create equity and effective cooperation among all the divergent peoples who make up this vigorous new nation. . . . .

"The tasks ahead are clear. We must extend our magnificent prosperity. We must open opportunities for all the people to make their full contributions and receive their full share of the nation's material and spiritual riches. . . . Insofar as we achieve prosperity in human relations, as we have in material goods, we will realize the promises of America and will hold the leadership of an anxious, eager world. . . . ."

As to the Fund's work with the church and labor, Mr. Embree said: "Organized labor is a much newer force in American life than the church. But many unions today are taking a stand for equality more direct and far-reaching than any other agencies. . . . . The Julius Rosenwald Fund takes no part in labor organization and no partisanship as between unions. Our effort is to help united labor give educational opportunities without discrimination or segregation."

Commenting on general education, Mr. Embree says in the Review: "We in America have put great faith in education. Not only are practically all of our children in elementary schools but some six and a half million are in secondary schools (three times the percentage of young people enrolled at this level among any other people), and now nearly two million are in colleges, universities, and professional schools: higher education beyond the dreams -- or nightmares -- of any other country.

21-13

"On the whole, American education has done a fairly good job in providing the tools of literacy and technology. We have not done anything like so well in preparing young people for participation in a fully democratic society. . . . .

"The basic findings of modern psychology throw new light on the ways in which personalities develop either as constructive, cooperating citizens or as frustrated and destructive individuals. Similarly the fresh concepts of a fully democratic society throw new light on the kind of preparation needed for participation in that society. Modern psychology recognizes that the biological urge to growth, common to all organisms, takes complex forms in man. It includes, more deeply than we used to recognize, sex expression and the will to power. But it also includes growth toward many other human satisfactions. Directing the urges of growth toward cooperation in a mutually enriching society is basic to education for democratic living."

21 January 1946

Gentlemen:

I need two pairs of high laced shoes made according to my last. Can you furnish them and at what price?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

I. Sabel
1015 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

81-13

********** 20 West 40th Street

28 January 1946

Gentlemen:

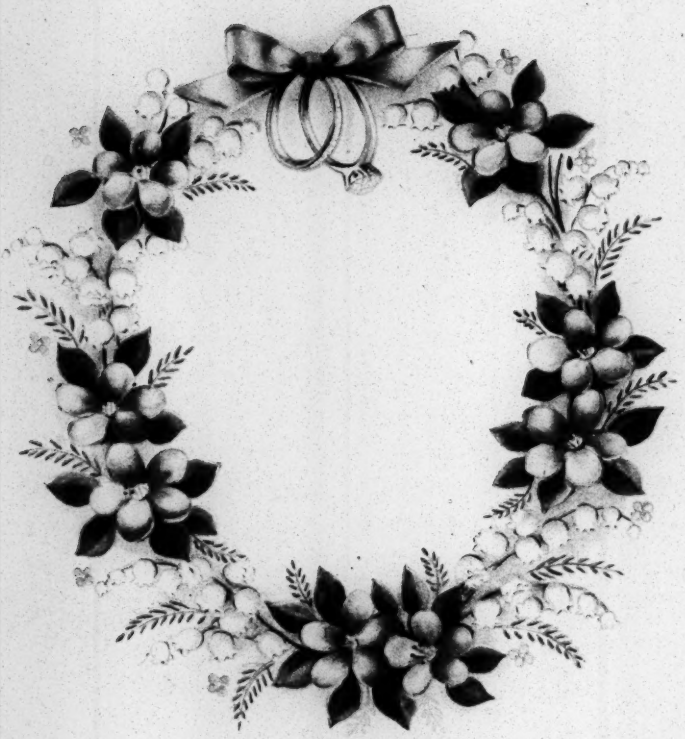
Enclosed please find my check in the sum of $14.50. In addition to the second pair of high shoes, please send me two pairs of low shoes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

I. Sabel, Inc.
1015 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

On Your
Golden Wedding
Anniversary



How beautiful the record
Time has written
Upon a golden page today for you,
How many, many special thoughts and wishes
Are yours --
you've proved for half a century through
That love can bring a joy
beyond comparing,
And happy years you've spent just
point the way
To even more bright years of always sharing
More perfect joys like those
that fill this day!

[St. James' Forum]

The United Supreme Council

Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry (Prince Hall Affiliation), Northern Jurisdiction, U. S. A., Inc.

Grand East at the Valley of Philadelphia, Pa., under the C:. C:. of the Z:., Near the B:. B:., answering to 39° 57 Northern Latitude, 75° 11 West Meridian of Greenwich.

HARRY E. DAVIS, 33°
Special Deputy for Foreign Relations,
202-206 Engineers Building,
Cleveland 14, Ohio

21-10-02

January 9th, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Sometime ago I wrote you regarding a possible engagement for the St. James Forum. This may have been overlooked in the press of other business or it may have been while you were still in Europe so I am calling your attention to it again. May I hear from you promptly.

Very truly yours

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

[St. James Forum]

28 February 1946

21-19-109

My dear Davis:

How are you and family? My best regards. I have been in excellent health but Mrs. Du Bois is in the hospital still with partial paralysis on one side. She is improving but probably never will be altogether well again.

I am lecturing in Detroit March thirty-first and in California April seventh. I should like to come to Cleveland but could not unless you could use me on some week day between April first and April fifth. I do not suppose that this would be feasible but if it is let me know.

Yours with best regards,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Attorney Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland

[Saint James Forum]

HARRY E. DAVIS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
202-206 ENGINEERS BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14

MAIN 1320

21-19-111

March 2nd, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Forum meets only Sunday afternoon at 4:00 P.M. and unless you could get a Sunday afternoon date I do not see any possibility of an engagement. If your plans should change so that you might have a Sunday date please advise and I will see what can be done.

Very truly yours

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

[St. James Forum]

27 March 1946

21-19-112

Dear Davis:

It is possible that I could lecture before your forum April twenty-eighth. Let me know if this would be possible. The fee would be one hundred dollars.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Attorney Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland

[St. James Forum]

HARRY E. DAVIS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
202-206 ENGINEERS BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14

MAIN 1320

21-19-113

April 1st, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In response to yours of March 27th, I have arranged an engagement for the St. James Forum on Sunday April 28th at 4 o'clock P.M. at the terms mentioned in your letter. Please confirm this promptly.

Very truly yours

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

[St. James]

Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland 14

Main 1320

April 1st, 1946

21-19-117

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In response to yours of March 27th, I have arranged an engagement for the St. James Forum on Sunday April 28th at 4 o'clock P.M. at the terms mentioned in your letter. Please confirm this promptly.

Very truly yours,

Harry E, Davis

hed:jm

Ans. Apr 3

(SAINT KITTS-NEVIS...)

ST. KITTS-NEVIS TRADES AND LABOUR UNION

21-21-23

All communication should be addressed to the General Secretary

CHURCH STREET,
BASSETERRE,
ST KITTS B W I.

8th November, 1946.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
President, Pan African Congress,
20 West, 40th Street,
New York, 18, N.Y., U.S.A.

Sir,

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 18th September last with enclosure of a proposed petition to be forwarded to the Assembly of the United Nations.

Our Union is in hearty accord with the proposals set forth in the petition. We have a high regard for the work of the Pan African Congress and kindred organisationsin advocating the cause of African peoples and their descendants in various parts of the world. We are fully conscious of the need of concerted action for the attainment of our common aims.

On behalf of the people of African descent, who constitute the large majority of the population of the Presidency of St. Christopher-Nevis, we hereby endorse the petition to be forwarded by the Pan African Congress to the Assembly of the United Nations requesting that provisions be made for the direct representation of Africans themselves in the United Nations and for an agency for the expression of African opinion in the conduct of affairs concerning Africa in that Assembly.

You have our permission to associate the name of our Union with the petition in whatever manner you may desire.

Faithfully yours,

ST.KITTS-NEVIS TRADES AND LABOUR UNION
per Jos. N. France
General Secretary

[SANCTON]

NEW YORK, N.Y. NOV 19 8:30 PM 1946

MADISON SQUARE STATION

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecomb ave
New York City

THOMAS SANCTON

November 19, 1946
112 E 19, 12th floor
(Survey Graphic)
N. Y. C.

22-9-100

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I have been in New York for a month and have tried from time to time without success to reach you by telephone. I am editing a special issue of Survey Graphic on segregation. I wanted simply to come by to pay my humble respects to a great man. I do not believe there are many "scholars" who know the real dimensions of your life-work and the place you must occupy in American history. But those of us who do know it, who have been profoundly influenced by the truth you kept alive, are going to own tomorrow because we must. And the name of W. E. B. Du Bois will never be without the greatest honor. Thomas Sancton

25 November 1946

My dear Mr. Sancton:

I was very glad to hear from you and know of your whereabouts, I had quite lost track of you. I am in my office almost every afternoon at 20 West 40th Street and would be very glad if you could call. Usually I am there between two and four. Thank you for your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-9-101

Mr. Thomas Sancton, Survey Graphic
112 East 19th Street
New York City

21-19-89

3 October 1946

My dear friends:

I thank you very much for your letter of September 4th and I am glad that you agree with my Christian Register article. I am writing to Mr. Flamm for a copy of his book.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Schillaker
1027 Virginia Place
Glendale 4, California

31 July 1946

My dear Mr. Schweitzer:

I have here your kind letter of December 5, 1945 and I thank you for your words of appreciation. On the other hand, I presume that you will not mind if I add a word to my thesis: I trust you will not receive without careful examination the legend that it was white Europe which brought peace and leadership to West Africa and that without the influence of the whites, Africa would retrograde into barbarism. You should certainly read, if you have not already, the works of Maurice Delafosse formerly the governor of the French colonies and professor at the Colonial School and the School of Oriental Languages in France. Monsieur Delafosse published in 1921, Les Noirs de l'Afrique and in 1925, Civilizations nègre Africaines.

22-9-37

These and many other works which I could name prove that civilization in West Africa was not the gift of white folk but on the other hand around the Gulf of Guinea there was a ancient culture dating back a thousand years or more, which was one of the most interesting primitive cultures of the world. It was the American slave-trade carried on by Europeans that degraded and spoiled this civilization.

Later white men rationalized their crime by claiming the highest motives first in their man-stealing, then in their missionary work and finally in their system of colonial government. The fact of the matter is that West Africa, just as the rest of Africa, has been organized for the profit of white Europe and America. Until this basic idea of making money out of the stolen toil and material of black folk ceases to be the leading idea, Africa will never recover from her degradation.

The withdrawal of whites from Africa like any sudden social change would bring difficulties and even momentary disaster, but in the long run it would restore the dignity and initiative of the black race and give them that independence and self-rule which made Belgium and France and all free countries.

The great difficulty is that most white men do not believe in the humanity and ability of the black race; they have not seen independent Negro countries with initiative; they do not believe them possible. I think however, if you should visit the United States and see the condition of fifteen million descendants of African slaves,

you would begin to realize what the possibilities of black folk are. We American Negroes are not in the position we want to be and will be, but we have made such progress that no one doubts our ultimate accomplishment. In one of the greatest, most powerful and most ruthless countries of the earth, we have fought our way forward until today we own property; we share political power; we make art and literature; we sit in congress and in the legislatures and on the bench. In other words we are Americans, not completely but progressively and inevitably.

What we have done, Africa did in earlier ages and can do again if the dead hand of Europe is taken from her throat. Fetichism and tyranny have ruled in Africa and will; but no more and not as disastrously as they have ruled in Europe and Asia. Africa has no monopoly on cruelty, and more Negroes have died under European rule than ever died under Negro rule.

I hope you will forgive me for this plain speaking but it is my deep belief. I wish you every success with your work, I am, sir,

Very sincerely yours,

22-9-38

W. E. Burghardt Dubois
20 W. 40th St
New York 16 N.Y.

Dr Schweitzer
Lambaréné
Afrique Equatoriale
Française

24 11 46

M. Dubois

Dr Schweitzer

chez monsieur Dubois

Merci de vos aimables lignes du 31 juillet 46.
Je connais la théorie de M. Delafosse sur la civilisations
africaines. Certainements sont liés des problèmes aux
les civilisations qui existaient en Afrique comme en
Afrique Occidentale, dans les temps passées ne sont
pas élucidés et gardent leur mystère.

Moi qui vis depuis plus de 30 ans en Afrique Occi-
dentale, je ne puis pas souscrire à la théorie que tout
a été organisé aux profit de blancs. N'oublions
pas que les races de blancs a mis fin aux terri-
bles guerres qui sévissaient entre les tribus sans s'ar-
rêter ... n'oublions pas combien de blancs se sont dé-

22-9-36

NATIONALIS

vous aux indigènes, non seulement des missionnaires, des médecins, des administrateurs, mais aussi des colons, des commerçants ! Il faut voir les choses comme elles sont .... Je regrette de ne pouvoir être plus fatigué et occupé ! Mais ~~[illegible]~~ regarder les choses comme je les vois d'après mes connaissances de l'histoire des colonies de l'Afrique Occidentale et d'après ce que j'ai vu et vécu.

De cœur votre dévoué

Albert Schweitzer

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

FOUNDED AS LINCOLN INSTITUTE 1866
BY THE 62ND AND 65TH UNITED STATES
COLORED INFANTRIES. AND SUPPORTED
BY THE STATE OF MISSOURI

JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

21-29-86

Dear Doctor and Mrs. DuBois,

We are happy to share with others the pleasure to send to you greetings on the occasion of your golden wedding anniversary. Our imagination enables us to realize what fifty years of living life together has given both of you in mutual companionship; we can understand how it has been made possible for each to strengthen the other for the effective living that your lives have reflected.

That God may keep you and continue to bless you with contentment and happiness is our wish for you both.

Sincerely yours,

Sherman Dana Thelma Ione Scruggs

Sherman Dana and Thelma Ione Scruggs
Lincoln University of Missouri

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

May 11, 1946

29 May 1946

21-13

My dear Mr. Scurlock:

Will you please send me three mounted photographs of myself using frames the inside of which measures eight by ten inches?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Addison N. Scurlock
900 U Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

4 June 1946

21-19-127

My dear Mr. Scurlock:

Will you please send a mounted photograph of my granddaughter, Du Bois Williams, to Mrs. Caroline B. Day
2500 Fayetteville Road
Durham, North Carolina

and the bill to me?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Addison N. Scurlock
900 U Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

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THE SCURLOCK STUDIO

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900 YOU STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

21-13

M Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 W. 40th. Street, N.Y.C.

July 3 1946

12	copies 5x7 glossy of Mrs. DuBois	15	00
3	8x10 portraits of Dr. DuBois	10	50
1	photograph of granddaughter	2	50
		28	00

PAID JUL 11 1946 M.E.S.

PRINT THANK YOU

23 July 1946

My dear Mr. Scurlock:

Will you please prepare for me four small unmounted pictures, passport size, of Du Bois? She is nursing her Grandmother and cannot get to a local photographer now and wants these for her school record. Kindly send them to her at 2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland
and send the bill to me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-13

Mr. Addison N. Scurlock
900 U Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

[Second Baptist Church, Los Angeles]

DuBois at Second Baptist

24th and Griffith

Sunday, April 7, 1946 - 7:30 P.M.

"WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS"

W. E. B. DuBois
Greatest Living
Negro Publicist

JEROME W. MacNAIR, Chairman
DR. JNO. A. SOMERVILLE, Presiding

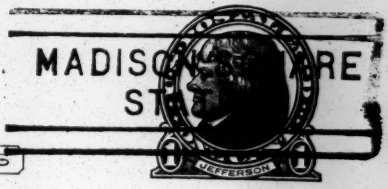
Admission Free **Public Invited**

21-20-23

Miss H. Severin
235 E. 22nd Street
New York City
Apt. 14S

NEW YORK, N.Y.
JAN 4
5:30 PM
1946

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Co Harlem N. A. A. C. P.
New York City

20 W. 40th St

Pulpit

January 2nd 1946

21-24-22

Dear Dr. Dubois.

May I ask you to send me a copy of your talk which you gave tonight over N.Y.C. Station.

I am a student. Your comments about the Colonies interest me a great deal.

Thanking you in advance

I am

H. Dickerson.

25 February 1946

21-24-23

Dear Miss Severin:

In answer to your postal card of January second addressed to Dr. Du Bois, please permit me to say that the talk over the NYC station was not written out. However, I suggest that you read his most recent book Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace, published by Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Miss H. Severin
235 East 22nd Street
Apartment 14-S
New York City

Mis

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE FOR NEGROES
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Golden Wedding Anniversary

21-29-61

May 29, 1946

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Dear Dr. and Mrs. DuBois:

A strange thing happened. I did not come across your announcement until this morning. Nothing would have given me more pleasure than to have sent you a line of hearty felicitations, if no more, upon your conquest of time and to testify to the fact of the devotion and loyalty which both of you have shown in the journey along life's highway. I am going to make amends one of these days and come to see you. In the meantime, I hope that the future may be good to both of you and grant you peace, prosperity, and good health.

I am hoping, Dr. DuBois, that you can come and deliver a lecture this fall. I would be glad if you would send me your New York address so that I will know where to find you.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

James E. Shepard
President

JES:CJD

21-30-54

July 9, 1946

Dr. James E. Shepard
North Carolina College for Negroes
Durham, North Carolina.

Dear Dr. Shepard:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of May 29. Mrs. Du Bois and I appreciate your good words. My New York address is 20 West 40th Street. I shall be glad to lecture at the college next fall if I am in the south. Please remember me kindly to Mrs. Shepard. I hope her health is improving.

Very sincerely yours,

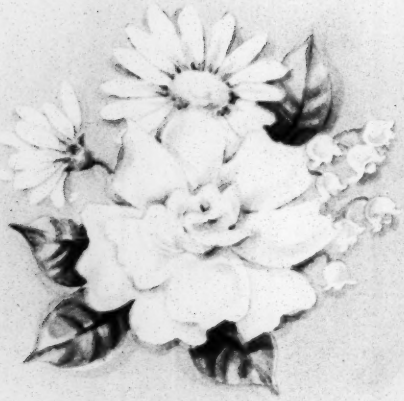
W.E.B. Du Bois.

For Your Golden Anniversary

This anniversary day must hold
A meaning deep and true
For it must surely be a day
You've long looked forward to;
And may it be so happy
That through days that are to be
You will recall its many joys
In treasured memory.

Sincerely,

Dr. + Mrs. J. Douglass Sheppard



You've shared your joys together
Through happy years now gone
As now you share the memories
You're looking back upon,
And now, as then, "together"
You share the gladness, too,
This golden day, and all it means
Must bring to both of you.

Sarah Sheppard.

The Shillakers
(ROBERT and ROSALIE)
1027 VIRGINIA PLACE
GLENDALE 4, CALIFORNIA

L8-19-87

9/4/46

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois,

Dear Sir — Your article in the August "Christian Register" made quite a hit in this family. Maybe it was a little too 'radical' for some of the good people — but sometimes it helps to shock people out of their complacency.

I think most Americans who are liberal — and intelligent — know that some measure of change has to take place in the near future. There is no possibility of standing still or returning to the 'good old days' of Coolidge or McKinley or whenever they were. But where most of our liberals are in the dark is in not realizing or refusing to realize, in what direction the change will have to be made if it is to be progress + not a fascist type of retrogression to medievalism. It is surprising how many liberals are still persuaded that everything in our economic system can be adjusted satisfactorily if only we made a few more laws + regulations. Even some of those who profess to see regimentation in "New Deal" measures, recommend as their panacea, regulatory measures that would make the New Deal seem pale in comparison.

I don't know whether you are familiar with Irving A. Flamm's book "AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR A LIVING DEMOCRACY". It came out in 1942 but I was in the service

that year & didn't come across it until recently. Mr Flamm's ideas & particularly his specific plan for transition, made a big impression on me. For, as he says, "there is a crying need for transition techniques ..... that are suited to the already going business of an established society" ..... "Social theories are of little use unless they can be implemented by workable procedures for their adoption."

I think this is so true: many of us have had the vision of a better way of life, and a form of society more in keeping with XXth century technology, ever since we read Edward Bellamy many years ago; but HOW to make the change HOW? We were very hazy .....

21-19-88

Flamm's book provides the best, clearest answer I have seen, so far. I wish I could persuade the "Register" editors to let him follow up your excellent article. Incidentally you may be interested to know that, according to a letter I have just received from Mr. Flamm, there is a possibility of a 25[¢] abridged edition, prepared in collaboration with Stuart Chase being put on the market, & it is hoped that all liberals will really get behind this effort & put it over in a big way. It is not enough to tell people something must be done: we must tell them specifically WHAT must be done to achieve abundance & cultural opportunities for all in a world at peace .....

Sincerely Yours.

Robert Stillaker.

Mr Flamm's address is 134 N. Salle st. Chicago (2)
I know he would be encouraged to hear from a man of your calibre.

21-29-43

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

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1946 MAY 11 PM 10 11

DR AND MRS W E D DUBOIS= DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

DUBOIS COTTAGE 2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE BALTO=

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE EVENT OF YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING TO WIGE FAITHFUL GENTLE PIUS AND CHASTE THE BEST GIFT OF HEAVEN TO A MAN YOUR VIRTOUS JEWEL YOUR VOICE IS MUSIC YOUR ARM HIS SAFETY TO THE HUSBAND HONORED IN SIX CONTINENTS AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA FOR HIS WISDON COURAGE AND CONTRIBUTION IN LETTERS AND PHILOSOPHY TO THE FURTHERANCE OF CIVILIZATION TO THE DAUGHTER THE GIFT OF THE HOLY UNION AND THE LITTLE GRAND DAUGHTER WHO IS DESCENDENT OF HER SO DISTINGUISHED GRANDPARENTS=

MRS LOUIE DAVIS SHIVERY AND FAMILY.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE

[Sigma Pi Phi]

********** 20 West 40th Street

4 January 1946

Boule

My dear Dr. Murray:

I have tried in vain to get you on the telephone today. If possible I should prefer to entertain the Boule in February and not in January because of lectures this month in and out of the city.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. P. M. Murray
2588 Seventh Avenue
New York City

Dg, 234/p. 1st

[illegible]

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

GAMMA BOULE

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

MEMORANDUM #2

May 6, 1946

TO: All Archons of Sigma Pi Phi.
FROM: Committee on Information and Registration, Gamma Boule, 2114 Arlington Avenue, Baltimore 14, Maryland.
Subject: Eighteenth Convocation, Grand Boule.

The time for the next Grand Boule Convocation is drawing near. We are attempting to keep you informed about the plans, etc. Our Memorandum #1 was mailed to your Boule on March 31. If you were not present when that communication was read to your Boule, please get it and familiarize yourself with its contents. At this time we are very desirous of receiving definite information from you in order that our efforts to make your stay in Baltimore during the Convocation will be successful.

Provisions For Your Comfort

The lodging accommodations will be provided in the Morgan State College dormitories, which have spacious rooms, single beds, two to a room and screened windows. Modern shower baths and toilet facilities are in each building. Specially planned meals will be available at convenient hours in the College cafeteria.

Provisions For Your Entertainment

You will see from the enclosed schedule of activities that Gamma is making preparations for your entertainment. In view of the fact that caterers will be employed for several occasions we must insist upon your prompt compliance to our request for the information called for on the enclosed reservation blank.

Fees

Registration fee - each Archon attending Convocation...$ 5.00
Room and Board - 4 days and including chambermaid service..... 18.00
$23.00

Wives and children of Archons will not be required to pay the registration fee.

Information Needed At Once

In order that we may prepare for your comfort and entertainment there are certain things we must know. Since you know that any Grand Convocation of Sigma Pi Phi must be the Alpha of entertainment, it is obvious that much preparation has to be made in advance due to post-war conditions. We are, therefore, requesting your co-operation in this matter by returning the enclosed reservation form in the self-addressed envelope which you will also find enclosed.

Reservations

We must have the information requested above also for making the reservations with Morgan State College. It is important that the College know the number of men, number of women, and number of children it must entertain.

Don't Forget

Please don't forget:-

That the dates are August 20,21,22,23, 1946.
That we are depending upon you to return the reservation blank.
That life is short.
That you can enjoy the short life by coming to the 18th Grand Convocation.

Fraternally yours,

Albert A. Smith
Chairman

18th Convocation, Grand Boule
Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland

Schedule of Activities

Convocation Dates - Aug. 21, 22, 23, 1946

Registration of Delegates - Tuesday, August 20, 1946

August 21	8:00 A.M.	- Breakfast - Cafeteria
	10:30 A.M.	- Opening - Morgan Christian Center Main Auditorium
	12:30 P.M.	- Luncheon - Cafeteria
	2:00 P.M.	- Business Session - Room 107, Library Building
	5:00 P.M.	- Garden Party for Ladies - Formal
	6:30 P.M.	- Supper - Cafeteria
	9:00 P.M.	- Dinner Dance - Formal - Morgan Christian Center, Recreation Center
August 22	8:00 A.M.	- Breakfast - Cafeteria
	10:00 A.M.	- Memorial Services - Morgan Christian Center, Main Auditorium
	12:00 M.	- Group Photograph
	12:30 P.M.	- Lunch - Cafeteria
	2:00 P.M.	- Business Session
	2:00 P.M.	- Luncheon for Ladies - Informal
	2:00 P.M.	- Children's Party
	6:30 P.M.	- Supper
	9:00 P.M.	- Bridge Party for Ladies
	9:00 P.M.	- Smoker - Blue Room, York Hotel
August 23	8:00 A.M.	- Breakfast - Cafeteria
	9:00 A.M.	- Business Session
	2:00 P.M.	- Outing - Cruise on Chesapeake Bay

EIGHTEENTH GRAND CONVOCATION OF SIGMA PI PHI

Baltimore, Maryland

August 20 - 24, 1946

RESERVATION REQUEST

1. Do you plan to attend the 18th Convocation?
   YES ( ) NO ( )

2. Will your wife attend? YES ( ) NO ( )

   Wife's name_____

3. Will any of your children accompany you? YES ( ) NO ( )

   Name_____age_____

   Name_____age_____

   Name_____age_____

4. How will you travel? TRAIN ( ) MOTOR ( ) AIR ( )

Please consider the above as a request for accommodations on the Morgan State College Campus, August 20, 21, 22,23,24,1946. If there are any changes in my plans after I have made reservations, I shall notify the Chairman of the Registration Committee on or before August 1, 1946.

Signature_____

Address_____

_____

Boule_____

(Please use enclosed addressed envelope or mail to Dr. Albert A. Smith, 2114 Arlington Avenue, Baltimore 14, Maryland.)

[Sigma Pi Phi June 16, 1946]

Zeta Boule

of the

SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

HONORS THE ARCHOUSAE

AT THE ALUMNI HOUSE

604 HIGH STREET

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

▪ ▪ ▪

Sunday, June 16th, 1946

▪ ▪ ▪

RECEPTION 5 - 6 O'CLOCK DINNER 6 O'CLOCK

CHAMBER MUSIC BY STRING ENSEMBLE
OF THE JUILLIARD SCHOOL
NEW YORK CITY

Zeta Boule Roster

▪ ▪ ▪

DR. WALTER G. ALEXANDER
DR. J. LeROY BAXTER
DR. WALTER N. BEEKMAN
DR. THOMAS BELL
DR. RICHARD BIRNIE
MATHIEU V. BOUTTE
JOHN S. BROWN
DR. LAWRENCE G. BROWN
DR. CHESTER W. CHINN
GEORGE E. COHRON
HENRY K. CRAFT
GEORGE W. CRAWFORD
DR. A. M. CURTIS
HUBERT T. DELANY
W. E. B. DUBOIS
DR. JAMES T. W. GRANADY
JOHN H. JOHNSON
DR. THOMAS O. JOHNSON
J. LeROY JORDAN
HERBERT T. MILLER
DR. PETER M. MURRAY
DR. FLEMING H. NORRIS
DR. J. SIDNEY PETERSON
OLIVER RANDOLPH
FRANCIS E. RIVERS
JULIUS A. THOMAS
DR. LOUIS T. WRIGHT

Program

▪ ▪ ▪

Archon Mathieu V. Boutte - - - - Presiding

Reminiscences of the Past Year

Archon and Archousae W. E. B. Dubois celebrate
their 50th Wedding Anniversary

Dr. I Q

Zeta in a Brief Business Session

▪ ▪ ▪

Invited Guests

▪ ▪ ▪

Grand Sire Archon Emmett J. Scott

Archon James C. Arnold

Committee

▪ ▪ ▪

DR. A. M. CURTIS

DR. JAMES T. W. GRANADY

HERBERT T. MILLER

[SIGMA PI PHI AUG. 1946]

The Eighteenth
Biennial Conclave
of
Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

WITH

GAMMA BOULE

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

AUGUST 21, 22, 23, 1946

OFFICERS OF THE GRAND BOULE

EMMETT J. SCOTT.....*Archon Megistos*

J. H. B. EVANS.....*Grammateus Megistos*

*WM. H. WRIGHT.....*Thesauristes Megistos*

ROBERT L. JONES.....*Megistos Archon Rhetoricos*

J. R. PORTER.....*Megistos Archon Agogos*

GEORGE F. DAVID.....*Grapter Megistos*

*Deceased

PROGRAMME

Wednesday, August 21

8:00 A.M.—Breakfast, *Cafeteria*

10:30 A.M.—Opening Meeting
Main Auditorium, Morgan Christian Center

Music.....Archon Kemper Harreld

Presentation of Sire Archon C. L. Davis—
by Archon Edward N. Wilson, *General Chairman*

Singing .....Fellowship Song

Invocation.....Archon Samuel R. Morsell

Greetings.....His Excellency Governor Herbert R. O'Conor
His Honor Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin

Presentation of Grand Boule Officers

Solo.....Mrs. Charlotte Wallace Murray

Welcome Address.....Archon D. O. W. Holmes

Response.....Archon Charles H. Garvin

Welcome Address for Ladies.....Mrs. Carrington L. Davis

Response.....Mrs. Sadie Alexander

Grand Sire Archon Emmett J. Scott, *Presiding*

Tribute to Founders — Henry M. Minton, Eugene T. Hinson

Address.....Archon C. L. Davis

12:30 P.M.—Luncheon, *Cafeteria*

2:00 P.M.—Business Session, *Room 107, Library Building*

5:00 P.M.—Garden Party for Ladies—Formal

6:30 P.M.—Supper, *Cafeteria*

9:00 P.M.—Dinner Dance—Formal
Morgan Christian Center, Recreation Center

Thursday, August 22

8:00 A.M.—Breakfast, *Cafeteria*

10:00 A.M.—Memorial Services
Morgan Christian Center, Main Auditorium

Grand Sire Archon Emmett J. Scott, *Presiding*

Organ Interlude.....Archon Kemper Harreld

Invocation.....Archon Thomas I. Brown

Music

Tributes to Deceased Archons

Flowers.....Mrs. Lucius A. Butler

Roll Call of Deceased Archousae

Music

Memorial Address.....Archon Charles H. Wesley

Fellowship Song

Benediction.....Archon Thomas I. Brown

Group Photograph

12:30 P.M.—Luncheon, *Cafeteria*

2:00 P.M.—Business Session

2:00 P.M.—Luncheon for Ladies, *Tubman House*

2:00 P.M.—Children's Party

6:30 P.M.—Supper

9:00 P.M.—Bridge Party for Ladies

9:00 P.M.—Smoker, *Blue Room, York Hotel*

Friday, August 23

8:00 A.M.—Breakfast, *Cafeteria*

9:00 A.M.—Business Session

2:00 P.M.—Outing at Beachwood Park

GAMMA BOULE

Carrington L. Davis.....*Sire Archon*
Dallas F. Nicholas.....*Grammateus*
Samuel R. Morsell.....*Thesauristes*

John L. Berry
W. Leroy Berry
Benjamin F. Browne
Thomas I. Brown
Lucius A. Butler
Ralph V. Cook
George C. Grant
Gregory Hawkins
Mason A. Hawkins
Dwight O. W. Holmes
George W. F. McMechen
Perry D. Pennington
Douglas Grant Scott
Albert A. Smith
Edward N. Wilson
William H. Wright*
Isaac H. Young
Thomas S. Hawkins
Albert O. Reid

*Deceased

Ref for information

28 East 11th Street
New York 3, New York
April 11, 1946

21-27-62

W.E.B. DuBois
Contributor to Primer for White Folks
Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc.
14 West 49th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I was extremely interested in the first paragraph of your article, "African Culture," included in Doubleday's Primer for White Folks.

You see, this is my story and my problem: I was born a white Texan, and it was during my college years that it was first suggested to me that perhaps Negroes are not inferior to whites. This brand new, novel idea (to my mind) sent me scurrying to the library to look up some books about Negroes---one of them, incidentally, happened to be one of yours. That was about ten years ago. Since then I have been a complete convert to the idea that all men, including Negroes, are created equal and should be accorded equality of rights and opportunities. During this time I have also engaged in a crusade to convert my family to this point of view. Tentatively, at least, I think I have succeeded with my brother. My sister has proved more difficult. Just last fall, however, I cornered her sufficiently to get this concession: "If you can prove to me that the Negroes at any time have created a civilization superior to the whites of that period, I'll acknowlege that you are right."

Your first sentence, "That Negro peoples were the beginners of civilization along the Ganges, the Euphrates, and the Nile seems proven," apparently is the answer to my prayer. But how do you know? What documentary proof could I show my sister? Hammurabi, in referring to the "black-head race," could have been talking about Caucasians with black hair. I am very eager to believe what you say to be true, but I also need proof which my sister will acknowlege.

If you can help me solve my problem I ~~should~~ shall be extremely grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Simmons

Anne Simmons

21-27-63

3 October 1946

Dear madam:

In answer to your letter of April 11, 1946 May I say that in January 1947, the Viking Press will publish a book of mine called "The World and Africa" which has documented proof of the accomplishments of Negroes in civilization.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Anne Simmons
28 East 11th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

M. C. SLOSS
ONE ELEVEN SUTTER
SAN FRANCISCO

21-29-69

May, 1946

To Dr. & Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois,

A Harvard classmate of Dr. Du Bois, who has for over half a century observed with admiration his career of distinguished achievement and useful service, is happy to join in extending greetings and felicitations upon this happy family milestone.

Most sincerely,
Marcus Cauffman Sloss.

On Your
GOLDEN
Anniversary!

May memory open the doors
of your hearts
And bring to both of you
Fond happy recollections
Of the day you said, "I DO"...
And may the happy memories
That fill your hearts today
Abide with you and bless you
Along your future way.

Mr & Mrs A. A. Smith

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21-21-09

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ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW
1210 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

21-29-87

May 14, 1946

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois
2502 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Doctor and Mrs. DuBois:

I think I'd fallen upon an evil day did I fail to join with Color and Democracy at your shrine of jubilation; for have I not been with you through the years - from The Future of the Darker Races; The Souls of Black Folk with a zest for truth and faith to follow where I could not see?

"Thy works have stood the test of time; and inspiration draws from your full, true hearts."

You make for us, today, a Golden Jubilee plus 24 carets fine and hold immortal all thy blood, sweat and tears have wrought. We pray Divine thy guidance for a new and happier day.

Very faithfully yours,

Clarke L. Smith

CLS:y

Tennessee A. and I. State College
Division of Liberal Arts
Nashville 8, Tennessee

March 8, 1946

21-8-12

Hugh Smythe

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Doctor:

It has been quite some time since I have written you, but meanwhile, I have been able to keep up with your doings and Mabel and I follow you weekly through the Chicago Defender. Although somewhat belated, please accept our congrats for the picketing stint, which received much publicity locally. It was no more than was expected of you by those of us who know how deeply embedded in you is the cause of justice.

Our work goes along. We have tried to put some life into this place, but it seems a hopeless task. We are paid well but money is not everything. I am beginning to believe that colored schools are not anxious to unburden themselves from the weight of ignorance that has hemmed them in since this unique practice of separate institutions was first set up. Administrations are not receptive to new ideas, and even in these so-called "new" ones the pattern of Uncle Tomism and corruption persists. If our Negro children ever learn what real democracy is, they will have to go elsewhere; these supposedly "halls of learning" are too often harbors for little men, would-be dictators, and centers of stupidity.

For the first time in the history of this place a course is to be given concerning minority peoples! Along with this, during the spring quarter, I shall offer a course on the South Today--it deals with the modern South and its problems. It is fantastic to realize that these poor children know practically nothing of this region, and even worse, their own state. It will be a job, however, with no library facilities worth mentioning...Mabel is struggling with 350 students--trying to teach them some elementary economics and business! But enough of this, for we know you know the picture too well.

Since there is no chance for growth here, we plan to pull up stakes at the termination of our contract and begin to do something we want. We may take a trip abroad--Africa or the Caribbean area calls us very strongly. The foreign travel will do us good; it will enable us to test out a lot of things we have been speculating about; it will,also, enable us to do something along the line of writing.

As regards the Land Grant Project, little seems to be going on. I have tried to work up the material here and have the sociological phase well in hand. Before leaving I shall send Dr. Frazier a preliminary study of this aspect. He sent out recently an announcement that the work was to be carried on under a regional plan, with annual meetings being held whenever the composite institutions felt they were necessary. Because of the time, energy and effort you gave to this work, I hope that it will materialize into something big and beneficial which you visualized for it. The personnel in these land-grant schools is a sluggish lot and thick with tradition and little training for such work. But we do not give up all hope.

If at any time we can be of help in any way, please be sure to call upon us. We hope to see you when we come North in the spring. Meanwhile, best wishes for continued success in your work. Mabel joins me in regards.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

P.S. Please pass along our "hello" to Miss Diggs..

[Smythe, Hugh]

file: biography

20 West 40th Street
New York, New York
June 15, 1946

Mr. Alwyn Lee
The Unicorn Press
53 East 77th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Lee:

Here is the data on Dr. DuBois which I told you I would send when we talked on the phone yesterday (today!). If we can be of further service, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosure

May 2 - Saltimi

3 October 1946

21-8-10

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Drop in some time I have been having some thought concerning possible work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Hugh A. Smythe
160-16 73rd Avenue
Flushing, New York

5 March 1946

21-15-18

My dear Mr. Snowden:

I am still awaiting in despair a copy of your article on the Negro in classical times.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Frank Snowden
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE EVENING SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

March 14, 1946

21-15-17

Dr. W. E.B. Du Bois, N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am still awaiting the publication of my article on the Negro in classical times. As soon as I receive an announcement of the publication, I shall get in touch with you.

Yours very truly,

Frank M. Snowden, Jr.

s/b

INVOICE

2-24.

Aug 27th 1940

Mr Du Bois
20, West 40th Street
New York.

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21-13

November 10, 1946

NOTICE OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY:

The Annual Meeting will be held on Thursday, November 21, 1946, at 4 P.M. in the Auditorium of the New York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York City (8th Ave. Subway to American Natural History Museum Station, and walk south to 77th Street).

The past year has been one of progress. We have tried out various ways of raising money, and have a campaign ready which, after a careful experiment, seems to your officers to have every chance of success. After the Annual meeting and formal adoption and approval, if given, you will receive information on details, which will indicate that our plan for a magazine is going forward.

On November 7, announcement was made by your Society and Charles Scribner's Sons of the award of the first Scribner Prize in American History. From among some 175 manuscripts submitted the judges unanimously awarded the prize of $10,000 to Allan Nevins for his manuscript entitled "The Ordeal of the Union," which will be published in two volumes in the spring of 1947. This prize was initiated by your Society and was carried on under its auspices.

During the summer months it was gratifying to add to the fellows of the Society some 125 new members, all of whom indicated their great interest in our project.

Your dues of one dollar ($1.00) are now payable to Rudolf A. Clemen, Treasurer, Edgerstoune Road, Princeton, New Jersey; and prompt payment will be much appreciated.

If you *cannot* attend the meeting, please sign and mail *at once,* for time is short, the enclosed post card which is your proxy. Your cooperation will be very helpful to your officers and councilors.

Faithfully yours,

RUDOLF A. CLEMEN

21-13-12

14 November 1946

Sir:

Enclosed please find my check for one dollar in payment of membership in the Society of American Historians.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Rudolf A. Clemens
Society of American Historians
Princeton, New Jersey

Princeton University Library

21-10-03

********** 20 West 40th Street

4 January 1946

Dear Dr. John and Vada:

I hope you have gotten the letter and card which I wrote you from Europe although I wasn't certain of your address. I received your Christmas card with thanks.

Mrs. Du Bois has been quite ill. First she had a bad fall down stairs and then a cerebral hemorrhage which leaves her left side partially paralyzed. She is in the hospital here in New York and has been making very satisfactory progress. She probably will be able to get around with a few months but will never fully recover.

I was in England six weeks at the Pan African Congress. I am planning to lecture in the West in March and have written to the Reverend Harold M. Kingsley who broached the project to me sometime ago. I told him to talk with you. I do not want to lecture for NAACP branches as that brings up too many difficulties. However, if they insist, let them write me and perhaps something can be worked out. I should have to charge from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars each according to the number of engagements.

I am quite well and hope you are. Let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Drs. John and Vada Somerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Vada and John Somerville

2104 S. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles Calif
Jan 8, 1946.

21-19-5

Dear Dr. DuBois;

It is good news to hear that you are coming to see us again this year. You are very welcome, and I shall help in any way possible to make your stay pleasant as well as profitable.

Mr Kingsley has very good contacts and is already working towards making your lecture a success.

I was in New York in November and tried to find you, called by telephone and called at 409, but finally learned that you were in Europe.

You must be very English by now

having remained so long in England.

We are sorry to hear that Mrs DuBois has been so ill, our best wishes are with her for complete recovery.

Early in December we went to Court and won our case, - against the Race Restrictive covenants, am sending you the clippings.

21-19-6

Do let me know when you are coming, so that I can stay home. I'm quite a god about since Mary had me elected Vice President of her National Council. You told me that Mary was O. K. only she was a mess, remember?

John A. joins me in all good wishes to you - and yours, and will work hand with the committee to make your stay pleasant.

Very Truly yours - Dad

[1946?]

DR. J. A. SOMERVILLE
DENTIST
~~1618 East 108th Street~~, Los Angeles, 47, Calif.
~~Phone LAfayette 9236~~
2034 So Western ave
Jan 15, 45

Dear Dr DuBois

Received your letter. Sorry to hear that Mrs duBois is not improving. a long confinement such as she has had will naturally have its effect. Give her and Yolande our best wishes when you see them. I talked with Harold Kingsley yesterday telling him that you may be here in March. He wants to know the exact time as it is possible that we may arrange a lecture or a dinner talk under the auspices of the Church of Christian Fellowship.

Of course if you decide to come you know where your home is.

Yrs. Truly
J. A. Somerville

20-15-1

Talking Mch 5
S.F. " 7
L.A. " 14
Tex

18 March 1946

21-10-04

Dear Vada:

I have been waiting to have that pressing invitation from you and Dr. John to stay at the mansion when I come to California. I expect to arrive in Los Angeles April fifth or sixth. I know the invitation is on the way but I will anticipate and accept it now and try to hang around about two weeks. However, you might confirm it.

I am very well and Mrs. Du Bois, although still in the hospital, is improving very well. With best regards to you and Dr. John

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Vada Somerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

21-19-8

Vada and John Somerville

2104 S. Harvard Blvd
Los Angeles Calif
Mar. 22, 1946.

Dear Dr. DuBois.

I wrote you early in January and invited you to be our guest when you visited Los Angeles in April. I also sent you a clipping from the Los Angeles newspaper with pictures of our home and other homes in our district, and the court decision showing that we had won our case against the restrictive Covenants in our Tract. The letter was not returned to me so someone must have received it. You know that you are very welcome always, and we are expecting you.

Let me know the time of arrival.

2-19-9

Mr. Ringley just called me. He leid on my shoulder (not actually) but you know he depends on me and I'm to help him. He kept me on the telephone so long that I have forgotten all of the things I had to say to you

Please, accept my invitation to be our guest next month and every other month in the future when ever you visit Los Angeles."

We just wouldn't or couldn't be happy if you stayed some place else and I don't think you would either. Would you?

We are glad to know that Mrs DuBois is improving. Please remember us to her. Will be looking for you Apr. 5

Sincerely

Vada

2 May 1946

21-19-16

Dear Friends:

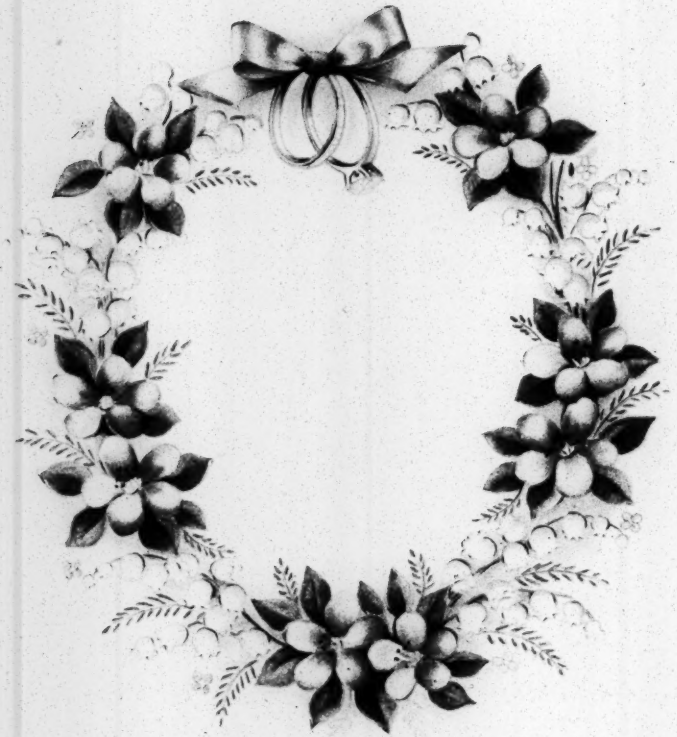
I am home at last and I need not tell you how much I thank you for your kind hospitality. I will write you later but write me as soon as possible and tell me how everything came out. My regards to Doris.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Drs. John and Vada Somerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

On Your
Golden Wedding
Anniversary



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How beautiful the record
Time has written
Upon a golden page today for you,
How many, many special thoughts and wishes
Are yours --
you've proved for half a century through
That love can bring a joy
beyond comparing,
And happy years you've spent just
point the way
To even more bright years of always sharing
More perfect joys like those
that fill this day!

Greetings and best Wishes

John & Vada Somerville

21-19-3

2104 S. Harvard Blvd
Los Angeles Calif.
June 13, 1946.

Dear Dr. Du Bois.

I am very pleased to say that all is well. John A. went to Court June 7 and was acquitted, not guilty and an unavoidable accident. The injured Couple are on their feet again and suing for forty thousand.

Of course we were fortunate in that we had a friendly Court and the witnesses, were on the fence, even the injured, testified in favor of the defence.

We spent about five hundred, and who cares about the suit, we are insured, and I now have a good boy. comes home on time to dinner.

21-19-4

I have been too busy - and too upset to write, - and - didn't know what to write because, the case was just tried last week. So glad it is over.

We are going to Baltimore in August to the Bank, will visit Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, if it is not too warm. We made our reservations this week, on the transcontinental, a new through train from L.A. to Baltimore. Will there be any chance of seeing you? or will you be in England or Germany?

I would love to hear about the Golden Wedding Celebration, I didn't see a paper or hear anything - about it. We sent a greeting hope you got it.

I hope that Mrs DuBois is continuing to improve. I shall try to see her while I am east.

Hope you are well and happy.

I'm getting back to normal gradually but will not forget soon - Yours. - U. S.

Vala Somerville

2104 S. Harvard Blvd
Los Angeles, Calif
June 24, 1946.

Dear Dr. Du Bois;

We received your letter of June 17. Our relations have been visiting us since the 10th of May, and we have been very busy intertaining them. (My husbands brother and his wife.) The brother left two weeks ago, and his wife leaves Wednesday of this week.

Please tell your friends Dr. Bell and family, that they are welcome to stay with us. I am in the midst of the preparations for the Alpha Kappa Alpha Boule, but my friends do not arrive until Around August 1st so it will not inconvenience me in the least to have your friend come, as usual I must

21-19-1

hurry to get this letter off to-night.

Our garden is very beautiful now, and the weather is perfect, so we sit in the garden until after dark. I am glad to know that Mrs DuBois is well enough to go home to-day. Aren't you going to the N.A.A.C.P. convention? I must not ask foolish questions.

Please let me know when to expect the folks - and I shall be glad to meet them.

Sincerely -

Woodson

21-19-2

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27 June 1946

Drs. John and Vada Somerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles 7, California

DOCTOR BELL DIED TUESDAY stop FAMILY WILL NOT MAKE TRIP stop THANKS

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

23-37-3a

21-19-11

July 9, 1946

Dr. Vada Somerville
2104 South Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles, California.

Dear Dr. John and Vada:

As I wired you, only a week before Dr. Bell and his family were going to start west, he died of heart failure. He had had a bad heart for some time and needed rest. At the time of his death, he was in the clinic on a hot day, serving the public. It is a very great loss and sad for the family. I did so much want both of you to meet them. They are splendid folks and have been our close friends for many years. Of course they have given up the trip now. Perhaps you may see them when you come east in August.

I want to thank you for myself and Mrs. Du Bois for your very kind remembrance of the anniversary of our fiftieth anniversary. We have deposited the check for the benefit of our granddaughter.

Mrs. Du Bois is improving slowly and is now at home in Baltimore. We shall hope to see you both when you come east. The meeting-place of the Boule is very near our home. I am much chagrined that we cannot invite you to stay with us but we are having difficulty in getting help; and with Mrs. Du Bois so nearly a helpless invalid it is impossible to run the house even for ourselves, much less for visitors. But you can easily come over from time to time and we shall expect you to spend as much time with us as you can.

I am quite well and shall be here during the summer except for a couple of weeks before the Boule, in Maine. Please let me hear from you from time to time. I am so glad that the automobile accident came out so well.

Yours with love,

W.E.B.

4 December 1946

21.19.7

My dear Dr. John and Vada:

I trust that this will find you well and Dr. John settled in his new office. We have had our ups and downs. Mrs. Du Bois was progressing quite favorably and then had a setback. She had to go back to the hospital. She seems to be pulling out of this again so that we are hoping she will be home by Christmas.

Du Bois is at school at Northfield, Mass. and seems to be quite happy and holding her own. I have been well and hope you have.

In February and March, 1947 I am planning a leisurely trip to the South for a few lectures. If I succeed in getting as far as Texas, or Oklahoma, I shall come on to Los Angeles. As I now plan I shall be there about March 9 to 15; then go to San Francisco and to Chicago to finish up my schedule. I shall not expect you to arrange any lectures, but if anybody should absolutely insist, my lecture fee will be $100. But as I say don't make any effort at all. Also I hope you will remember that this visit is not for the compulsory and if you are busy or tired or just don't want to be bothered, I'll skip Los Angeles. Please give my regards to all friends who happen to remember me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Vada Sommerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

[South Berkeley Community Church]

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION
1798 SCENIC AVENUE
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS
BUELL G. GALLAGHER

Feb. 9,1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York City.

21-27-75

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing on behalf of the Women's Fellowship of the South Berkeley Community Church, in which I am co-pastor.

We understand that you are planning to be in this area next month, and that you are scheduled to speak at the University of California.

The Women's Fellowship of South Berkeley Church would like to present you also if it is possible. Their purpose is a double one -- to provide a hearing for you, and to realize funds for the work of the Church. They would rent the largest available meeting place (either the Oakland Auditorium or the University High School, where you spoke last year), pay you your regular lecture fee, and hope to realize something in addition for the Church.

They wish me to express their hope that you could give them the Sunday afternoon preceeding your appearance at the University, and they also express the hope that you would not be making other appearances in the East Bay on this trip. Under these circumstances, we could have between 1500 and 2500 in your audience, I believe; but we would have to depend upon an offering rather than the sale of tickets, so that the net clearance will not be great (School Board rules prevent sale of tickets, I understand).

I hope I do not sound too mercenary in this letter. At least, I can assure you that if you can come to us under these conditions, you will get the check for your fee at once! There will be no repitition of our experience of a year ago!

Cordially,

Buell Gallagher

[South Berkeley Comm. Church]

2 May 1946

21-27-90

My dear Mr. Gallagher:

I am deeply indebted to you for the opportunity to visit California and to meet many excellent friends. Thank you very much and when you are in New York, will you please look me up.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Buell G. Gallagher
Pacific School of Religion
Berkley 4, California

9 December 1946

My dear Mr. Whitaker:

I am making a lecture trip in the South during February and March, I could speak at your school sometime in the middle of February, say February 16, 17 or 18. My subjects are the "United Nations and the Negro", "Africa", and "Russia". My charge would be $100 out of which I pay my own expenses except food and lodging. I should be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-14-37

President F. M. Whitaker
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

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FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON

August 1, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am happy to cooperate with you in plans to seek representation for the colonial peoples in the United Nations Assembly. We look forward to having representatives from the Southern Negro Youth Congress attend an August meeting in New York City to discuss plans for this important project.

You will find enclosed an announcement of the Seventh All-Southern Negro Youth Conference. This year the Conference is being held in the form of a SOUTHERN YOUTH LEGISLATURE in order to call to the attention of our youth and the nation the foremost demand of the southern people -- the unfettered right to vote.

At a later date we will be writing to you about a September or October banquet which Jack and I discussed with you when we were in New York recently.

Very sincerely yours,

Esther V. Cooper

Esther V. Cooper
Executive Secretary

42-8-F-25

SOUTHERN YOUTH LEGISLATURE

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS

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21-19-49

September 23, 1946

Dr. W. E. Du Bois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

COLUMBIA HEADQUARTERS
923 Washington Street

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In furtherance of the work of the Southern Negro Youth Congress and as an aid in preparations for the SOUTHERN YOUTH LEGISLATURE, a group of our friends in New York City are sponsoring an affair on October 12 at the home of Miss Freda Diamond on East 37th Street. They hope on this occasion to raise a considerable sum of money which will be presented to the Youth Congress the following week-end in Columbia as a token of the stake of New York citizens in the struggle being conducted here in the South for freedom.

The sponsors of the affair there are of the opinion that its success will be guaranteed if they may have your permission to plan it as a testimonial send-off for you, Mr. Robeson, Congressman Powell, and Howard Fast, who will be coming in person to participate in the SOUTHERN YOUTH LEGISLATURE. I do hope you will consent to lend your name and your presence to this affair as a means of strengthening the program of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Miss Adele Russell of our New York Committee will make an effort to contact you directly in this matter.

SOUTHERN YOUTH LEGISLATURE

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Burnham

Louis E. Burnham
Organizational Secretary

LEB/ir

Sept. 25, 1946

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS
526 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
Phone 3 -2448

POWELL AND DUBOIS TO ATTEND SOUTHERN YOUTH LEGISLATURE

Congressman to Deliver Keynote Address

Birmingham, Alabama.....It was announced this week from the offices of the Southern Negro Youth Congress in Birmingham that Congressman Adam Clayton Powell and Dr. W.E.B. DuBois are scheduled to speak at the Southern Youth Legislature in Columbia, South Carolina on October 18, 19 and 20.

This occasion will mark the first time in recent months that Powell has spoken in the South. The attention of both white and Negro Southerners will be focused on the Congressman who has been noted for his fearless attacks on the racism and white-supremacy ideology of the Bilbos and the Rankins in Congress. For when Powell delivers the keynote address in Township Auditorium on October 18, he will be speaking right in the heart of Klan-ridden South Carolina, the home of Secretary of State James Byrnes, and forty miles away from Batesburg where the eyes of Isaac Woodward were gouged out.

In addition to his outstanding service as a member of the House of Representatives, Congressman Powell is also the pastor of the largest membership Protestant Church in the world, Abyssinnia Baptist Church in New York. He is the author of a current widely-read book on the Negro, "Marching Blacks", and is the publisher of the New York weekly, "The Peoples Voice".

Sharing the spotlight with Powell will be Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. Dr. DuBois will be honored at the closing session of the Southern Youth Legislature with a special gift, in recognition of the untiring service he has given in the cause of Negro liberation. One of the world's outstanding scholars and teachers, Dr. DuBois has been a foremost champion of the rights of colonial and oppressed peoples everywhere.

* * * * * * *

NOTE TO THE EDITOR: Please use cuts of Powell and DuBois to accompany release.

[S.N.Y.C.]

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS

526 MASONIC TEMPLE BUILDING • BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA. • PHONE 3-2448

21-21-04

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MAENETTA STEELE
TREASURER

October 1, 1946

Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am sorry that I shall be unable to attend the October fifth meeting which you are calling at the New York Public Library.

The Executive Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress heartily endorses the petition to the Assembly of the United Nations.

Please call on us for anything further that we might do from this end on the petition.

Sincerely yours,

Esther V. Cooper

Esther V. Cooper
Executive Secretary

SOUTHERN YOUTH LEGISLATURE

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA • OCTOBER 18, 19, 20, 1946

[Southern Negro Youth Legislature]
[October 30, 1946]

1946

42-54-2

BEHOLD THE LAND

The reader will be interested in the circumstances under which this address was delivered. At the closing public session of the Southern Youth Legislature, 861 young delegates Negro and white, crowded into Antisdel Chapel of Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina. They were joined by a large and sympathetic public who stood in the isles, jammed the doors and listened through loudspeakers outside the auditorium.

"The future of American Negroes is in the South. Here three hundred and twenty-seven years ago, they began to enter what is now the United States of America; here they have suffered the damnation of slavery, the frustration of reconstruction and the lynching of emancipation. I trust then that an organization like yours is going to regard the South as the battle-ground of a great crusade. Here is the magnificent climate; here is the fruitful earth under the beauty of the Southern sun; and here if anywhere on earth, is the need of the thinker, the worker and the dreamer. This is the firing line not simply for the emancipation of the American Negro but for the emancipation of the African Negro and the Negroes of the West Indies; for the emancipation of the colored races; and for the emancipation of the white slaves of modern capitalistic monopoly.

"White youth in the South is peculiarly frustrated. There is not a single great ideal which they can express or aspire to, that does not bring them into flat contradiction with the Negro problem. The more they try to escape it, the more they land into hypocrisy, lying and double-dealing; the more they become, what they least wish to become, the oppressors and despisers of human beings. Some of them, in larger and larger numbers, are bound to turn toward the truth and to recognize you as brothers and sisters, as fellow travellers toward the dawn."

"Nevertheless reason can and will prevail; but of course it can only prevail with publicity,-- pitiless, blatant publicity. You have got to make the people of the United States and of the world know what is going on in the South. You have got to use every field of publicity to force the truth into their ears, and before their eyes. You have got to make it impossible for any human being to live in the South and not realize the barbarities that prevail here. You may be condemned for flamboyant methods; for calling a congress like this; for waving your grievances under the noses and in the faces of men. That makes no difference; it is your duty to do it. It is your duty to do more of this sort of thing than you have done in the past. As a result of this you are going to be called upon for sacrifice. It is no easy thing for a young black man or a young black woman to live in the South today and to plan to continue to live here; to marry and raise children; to establish a home. They are in the midst of legal caste and customary insults; they are in continuous danger of mob violence; they are mistreated by the officers of the law and they have no hearing before the courts and the churches and public opinion commensurate with the attention whcih they ought to receive. But that sacrifice is only the Beginning of Battle, you must re-build this South.

"There are enormous opportunities here for a new nation, a new Economy, a new culture in a South really new and not a mere renewal of an old South of slavery, monopoly and race hate. There is achance for a new cooperative agriculture on renewed land owned by the State with capital furnished by the State, mechanized and coordinated with city life. There is a chance for strong, virile Trade Unions without race discrimination, with high wage, closed shop and decent conditions of work, to beat back and hold in check the swarm of landlords, monopolists and profiteers who are today sucking the blood out of this land.

42-54-1

There is chance for cooperative industry, built on the cheap power of T.V.A. and its future extensions. There is opportunity to organize and mechanize domestic service with decent hours, and high wage and dignified training.

28 October 1946

My dear Miss Cooper:

21-19-48

I am back at my desk and I hasten to thank you, Mr. Burnham, Mr. Jackson and other members of the Southern Negro Youth Congress for the very interesting visit which you permitted me to make to your meeting in Columbia, South Carolina. I deeply appreciated the kind things which you said and did for me. I think that your organization is the most promising organization of young people of which I know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Esther V. Cooper
Southern Negro Youth Congress
526 Masonic Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS

526-28 MASONIC TEMPLE BUILDING
PHONE 3-2448

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*In the Armed Forces

ESTHER V. COOPER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

LOUIS E. BURNHAM
ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY

MAENETTA STEELE
TREASURER

21-19-45

October 29, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

How can we thank you for the immeasurable contribution you gave to us of the Southern Negro Youth Congress and to all of us in the world who live today.

Your presence in itself was inspiring, but the veritable words of wisdom embodied in your masterpiece of an address gave to the world a historical message, which will go down in the history of the freedom loving peoples.

We are so grateful to you for your example and your sharing with us of your thoughts.

May we thank you again and again. Please accept our sincerest best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Burnham

Louis E. Burnham

Executive Secretary

[1946?]

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS
526 Masonic Tenple Building
Birmingham, Alabama

CONSTITUTION

Article 1 (Name)

1. The name of this organization shall be the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

Article 11 (Purpose)

1. The Southern Negro Youth Congress is a non-profit making educational organization. Its purpose is to initiate and develope those activities among youth which are designed to enlarge the opportunities of Negro youth to serve their country, and to make available to all Negro citizens the full blessings of democracy.

Article 111 (Form of Organization)

1. The basic form of organization shall be the COUNCIL.

2. The Council shall be a delegated body whose activities embrace a local community, a city, or a college campus.

Article IV (Membership)

1. Membership in the Council shall be open to:(a) all associations and organized bodies of youth, and (b) all organizations, institutions and agencies which have some youth membership or are interested in the welfare of young people.

2. Any group which subscribes to the general program of the Southern Negro Youth Congress may become a member of a Council of the S.N.Y.C. upon the payment of an annual affiliation fee on the following basis:

   (a) Two dollars ($2.00) for organizations of 100 members or less.
   (b) Five dollars ($5.00) for organizations with membership exceeding 100 members.

3. The affiliated organizations will be represented in the Council by duly elected delegates, on the basis of two (2) delegates for organizations of 100 members or less, and one (1) delegate for each additional hundred members over the first hundred. No organization may have a representation of more than five (5) delegates to the Council.

CONSTITUTION

4. Any individual who subscribes to the program of the Southern Negro Youth Congress may become a member at large upon the payment of an annual membership fee of one dollar ($1.00) to the national office. In these communities where S.N.Y.C. Councils exist individual members shall be enrolled in special interest groups (i.e., forums, study clubs, army welfare clubs, dramatic groups, etc.

5. The individual membership groups shall be represented in the local Councils on the same basis as other affiliated organizations and clubs (i.e., two (2) delegates for the first one hundred members; one (1) delegate for each additional 100 members up to five delegates.

32-8-2

6. The individual membership groups shall pay affiliation fees to local councils on the same basis as all other organizations.

7. The fee for each individual membership solicited by the local council shall be divided between the local council and the national office. The National Office shall receive seventy-five ($.75) of each dollar; the local council shall retain twenty-five cents ($.25)

Article V (Charters)

1. The Executive Committee of the Southern Negro Youth Congress will issue charters for a period of one year to Councils which are in agreement with the program of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, and which pay to the National Office by October 1st of each year an annual affiliation fee of five dollars ($5.00)

Article VI (Activities of Councils)

1. The Councils of the Southern Negro Youth Congress shall initiate and conduct activities designed to meet the needs and interest of the youth of a given community and shall seek to ashieve the fullest co-operation of other interested organizations and individuals. The Council shall cooperate with the national executive committee of the S.N.Y.C. in the conduct of campaigns of a Southwide or national interest.

2. Youth Councils shall contribute twenty-five percent (25%) of the proceeds of all fund-raising activities toward the support of the national office, in addition to paying the annual charter fee.

CONSTITUTION

Article V11 (Officers)

1. The National Officers of the Southern Negro Youth Congress and their functions shall be:

   (a) President - to act as general spokesman for the Congress to call meetings of the National Council and Executive Committee; to preside at the same.

   (b) Vice-Presidents - to act as spokesmen of the organization in the areas in which they reside; to assume the responsibilities of the President when the President is unable to function.

   (c) Executive Secretary - to be the chief executive officer of the organization, responsible for carrying out the policy and program of the organization, and directing the activities of the national office.

   (d) Organizational Secretary - to assist in the formation of local Councils and the development of their programs.

   (e) Educational Director - to prepare materials designed to explain and popularize the program of the organization.

   (f) Treasurer - To keep an accurate record of the finances of the organization; to prepare semi-annual reports for presentation to to the national council and the general Conference; to conduct fund-raising campaigns.

   (g) Chaplain - To invoke the blessings of God in the affairs of the organization.

2. National Officers shall be elected during the All-Southern Negro Youth Conference of the organization.

3. Officers becoming vacant in the interval between Conferences may be filled by a majority vote of the National Council. Any National Officer may be removed from office for just a cause upon a 2/3 vote of the National Council.

Article V111 (Leading Bodies)

1. The leading bodies of the Southern Negro Youth Congress and their functions shall be:

   NATIONAL COUNCIL - to consist of not less than 25 members elected at the All-Southern Conference, in addition to the national officers of the Southern Negro Youth Congress and the Chairman of the Advisory Board. It shall:

   (a) determine Congress policies in the interval between All-Southern Conferences.

CONSTITUTION

(b) plan activities and campaigns of the National Office
(c) Assist in raising the budget of the S.N.Y.C.
(d) fill vacancies created among the National Officers between Conferences or remove officers for just a cause on a 2/3 vote.
(e) have power to rescind the charter of any Council for a just cause by a 2/3 vote.
(f) hold at least two (2) full meetings a year.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: - to consist of the national officers of the organization in addition to the members of the National Council who reside in the state in which the national office is located. It shall:

(a) direct Congress activities in intervals between National Council meetings.
(b) have power to determind salaries and number of Congress employees and be responsible for their payment.
(c) have power to supervise all official publications of the Congress and appoint the staffs for such publications.
(d) be responsible for having the books of the Congress audited annually and for approving the annual budget and issuing an annual financial statement.
(e) hold quarterly meetings in the months of April July, October and January.

ADVISORY BOARD - to consist of not less than 15 representative leaders from all walks of life in the South chosen through invitation of the Executive Committee at the conclusion of the All-Southern Conference; to be consulted on all questions of policy, and to participate, without vote, in meetings of the National Council and National Executive Committee.

(a) The Chairman of the Advisory Board shall be considered a member of the National Council Executive Committee with a vote.

Article IX (All-Southern Conference)

1. The supreme governing body of the Southern Negro Youth Congress shall be the All-Southern Negro Conference which shall be composed of officially elected representatives of the local Councils and non-affiliated groups which are interested in the welfare of Negro youth. The functions of the All-Southern Conference shall be:

(a) to determine the policies of the Southern Negro Youth Cong[redacted].
(b) to serve as an educational forum, shedding light on the principal problems effecting Negro youth and clarifying the main issues of the day before the Negro people.

CONSTITUTION

(c) to further friendship, cooperation and united action among young Negro people and with white young people.
(d) to elect officers and conduct the business of the SNYC.

2. The All-Southern Conference shall be held at least once every two years at a time and place to be designated by the National Council.

Article X (Amendments)

1. This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote of the All-Southern Conference. Amendments acceptable for consideration only when submitted in writing to the Executive Committee through the National Office or one of the members of the Executive Committee.

Article XI

1. All meetings of the councils of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, all committees and conferences shall be conducted according to Roberts Rules of Order (Revised)

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY

F. G. CLARK, President
SOUTHERN BRANCH P. O.
BATON ROUGE, LA.

September 6, 1946

OFFICE OF THE
DEAN OF STUDENTS

21-20-30

Dr. W.E.B.Dubois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40 Street
New York City.

Dear Dr. Dubois,

Our Lyceum Committee is anxious to have you address our students and faculty at Southern University.

Dr. Felton G. Clark has suggested that you will undoubtedly be in this vicinity sometime during the coming school year.

Would you be kind enough to include us in your itinerary if that is the case?

You may remember that I had the pleasure of being with you several times in Atlanta when I was at Clark College, and that Mrs Harvey and I had the pleasure of having you in our home when you came to Samuel Huston College in Austin Texas three years ago.

Sincerely yours

Martin L. Harvey
Dean of Students.

If could speak at Southern Oct 25 charge $100. Other arrangements must have answer very soon

[Southern University]

27 November 1946

21-20-31

My dear Mr. Harvey:

Concerning a possible lecture at Southern University may I say that I am making a trip in February and March and could speak at Southern February 27, 28 or March 1. My charge would be $100. Let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Martin L. Harvey Southern University
Scotlandville, Louisiana

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
F. G. CLARK, President
SOUTHERN BRANCH P. O.
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

December 14, 1946

DEAN OF STUDENTS

Dr. W.E. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

21-26-20

Thank you so much for your letter of the 27th. Our Lyceum Committee is delighted that you can be with us the latter part of February. We should like to have you speak to our faculty and student body at Southern on Friday February 28. at a special Convocation. Our committee would prefer that you be with us on a Monday. However, if your itinerary does not permit that we shall look forward to your being with us on Friday February 28. Of course we shall be glad to contribute a hundred dollars to your expenses.

Our committee would prefer that your address be in the area of Race Relations, with particular reference in the light of the leadership which our students should give to the South. I should be glad to have your subject about the first of February.

We hope that you will be able to meet our faculty in a more informal meeting. Please inform me when you expect to arrive and how long you can plan to stay with us.

Sincerely yours,

Martin L. Harvey

Martin L. Harvey
Dean of Students

1500

MLH/ed

Can speak Monday Feb 24
Will answer

[Southern Univ.]

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21-26-15

:WILL EXPECT YOU MONDAY FEB 24TH=

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:24

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

21-26-14

31 December 1946

My dear Mr. Harvey:

In accordance with your telegram, I shall speak for you Monday February 24th.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Martin L. Harvey
Dean of Students
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

4 June 1946

21-24-08

Gentlemen:

Will you please enter a subscription for one year to Soviet Russia Today and send a copy of The Russian Story by Nicholas Mikhailov to:

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland.

I enclose my check for two dollars.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Soviet Russia Today
Department NRS (2)
114 East 32nd Street
New York 16

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

114 EAST THIRTY SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, 16

Telephone: MU. 3-3855-6

June 5, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Burghardt Du Bois
Director of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40 Street
New York, New York

21-19-15

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I was very much impressed with the fine statement you made at the meeting of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in Madison Square Garden last Wednesday evening. I am wondering whether you would care to take the theme of your speech on that occasion and expand it into an article of from 1500 to 2000 words for an early issue of our magazine, Soviet Russia Today.

Sent 20 June 1946

We should be very happy to publish such an article by you, if you would be good enough to write it for us.

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

JS:ms
uopwa 18

Jessica Smith
Editor
Soviet Russia Today

[Soviet

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 EAST THIRTY SECOND STREET, NEW YORK
Telephone: MU 3-3855-6

June 21, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City

21-19-22

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Many thanks for sending in the article so promptly. It is a splendid article and we are exceedingly pleased to have it for publication in our magazine. We shall send you the proofs when they come back from the printer.

Would you be good enough to send us a little biographical note about yourself for our contributors' column, as you would like to have it appear.

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith
Editor

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 EAST THIRTY SECOND STREET, NEW YORK
Telephone: MU 3-3855-6

21-8-01

June 25, 1946.

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for your excellent article "The United States and Russia."

I am enclosing the galleys and would appreciate it very much if you would return them with any corrections you wish to make as soon as possible.

Yours truly,

Andrew Voynow

Andrew Voynow,
Assistant Editor.

Returned 27 June 1946

Reg to become member

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

114 EAST THIRTY SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, 16

Telephone: MU. 3-3855-6

December 3, 1946

Dr. Burghardt W. E. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are inviting you and a few others whom we know to be interested in the field of American-Soviet relations to become members of an Advisory Council which we are in process of organizing for our magazine, "Soviet Russia Today." We hope that we may count on you as one of this group.

We should like to make clear at the outset that we would try not to make too many calls on you, and that the extent and nature of your participation in the affairs of the magazine will be determined entirely by the kind of help you yourself feel that you have the time and desire to give.

We would hope to be able to count on occasional articles or reviews from those in a position to write for us. In some cases we would hope for assistance in planning the visual presentation of the magazine. In some cases we would want advice on methods of reaching more readers, and matters of promotion, advertising and finance. In all cases we would expect frank, critical comment on the contents of the magazine and their presentation, and constructive suggestions that would help us to produce a better magazine.

It is not our intention to burden our Advisory Council with regular meetings. Our thought is that maybe two or three times in the course of the year we might try to bring together those members living near New York for a thorough discussion of the magazine and its problems. For the rest, our idea would be to divide up the Council into subcommittees on different phases of our work with whom we could consult on different problems as they arise.

You will be interested to know that despite the powerful anti-Soviet propaganda to which the American people have been subjected during the past year we have been able to maintain a circulation of close to one hundred thousand. This is heartening evidence of the existence of the large corps of supporters of American-Soviet friendship and people who are interested in increased understanding of the Soviet Union. There are many thousands more who must be reached. We feel that we have an immense

responsibility in this period to help provide the basic factual material and interpretation of what goes on in the Soviet Union and in the field of American-Soviet relations.

We should like to have you associated with us because we need the counsel of all who are concerned about this field to help us to do our work more effectively. Naturally we assume your general endorsement of the aims of our magazine, but want to make clear that your becoming a member of this group would not mean that you necessarily agree with everything we publish, since as the name implies, the functions of the Council would be of a purely advisory nature.

I would appreciate hearing from you whether we may include your name among the members of our Advisory Council.

Very sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

JS:ms
uopwa 16-33

Jessica Smith
Editor

P. S. I am enclosing a reply card and self-addressed envelope for your convenience.

21-13

21-29-168

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WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

156

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1946 MAY 12 AM 10 59

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=
2302 MONTEBELLO TERR BALTO=

DEAR PEOPLE 50 YEARS IS IS IS A BIG ROOM AND IN IT YOU HAVE LIVED TOGETHER A USEFUL LOVELY AUSTERE LIFE THIS DAY HERE IS PURE GOLD WE SEND IT ON TO YOU WITH OUR RESPECT AND LOVE ON THIS PAUSE IN AN ERA:

=ANN SPENCER

50 IS IS IS A BIG ROOM

NS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

81 Irving Street,
Cambridge, Mass.,
November 26, 1946

91-24-18

Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street,
New York City.

Dear Sirs:

As a graduate student at Harvard I am engaged in a research project on the work of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, and would appreciate some information from your office as follows.

Particularly, I would like to know briefly something of Dr. Du Bois' present work as Director of Special Research - purpose, current activities, future plans, and so on.

Also, would you be so good as to tell me how Dr. Du Bois prefers that his name be pronounced? I have heard at least four different pronunciations: "du bwa", "du boy", "du boyss", and "du boyz".

I will appreciate a reply at your earliest convenience. Thank you for your kindness.

Very truly yours,

S. R. Spencer, Jr.

Reply for information

21-24-17

3 December 1946

My dear sir:

After being retired as Head of the Department of sociology at Atlanta University in 1944, I came here as Director of Special Research. My program is rather indefinite but comprises in various research projects especially on race relations and of African history and conditi ons. I have a book coming out in January and other books planned. So long as I am in good health I shall continue this work. The pronunciation of my name is "Du Boyss", with the accent on the last syllable.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. S. R. Spencer, Jr.
81 Irving Street
Cambridge, Mass.

Social Mess

81 Irving Street,
Cambridge, Mass.
December 17, 1946.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street,
New York City.

21-26-118

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your kind and helpful answer to my letter of inquiry about your work; I had not meant to trouble you personally.

You may be interested to know that the paper I have been writing - which, incidentally, has delayed this acknowledgement of your letter - is under the direction of Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger in U. S. Social and Intellectual History.

In the course of my study I have read practically all of your works, and have emerged with a profound admiration and respect for your many and varied accomplishments. I hope that at some time in the future I may have the pleasure of meeting you personally. Thank you again for your letter.

Sincerely yours,

S. R. Spencer, Jr.

21-20-25

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1946 MAY 11 AM 9 52

DR AND MRS W E E DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TERR BALTO= (14)

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

MY GOOD WISHES ON YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY MAY YOU AND MRS DUBOIS ENJOY MANY YEARS OF HEALTH AND HAPPINESS=

AMY SPINGARN.

Hq 9015
Daughter
5035a
W E Mail

.SPINGARN.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

21-29-25

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NB34 NL PD=NEWYORK NY 11

DR & MRS W E B DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE BALTO=

WE SEND OUR AFFECTIONATE CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR ANNIVERSARY AND OUR VERY BEST WISHES FOR ITS HAPPY CELEBRATION AND OUR SINCERE HOPE THAT THERE WILL BE MANY MORE STILL HAPPIER ONES IN THE FUTURE=

ARTHUR AND MARION SPINGARN.

SPINGARN.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

6 June 1946

Dear Mr. Spingarn:

Will you glance at the enclosed papers? I will come in sometime next week and get your reaction. I shall be much obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Ouel

Attorney Arthur B. Spingarn
36 West 44th Street
New York City

ARTHUR B SPINGARN
COUNSELLOR AT LAW

36 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

July 26th, 1946.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street,
New York City.

My dear Dr. DuBois:-

Your letter of July 23rd with reference to your proposed new will arrived this morning. It will be necessary for us to discuss this in person, and I suggest that you call my office sometime next week to arrange for such a conference.

Very sincerely yours,

Arthur B. Spingarn

21-16

26 July 1946

21-16-4

Dear Mr. Spingarn:

I am sending you these papers simply for your information and of course do not expect you to take any further action. I will collect them when I come to talk to you about my amended will.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn
36 West 44th Street
New York City

2 August 1946

My dear Mr. Spingarn:

I am naming Dr. Ernest R. Alexander of New York as my executor if Yolande should pre-decease me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-16

Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn
36 West 44th Street
New York City

[STAGE . . .]

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130 WEST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK CITY 3
BRYANT 9-1425

Oct 7 46

Sept. 10, 1946

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
409 Edgecomb Ave.,
New York, N. Y.

46-7-259

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

STAGE FOR ACTION is sponsoring a forum on THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN THEATRE, Monday evening, Oct. 7th, at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St.

On this occasion we will present authorities on vital aspects of this theme. Speakers will discuss the Negro as performer, playwright and as a stereotype in the commercial theatre today. They will also explore the current and potential treatment of Negro themes by playwrights, and the critical reception of these efforts by the American press. An important feature of the program will be an analysis of the past, present and future function of the Negro Theatre on the American scene.

We feel that your presence as Chairman of this program would be an important contribution to the discussion and of great value to us.

Can we count on you,

Sincerely yours,

Arnaud D'Usseau

Arnaud D'Usseau
Chairman, Forum Comm.

I shall be glad to preside at your meeting

[Stage for Action]

21-19-90

13 September 1946

Dear Mr. D'Usseau:

I shall be glad to preside at your meeting on October 7, 1946.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Arnaud D'Usseau
Stage for Action
130 West 42nd Street
New York 3, N. Y.

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Rev. Adam Clayton Powell
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Mabel Roan
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Channing Tobias
Toni Ward
Frank Wilson

130 WEST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK CITY 3
BRYANT 9-1425

21-19-18

Sept. 20, 1946

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecomb Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

My Dear Mr. DuBois:

Our Forum on THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN THEATRE, scheduled for Monday, October 7th, at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 West 48th Street, is proceeding as planned.

I'm enclosing a list of speakers and the subjects on which they will speak. They have all been advised that the allotted speaking time will be from 10 to 12 minutes each, in order to allow 40 minutes for questions and discussion.

We leave it to your very good judgement the introductory remarks with which you will favor us.

We shall, of course, keep you informed of the program and would be happy to promptly answer any possible inquiries.

Yours very truly,

Shirley Norris.

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130 WEST 42nd STREET
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21-27-10

October 3, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
NAACP,
20 W. 40th St.,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The New York Times Drama Dept. wishes to publish excerpts of the proceeding of the Forum in the Sunday Drama Supplement of October 13th. Since the Supplement material must be in by Monday, the 7th, it is necessary to submit your speech to the Times on that day. Would you kindly favor us with a copy by Saturday, the 5th.

The biographical material of the speakers which your secretary requested will be forward to you before Monday by the individual speakers.

Yours very truly,

Shirley Norris.

21 January 1946

21-56-59

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me with discount the following books:

Mary Roberts Rinehart, THE YELLOW ROOM, Farrar & Rinehart
Eric Ambler, JOURNEY INTO FEAR, A. Knopf
E. C. Bentley, TRENT'S LAST CASE, A. Knopf
Dashiell Hammett, THE DAIN CURSE, A. Knopf

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

25 January 1946

21-2-60

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me with bill and the usual discount a copy of W. L. Langer's Encyclopaedia of World History published by Houghton Mifflin, 1940?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York

(STECHERT + CO.)

********** 20 West 40th Street

30 January 1946

21-26-61

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me with bill and the usual discount a copy of Ernst D. Moore, Ivory: Scourge of Africa, published by Harper and Brothers in 1931? Also can you find Numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Estudios Afrocubanos, a magazine?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

[STECHERT + CO.]

28 February 1946

21-26+62

Gentlemen:

Will you please order for me Nehru's GLIMPSES OF HISTORY (I think that is the name) and DuMaurier's THE KING'S GENERAL.

Where is the book on Bruger, Lobengula and Rhodes which I ordered recently and concerning which I have had no report.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

G. E. Stechert and Company
31 East Tenth Street
New York City

21-26

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1	News Letter, 1945			$1	.50

(STOKES)

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

May 5, 1946

21-29-64

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am delighted to know that you and Mrs. Du Bois are to celebrate your Golden Wedding on May the 12th, and that your daughter and grand daughter will be with you on this occasion.

My wife and I want to be among those who send you congratulations, greetings, and best wishes. Few men of your generation, white or colored, have rendered such an important contribution to the cause of Negro advancement and interracial understanding as you have done. There have frequently been times, especially in the earlier years, when I did not agree with all your points of view, but there has never been a time in which I have not greatly respected you and in later years I have come to add affection to respect and to feel that you are a constructive force of great significance in our troubled world. Your work as an historian and a publicist has been of lasting significance, and will be your best memorial for you have perhaps done more than any living man to make the world conscious of Negro potentiality and of the necessity of recognizing the Negro's rights to full citizenship in our democracy.

My wife and I have never had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Du Bois, but we know from others that she has played a large part in your life, and that without her support in the home your remarkable activities in the outer world would not have been possible. May we therefore take this opportunity of extending to you both our very sincere congratulations and best wishes.

Faithfully yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

23 July 1946

21-8-19

Dear Evva:

Nina received your letter sometime ago but just after that had a paralytic stroke which has kept her in the hospital since last November. She has just returned hom and is slowly improving.

I am writing this letter in hopes it may be forwarded to you and then she will write you a longer one.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E B Du Bois

Mrs. Evva McCullun Stokes
2054 Highland Place
Indianapolis, Indiana

22 January 1946

20-20-22

My dear Sir:

I do not know of any special material on Senator Bilbo. I should think that a search of the local Mississippi papers might do.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Argyle Stoute
5316 Maryland Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

2 May 1946

21-24-01

Dear Streator:

We are having a little difficulty in getting a transcript of Du Bois' school record from St. Francis Academy. You know how it is: the Catholic scho ls do not like to transfer. It may come through all right but give me a little advice as to how to put a bit of pressure if necessary.

I am back from my travels.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George Streator
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

21-29-12

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(18)

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DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS= BALTO 14

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GREETINGS ON YOUR FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY=

GEORGE AND OLIVE STREATOR.

Have 9015
adse
10090
ST
Marked

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

3 October 1946

21-24-11

My dear Mr. Streater:

We are holding a meeting October 5th at the New York Library 135th Street Branch on the petition to the United Nations on African colonies. I have enclosed a copy of the petition. I shall be glad to have you present. My best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George Streator
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

14 November 1946

Dear Mr. Streator:

Thanks for letting me see this. I tried to get you last night on the phone but you were not at home. There are a number of things that I would like to talk to you about.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George Streator
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

21-24-10

13 December 1946

Dear Mr. Streator:

This is what the Freiheit says of Shirley's "Life of Robeson". They seem to like it. You better read that book again.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George Streator
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

With Best Wishes
On Your
Golden Wedding
Anniversary
50

Life has been kind to you
All through the years
As together you've shared
Both your laughter and tears,
And so this is coming
To hope you'll share, too,
These wishes for happiness
Always, for you!

W. H. & Lucile Strong

Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co.

HOME OFFICE
3501 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 26, 1946

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

21-14

My dear Dr. DuBois:

This is in reply to your frank letter of July 23, with reference to insurance on yourself and Mrs. DuBois. I shall be equally as frank in my statement. You are both in the seventies - which is considerably beyond the age accepted by insurance companies. Mrs. DuBois admittedly in poor health, and having had a stroke in November, I am quite certain no insurance company would accept her as a suitable risk. In your case at 78, although in good health your insurance expectancy is not very great; but with your conservative, well regulated mode of living, you should be here for a good many years to come. I personally know how careful you have been with reference to your health and diet. The chances are you will live to a ripe old age.

You speak of a complete or single payment - which is possible in your case, but which for the liquidating sum of $500.00 would cost in any company which might issue a single premium policy at your age considerably more than $400.00. There are a few companies which I am sure would accept you as a risk on the single premium, but it would be at a rather prohibitive figure in excess of $400.00. In both cases therefore it seems to me that it would be far more suitable, if you had a single sum of $500.00 each, for you to place in trust funds with suitable instructions for its use upon the death of Mrs. DuBois and yourself respectively.

Insurance companies have rather strict rules governing the issuance of their policies, and although they make mistakes sometimes, they nevertheless adhere to the actual procedure.

I repeat, I sincerely believe you will be with us a great many years to come, but as an insurance risk your expectancy is limited, and the cost of your policy would be so great as to make it a hardship to carry.

If you would like for me to make inquiry of the company which would accept your single premium policy, I would be very happy to do so.

Sincerely yours,

T. R. Gibson President

Tennessee A. and I. State College
Division of Liberal Arts
Nashville 8, Tennessee

7 February 1946

21-8-13

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director of Research
The Crisis
20 West 40th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Dr. Hugh Hegne Smythe is being considered for a position in this institution as a teacher of Anthropology and Sociology.

Knowledge has come to me that he worked under your supervision. It would greatly facilitate matters, if you would give me your best judgment as to his temperament, ability, resourcefulness, initiative, and general personality traits for a position as a teacher in this College.

Your immediate reply will be greatly appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Merl R. Eppse, Chairman
Division of History and
Social Studies

MRE/ssc

13 February 1946

41-8-12

My dear Sir:

Dr. Hugh Smythe is a very intelligent and thorough worker. He is quick and impatient but he gets things done and they are done well.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Professor Merl R. Eppse, Chairman
Division of History and Social Studies
Tennessee A and I State College
Nashville 8, Tennessee

21-29-40

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(150)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
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DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

Balto 14 Md

1946 MAY 12 PM 4 04

DUBOIS COTTAGE 2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE BALTO= #14

CONGRATULATIONS CELEBRATION GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY
CONCRETE EXPRESSIONS FOLLOW LATER=
MR AND MRS JESSIE O THOMAS.

A. 9/5 Daughter Jr. H. C. 1:30 P Mail

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

May 7, 1946

21-29-45

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. DuBois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York City, N.Y.

My dear Dr. and Mrs. DuBois:

Please allow Mrs. Thompson and me to add our felicitations to those of your many friends who are extending you best wishes on your fiftieth wedding anniversary. You are to be congratulated for setting such an ideal example of what a happy and satisfactory life might be. We wish you many years of happiness in the future as you have enjoyed in the past.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

14 May 1946

21-19-81

Dear Noah:

Thinking over the problem you brought up this morning - when you get a copy of your Grandfather's will and a copy of the paper which you signed, let me have them and I will put them before a first class lawyer and ask him just what you ought to do.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Noah Thompson
385 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

22 May 1946

21-19-3

Dear Noah:

I have consulted a first class lawyer and this is what he says: This will was made over twenty years ago and since that there has probably been an accounting. This any lawyer can easily find out from the court records. If there has been an accounting, and if in that accounting, the court accepted the sale of your stock, nothing can be done. If there has not been a accounting or if your stock is still in your name you can demand an accounting. A Maryland lawyer would have to handle it and it is simply a matter of your get ing hold of a reliable man.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Noah Murphy Thompson
385 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

[THOMPSON]

6 June 1946

Memorandum to Noah:

I am sorry that I could not get the things to my lawyer quicker. I have sent them to him but I am going south to Knoxville and will be back next Wednesday. I will consult him immediately and communicate with you.

over

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Noah Murphy Thompson
385 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

6 June 1946

Dear Mr. Spingarn:

Will you glance at the enclosed papers? I will come in sometime next week and get your reaction. I shall be much obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-16

Attorney Arthur B. Spingarn
36 West 44th Street
New York City

Your Golden Wedding Anniversary

How wonderful to celebrate
A golden wedding day-
To dream about the fifty years
You've shared along life's way
And what a joy it is to send
Congratulations true
And to hope this day
is richly blessed
With happiness for you

Mr. and Mrs. S. Benj. Tilghman

1946

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

EDITORIAL OFFICES

21-10-40

December 24, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our researcher, Miss Dorothea Bourne, has asked me to thank you for your help to her in checking present day Christmas services in Negro Southern churches, as well as for the great amount of background material your book,"The Souls of Black Folk", gave us for our Religion section this week.

I am enclosing a copy of this week's TIME in which our story, "In Egypt Land", appears in the Religion section.

Cordially,
Charlotte Gray
Charlotte Gray
for the Editors

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

(TOBIAS) 21-29-10

Telephone: AShland 4-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

May 10, 1946

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois
DuBois Cottage
2302 Montibello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

My dear Friends:

Mrs. Tobias and I send sincere greetings to you on the occasion of your Golden Wedding Anniversary. It is given to few couples to celebrate fifty years of companionship. In your case it is more than fifty years of married life. It is a half century of creative and inspirational service in fields too numerous to mention. Your contribution will be seen more clearly through the perspective of time than is true today.

In addition to this expression of appreciation of what your lives have meant, not only to your personal friends but to people all over the world who have become acquainted with you through your published utterances, we wish to add our deeply personal tribute. May what remains of life to you both continue to be happy and creative.

Sincerely yours,

Channing H. Tobias

CHT
RLH

[Today's Outlook]

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

NEW YORK COUNTY COMMITTEE

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

EUGENE P. CONNOLLY
Secretary

SAMUEL BURT
Treasurer

16 EAST 41st STREET
New York 17, N. Y.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 3-3998-9

January 16, 1946

Request to write article

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York City

21-19-31

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Enclosed please find a copy of TODAY'S OUTLOOK, published monthly by the American Labor Party, New York County.

Please note the department, Books and the Arts. As Associate Editor this department is in my charge.

After the unfortunate death of Countee Cullen, I should like to publish a tribute to hi m and an evaluation of his work in this department. Would you undertake this for us? My respect for you as one of the most outstanding scho lars and critics of our time prompts this request.

If you agree to write this article, I should want it for our February number. The deadline is the first of the month. Because of limitation of space, the article should be about 500 words. O ne more point: our funds are sufficient just for printing and mailing. We cannot pay for any editorial work.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience whether you will write the article requested.

Sincerely,

Thomas Bledsoe

Thomas Bledsoe, Associate Editor,
TODAY'S OUTLOOK,
Books and the Arts.

Enclosure

********** 20 West 40th Street

17 January 1946

21-19-32

My dear Mr. Bledsoe:

I am so pushed withwork that I am afraid to promise an article on Countee Cullen, much as I would like to do it. I am, however, sending you enclosed a copy of what I have written for the Chicago Defender in my column which will appear before February first. I am sure they would have no objection to your copying it or any part of it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Thomas Bledsoe
TODAY'S OUTLOOK
16 East 41st Street
New York 17

[Today's Outlook]

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

NEW YORK COUNTY COMMITTEE

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

EUGENE P. CONNOLLY
Secretary

SAMUEL BURT
Treasurer

16 EAST 41st STREET
New York 17, N. Y.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 3-3998-9

January 30, 1946

Request to quote from writings

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th. Street,
New York City

21-19-53

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Thank you very much for the excellent article you sent us on Countee Cullen. We will use it, in entirety, in the February issue of TODAY'S OUTLOOK. I will send you several copies as soon as our new issue is out.

I am also writing to the Editor of the Chicago DEFENDER to let him know that we are reprinting your article by your permission.

Thanking you for your cooperation and with best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Bledsoe

Thomas Bledsoe,
Associate Editor,
TODAY'S OUTLOOK,
Books and the Arts.

City of New York
Municipal Court
Borough of Manhattan
8 Reade Street
New York

CHARLES E. TONEY, JUSTICE (Unofficial)

409 Edgecombe Ave

October 10, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40 Street,
New York, N. Y.

22-9-72

My dear Doctor DuBois:

After your talk the other evening at the 115th Street Branch Library a gentleman sitting near me asked you the question, "What has the American white man to lose by his mistreatment of the Negro?" Your answer to him I am sure was as unsatisfactory to you as it was to your questioner. The answer was correct as far as it went, but did not go in my opinion far enough nor enough into the details of the matter, but, of course, this happens to be best of us when a question is put on the spur of the moment. In your writings you have given many better answers and more in detail to that question.

Why I am writing is that I am wondering whether or not a tract upon this subject of what white Americans lose by the mistreatment of Negroes would not be worth while. The losses to the American white man because of such treatment, as you have so often pointed out directly and indirectly, are moral, social, economic and cultural. Americans lose the moral strength coming from the sense of having dealt with others with fairness and justice; they lose a worth while element in the broadening of their views and the softening and mellowing of human relationships in social intercourse; they lose the impetus and broadening effect coming from a culture having a background and basis different from their own while at the same time it retards the development of that culture; last, but not least, they gain the economic benefits to be had by creating a market desiring and able to buy and use agricultural

City of New York
Municipal Court
Borough of Manhattan
8 Reade Street
New York

CHARLES E. TONEY, JUSTICE

and industrial products and services.

I am merely making the suggestion as an outline for such a tract, but at the same time I have in mind that you are far more capable of doing this than I am. This comes from me merely as a suggestion.

I am

Yours very truly,

Chas E. Toney

Charles E. Toney

22-9-73

14 November 1946

My dear Mr. Toney:

Answering your letter of October 10, I am sure that a tract of the subject what white America loses by the mistreatment of Negroes would be worth while; but as you see by the enclosed copy of correspondence my efforts to have the N.A.A.C.P. publish certain information and leaflets, have not been successful in the past. I should not like to propose anything further unless the N.A.A.C.P. specifically asks me to do it.

22-9-74

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Charles E. Toney
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

Personal news

En route to:
Mrs. J. V. Lester
240 a Columbus Ave.
Muskogee, Okla.
Aug. 30, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois,

What a hectic life I lived in New York this week! This time I split the seconds and not the minutes. However, I took the time to write down what I promised — not a few interesting articles, but plain point by point. How many stories one could tell to tear your heart if one cared to make those points come alive!

I am sorry I am doing all my writing by longhand. I hope you can read my epistles! I mailed the letter from the Grand Central station. It had 6¢ as I knew it was heavy. I hope that was sufficient. I am writing you this in order that you may try to trace the letter if it is not in by the time you receive this. The return address was in the care of the James Vining apartments — #94 Westerfield Apts., 610 W. 116 St.

I saw Dr. John Haynes Holmes today. He said he knew of your

21-26-74

21-26-75

committee meeting, but not the date. I said I remembered it as the fifth of October. He said that would be Friday and that he could not go Friday. If this is the 30th of August, as I was told by two people on the train (I have lost all track of time), and also a Monday, the fifth is a Saturday and not a Friday. Perhaps you can straighten this out.

I cannot get over the luxuriousness of coach travel in the U.S.!

Sincerely yours,
Beth Sarrey.

% Mrs. J. V. Lester
2402 Columbus Ave.
Muskogee, Okla.

Sept. 28, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Here are the facts I have put down for you. Under each one I think I could write as heart-rending a story as the one about the young fellow who had trouble with the Intendente and the Administador.

I am enclosing a copy of Portugal's Slave Colony which appeared in the March issue of This Month. The officials of the country say the appearance of this article has set the whole country back (in relation to what they will allow Protestant Missions to do for and with the people of Angola) to the time of the Ross report. If so, they — the most constructive force in the entire country — are certainly in for trouble. I wonder whether or not I'll get a visa to return or have to wait

9-28-46

as long as the last people did!

I am sorry this is written in longhand but as I left the country in three hours, most of my luggage was left way up country and the earliest it could arrive is about October 8, and I don't have ready access to any other. Unintentionally I left the paper on the subject composed by the seven African leaders to whom I referred. I lay awake a long time that first night after I sailed trying to remember where I had put the said paper! At last I figured it was locked in a small case which I had hurriedly requested to be put with the other small stuff in a trunk or case. But of course the real trouble is that even Locks aren't safe from some people! However I have hopes for the best. Or else I'll never see Angola again.

As I was the one who wrote down the points for these men, I can assume you that I have the tenor of the remarks. I have added the statement which I repeat here

42-8-F-7

that I can personally vouch for all the points except number nine and that I had from the best friend of the witness.

In addition to a committee, you see, to which maybe transmitted information like this, there should be full immunity guaranteed to the human transmitters — right over the heads of the government.

8-28-27

Dr. Ennis mentioned in the article has now retired. I am sure he has a wealth of material but "dated". You could write him (without your name on the envelope) in the care of the A. B. C. F. M., 14 Beacon St., Mass.

Dr. H. C. MacDowell is now pastor of the Dixwell Ave. Congregational Church, New Haven, Conn. He will not be able to return to africa unless the government condescends to give us visas. He may consent to help you, but I doubt it. However, it is worth trying.

Very truly yours,

Beth Torrey.

1944

D

Dr. Du Bois,

The facts on the attached sheet marked simply "Strictly Confidential" were given me by a group of native Africans who hope by the great risks they take to make a small contribution to the bettering of conditions on their continent of Africa.

Beth Torrey.

Copy only parts enclosed in red pencil

ANGOLA

Strictly Confidential

The conditions under which Africans live in Angola are now almost unendurable. In fact, many don't live; they die at an early age due to the hardships imposed upon them.

1. The taxes are very high, being over 100 angolares per year, sometimes as much as 120 angolares. The day laborers earns about 1½ angolares per day (when he can find the odd job.)

2. The month in which the tax is to be paid is often not named until that month arrives, so that it is very difficult to find the ready cash.

3. Various enterprises are supplied with labor through the apprehension of defaulters of the tax. They are "contracted" for a certain period for which small wages are paid.

4. The rate of deaths among the laborers is very high. It is variously estimated at 50% & 75%. This I do not know personally as no real study has been made of the subject but this estimate is probably correct.

5. The police raid villages for any possible labarers, tax-payers or defaulters.

It makes no difference to the police whether a man has met his civil obligations or not. Sometimes by paying the equivalent of a month or two's wage, a man may buy his freedom from the police — a man who is only a law-abiding citizen quite up-to-date on all payments.

6. Women are caught and forced to work around the local seats of administration. These are small police posts and naturally unprotected women are in constant danger.

7. All roads and bridges are made by hand but as the available supply of men grows less, sometimes one sees gangs consisting solely of women and children.

8. The population has dropped at a rate that is almost unbelievable. It is possible to obtain this correct to the last man by referring to the last two censuses. My memory says the drop was from six million to 4 million.

9. The best friend of an eye-witness says girls were seized by police raids in one city to supply wives for the men on contract labor. Only unmarried girls

were kept; the others were released. (This may represent a desire to better the situation, i.e. that men are long separated from their wives perhaps produced by adverse criticism from other countries during the many international conversations about colonies and from criticism from other sources.)

10. The contract laborers are not always released at the end of the term, say three to five years. Some are forced to do several terms.

11. Villagers are often forced to flee their villages both by day and by night because of a police raid or the rumor of a raid. Some people have slept right out in the open woods, children and all. Some have lived for months in the rudest of huts in the woods, or in none at all.

12. Some villages have scarcely an able-minded man in them. By the contract system, homes are broken up for a long period of time and children and wives are deprived of the help and care of their parents or husbands.

13.* Although taxes are high, there is no educational system or health service for Africans. What few schools there are

charge high fees, and the charity services to the poor and lame and decrepid are few and far between, consisting mostly of alms.
(* this point I addedd)

I can vouch as an eyewitness for all the above points except for #9. These facts were given me by a group of ~~sisses~~ Africains. They asked that they be brought out of the country and given to the proper authorities. They asked that they be used in such a fashion as to arouse the interest of authorities who would be able to do something constructive on the situation. They hoped that some of the various committees and agencies set up after the war would be able to ameliorate in some manner some of these conditions after being told them. They wished these facts to be held strictly confidential because even a hint that any African of Angola had passed on such information would probably produce even greater sufferings than these for the informer and his family and friends.

Perhaps it is only fair to add that currently there seems to be an effort on the part of certain government officials

and managers of various enterprises to better the working conditions of the laborers. At least, one man says he wishes to treat his employees well in order to build up a permanent labor supply.

21-26-76

14 November 1946

My dear Miss Torrey:

I have your letter of August 30 and am glad to get the information. But on the other hand an exact copy of the document would be of infinitely greater value. I have already used your general references but what we need is documents and facts; and that's what the missionaries ought to be willing to furnish us. I thank you for your information.

Very sincerely yours,

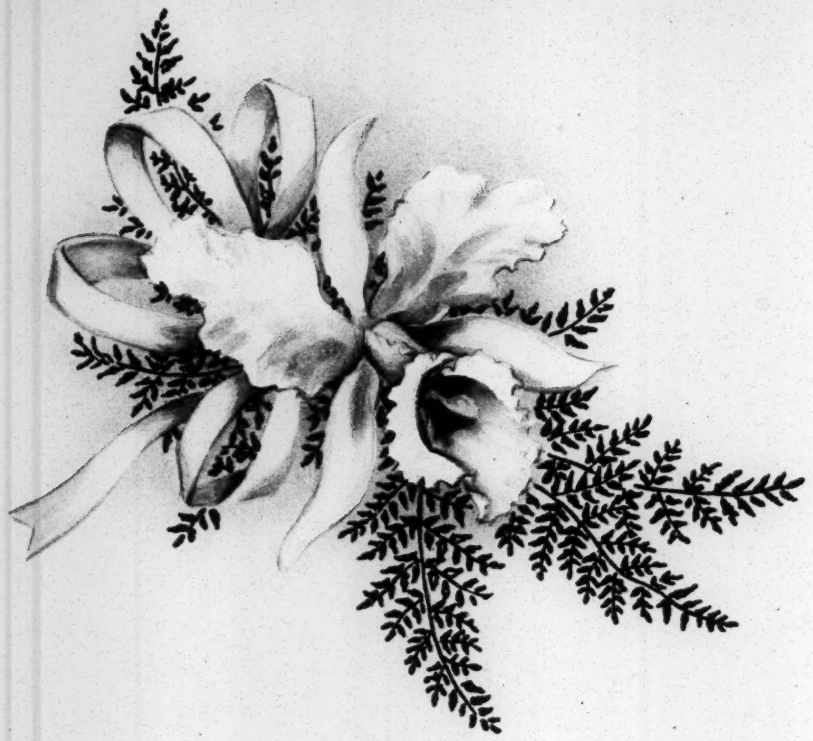
W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Beth Torrey
c/o Mrs. J. V. Lester
2402 Columbus Avenue
Muskogee, Oklahoma

Your

GOLDEN WEDDING

Day



For you, who've shared
and loved and cared
Along life's changing way
For you, who know the gladness
Of a Golden Wedding Day –
This message brings best wishes
And congratulations, too –
May you share many golden joys
In the days ahead of you

May 12 – 1946

From
The Towns Family

21-29-71

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

of

DR.and MRS. W.E.B.DuBOIS

Together,on an undulating road,
These two,a prophet-patriot and his wife,
Have traveled,clear-eyed,fifty leagues of life,
And borne their brothers' burdens,self-bestowed,
Afoot,with patient Truth,while Error rode.
He pierced the heart of falsehood like a knife,
When living in a land with slander rife,
Where force,supplanting reason,was the code.

Now,near the summit of their long assent,
With flecks of frost upon their raven locks,
They see the crowd has taken up their way,
Divinely stirred to noble discontent,
To banish,with the "Veil",the social blocks
That barred them from the Prophet's brighter day.

George A. Towns

[TOWNSEND]

UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES of AMERICA

AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

3452 SOUTH STATE STREET • CALUMET 1040 • CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF
WILLARD S. TOWNSEND
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

23rd
September
1946

42-8F-17

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, President
The Pan African Congress
20 West 40th Street
New York City 10

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I will be in New York City from the 1st through the 6th of October and will stop at the Commodore Hotel. I shall try to attend the meeting of October 5, 2:00 P.M., in the auditorium of the New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch.

If there is any additional information on this subject that you would like me to have, you may contact me at the Commodore.

Cordially,

Willard S. Townsend
International President

WST/dt

561

TEL. 2219

TRADES UNION CONGRESS

OF JAMAICA

129 Tower Street, Kingston,

Jamaica, B.W.I.

CHAIRMAN: N. N. NETHERSOLE
VICE-CHAIRMAN: KEN HILL

SECRETARY:
F. A. GLASSPOLE, M.H.R.

AFFILIATED TO THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS AND THE CARIBBEAN LABOUR CONGRESS

16th Oct., 19 46.

42-85-59

Dr. W.E.DuBois,
President,
Pan African Congress,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

My Executives wish to express regret that, owing to the pressure of business, it was not possible to deal with your letter before our last meeting.

We had no hesitation, however, in deciding to approve your resolution and you have the authority of my Executives to say that the Trades Union Congress of Jamaica supports your resolution.

We re-affirm our wholehearted support of the common cause which binds us and ask to be kept informed of the progress made in this and other matters of a similar nature.

With best wishes,

Yours faithfully,

Ken Hill

VICE-CHAIRMAN
Trades Union Congress

KH/HG

MRS. M. B. TROTMAN
355 EASTERN PARKWAY
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

May 8, 1946

21-29-46

Dear Dr. & Mrs. DuBois,

When your card came, I was in bed with an attack of rheumatism, but I am better now and the doctor promises I shall be out soon.

The celebration of your fiftieth anniversary is indeed an auspicious occasion. Few of us enjoy so great a privilege.

May the next anniversary find both of you enjoying the fullness of health and happiness.

Sincerely your friend,
Minnie B. Trotman

[Hesta Turner]

21-26-87

6 September 1946

My dear Mrs. Turner:

I have just learned of the death of your husband. May I express my deepest condolence. I remember with great pleasure his and your hospitality in the past.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. A. L. Turner
Roxanna, Ohio

Land Mrs

703 N. Freedom St.
Ravenna O. 9/13/46

Dear Dr DeBoer —

Thanks very much
for your kind note which
came so much as your days ago.
Dr Turner and I always enjoyed
having you as our guest.
Many changes have taken place
since we last met. My husband
has been gone these two
years and I am now living
with two cousins on the farm
where I was born. I am very
comfortable and try to be happy.
With kind regards to you
and also to Mrs DeBoer
I remain sincerely
Yours
Leota F. Turner

21-26-89

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

21-27-42

March 14, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
The Wendell Willkie Memorial Building
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

The Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute plans publishing the tenth edition of the Negro Year Book. It is our desire to make this edition more valuable as a reference volume and for this reason we are inviting persons especially qualified in specific fields to contribute to it. Because of your wide knowledge of and experience with matters relating to The Negro and Post-War and Peace Plans, we feel that there is no one who can give more authentic information in regard to the significance of Post-War and Peace Plans as they relate to the Negro than you can.

As you no doubt know, the Negro Year Book is widely used as a standard reference by universities, colleges, high schools, libraries, and individuals not only in this country but abroad as well. We desire to make it a better reference on matters relating to Negro life. In presenting a picture of the Negro's relation to Post-War and Peace Plans we would be bringing the public up to date on the latest developments concerning the outlook for the Negro in a new world order. We sincerely trust that you will be able to cooperate with us in this effort.

We know of no one whom we could ask if you can not help us.

Very truly yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs.) Jessie P. Guzman,
Acting Director

JPG/gd

21-27-43

5 September 1946

My dear Madam:

I have not had opportunity until now to answer your letter of March 14, 1946. But I beg to say that I will be very glad to cooperate with you in the tenth edition of the Negro Year Book.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

September 14, 1946

21-27-40

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I sincerely wish to thank you for your letter of September 5 stating that you would cooperate with us in contributing to the tenth edition of the Negro Year Book.

In our letter of March 13, we had requested you to make a contribution on, "The Negro and Post-War and Peace Plans." Since we had not heard from you we assumed that your many duties prevented you from cooperating and had requested another contributor to prepare this section. He has consented to do so. We are wondering, however, if you would prepare another section, "The Negro and Crime," for the period 1941-46. We thought that the following topics should be included:

1. A General Discussion of the Negro in Crime.

2. Negroes in Penal Institutions.
   a. Reformatories

3. Police Brutality as it Relates to Negroes.

4. Juvenile Delinquency Among Negroes.

The topics mentioned above are only suggestive. You are free to substitute others that you feel are more significant, or which would be more useful to the public. We had allotted about 5,000 words to the subject.

We plan to have the Negro Year Book in the hands of the printers by the 1st of January, 1947.

If you could possibly see your clear to make the contribution on Crime, it would certainly enhance the value of the Negro Year Book. May we hear from you soon.

Very truly yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs.) Jessie P. Guzman,
Acting Director.

JPG/s

26 September 1946

21-27-111

My dear Mrs. Guzman:

Answering your letter of September 14th, may I say that I am rather overwhelmed by your proposal. I have not made any particular study of the Negro crime for twenty years and to undertake it now would be not only difficult but involve [illegible] expenditure of funds which I doubt you would be able to furnish. Perhaps we had better drop the matter [illegible] simply an expression of my goodwill.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

21-29-33

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

CA324 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL 11

1946 MAY 11 PM 3 0

MR & MRS W E B DU BOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TER BALTO=

FIFTY YEARS TOGETHER IS THE BEST PROOF OF A MUTUALLY HAPPY LIFE. OCONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES=

RUSSELL TYSON.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[United Nations] Secy General

4 September 1946

Sir:

The Pan African Congress of which I am president is proposing to lay before the Assembly of the United Nations, a plea for the right to send to their meetings a consultant to represent the Negro colonial peoples of Africa. This petition is in course of preparation and is being signed by African organizations and by descendants of African residents in America and friends of the Negro race. I am writing to ask if such a petition will be received; to whom it should be addressed; and whether any decisions have already been made as to the possibility of appointing such a consultant.

22-9-56

I may say that I am sure you will yourself realize how helpless and voiceless a hundred and fifty million Negroes under colonial control are and that they have made complaints in the past and are complaining now. It is surely desirable that these people have at least the right to listen to the action of the Assembly of the United Nations if not the actual permission to speak in behalf of the Negro peoples of the world. The Pan African Congress is an international organization which has been holding meetings intermittantly for fifty years, and to which at various times all the black nations of Africa have sent representatives and addressed statements. The last Congress met in Manchester, England in 1945. I am sir,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois, Ph. D., (Harvard),
Member of the National Institute
of Arts and Letters; Fellow of
the American Association for the
Advancement of Science, President
of the Pan African Congress.

Mr. Trygve Lie
Secretary General of United Nations
United Nations
Box 1000
New York 1, N. Y.

[United Nations] Sec'y General

9 October 1946

Sir:

I hear from Mr. Gunnar Myrdal of Stockholm of your willingness to let me talk with you a few moments concerning African colonies and their representation in some capacities in the coming Assembly of the United Nations. May I ask for an appointment at your convenience? I could call upon you anytime during ~~the week of~~ the 14, 15, 16, or the 17th of October. I am, sir,

Very respectfully yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-9-70

Mr. Trygve Lie
Secretary General United Nations
Lake Success, New York

To the Assembly of the United Nations,
meeting in New York in October, 1946:

The undersigned organizations and individuals representing or supporting the rights of African Negroes and descendants of Africans in the West Indies and United States of America, strongly endorse and respectfully submit the following proposals initiated by the Pan African Congress.

1. The great need of the world today is intelligent citizenship capable of controlling the actions of men by democratic methods of government.

2. One of the greatest obstacles to this accomplishment is the poverty, ignorance and disease in colonies and especially in African colonies.

3. In spite of all efforts to overcome these conditions by the colonial powers, by philanthropy and missions and by the efforts of the Negroes themselves, progress is hindered by the difficulties which these Negroes have in making known their needs and wants and the opposition that confronts them; and in addition to this, the widespread assumption that Negroes lack the intelligence to express their views and can only be represented by the imperial governments or by other spokesmen not of their own choosing.

4. It is just, proper, and necessary that provision be made for the participation of designated representatives of the African colonial peoples in such business of the United Nations as concerns them. The truth of this principle cannot be denied. Provision should be made for such participation to the maximum extent possible under the present charter of the United Nations, so that the grievances and demands of the Africans can be freely expressed.

42-8F-62

Already for nearly a half century peoples of African descent in Africa and overseas have been holding congresses. Their object has been to increase mutual knowledge of each other and cooperation among the various African peoples and their descendants in America. Such congresses have been held in London, 1900; Paris, 1919; London, Paris and Brussels, 1921; London, Paris, Lisbon, 1923; New York, 1927; Manchester, England, 1945. Other conferences of African peoples have been held in Africa during recent years. The organization of the Pan African Congress has been loose and only partially representative of all the elements interested. But it has had far-reaching and increasing influence among Negroes and has especially brought persons of Negro descent in the Americas into sympathy and cooperation with their African brethren.

American and West Indian citizens of Negro descent regard it as especially appropriate that they should share in the responsibility for the liberation and modern development of Africa. They have already shown the world that they contribute to human progress. Moreover, African Negroes themselves have made far more progress in modern culture than they are usually given credit for and have a

growing class of educated persons capable of expressing their desires. Even those who lack modern education have the training of ancient and highly developed cultural patterns which render their opinions and desires of value.

For the foregoing reasons, the undersigned urgently request that:

1. provision be made for the direct representation of Africans themselves in the United Nations with the right to be heard on matters affecting Africa.

2. As a sign of recognition of the above principles and as an immediate step toward providing an agency for the expression of African opinion in the conduct of affairs concerning Africa in the United Nations:

   (a) The Pan African Congress, the organizations listed and other duly qualified bodies approved by Africans themselves be authorized to send a limited number of consultants to the Assembly of the United Nations.

   (b) That these consultants have the right to attend sessions of the Assembly of the United Nations and of such committees as may deal with Africa.

   (c) That these consultants may by conference, speech or by written statement express to the Assembly of the United Nations from time to time, their opinions and wishes, and help voice the complaints and demands of African Negroes as they by study and investigation understand them.

42-8F.63

The object and aim of this is to establish at the earliest moment the right of African peoples to freedom, self-support, and political autonomy, and to counteract the still prevalent opinion that colonies exist primarily for the profit of private investors.

W. A. Young M.D., Pres.
National Med Ass.
2337-9 Market St
St Louis 3. Mo

To the Assembly of the United Nations,
meeting in New York in September, 1946:

The undersigned organizations and individuals representing African Negroes and descendants of Africans in the West Indies and United States of America, united under the initative of the Pan African Congress respectfully submit:

1. The great need of the world today is intelligent citizenship capable of controlling the actions of men by democratic methods of government.

2. One of the greatest obstacles ~~of~~ to this accomplishment is the poverty, ignorance and disease in colonies and especially in African colonies.

3. The most important step before us is to start the peoples of Africa on the path toward efficient industry, health improvement, education and self-government.

4. In spite of all efforts in this direction by the colonial powers, by philanthropy and missions and by the efforts of the Negroes themselves, progress is hindered by the difficulties which these Negroes have in making known their needs and wants and the opposition that confronts them; and in addition to this, the widespread assumption that Negroes lack the intelligence to complain and can only be represented by the imperial governments or by exclusively white organizations.

24-18-24

Because of this situation which renders the problem of colonial Africa the least understood and most neglected of all colonial problems, it is of pressing importance that some method be found by which the Africans can freely express their grievance and their demands.

Already for nearly a half century peoples of African descent in Africa and overseas have been holding congresses. Their object has been to increase mutual knowledge of each other and cooperation among the various African peoples and their descendants in America. Such congresses have been held in London, 1900; Paris, 1919; London, Paris and Brussels, 1921; London, Paris, Lisbon, 1923; New York, 1927; Manchester, England, 1945. The organization of the Pan African Congress has been loose and only partially representative of all the elements interested. But it has had far-reaching and increasing influence among Negroes and has especially brought persons of Negro descent in the Americas into sympathy and cooperation with their African brethren.

American and West Indian citizens of Negro descent regard it as especially appropiate that they should take part in this emancipation of Africa. They have already shown the world that they can help in

and contribute to progress in Art and Literature. Also the African Negroes themselves have made far more progress in modern culture than they are usually given credit for and have a growing class of educated persons capable of expressing their desires. Even those who lack modern education have the training of ancient and highly developed cultural patterns which render their opinions and desires of value.

Because of this situation:

Revised

1. The Pan African Congress and its affiliated organizations in Africa and America desire to be authorized to send a limited number of consultants to the Assembly of the United Nations.

2. That these consultants have the right to attend sessions of the Assembly of the United Nations and of such committees as may deal with Africa.

3. That these consultants may be, conference, speech or by written statement express to the Assembly of the United Nations from time to time, their opinions and wishes and help voice the complaints and demands of African Negroes as they by study and investigation understand them.

42-8F-43

The object and aim of this petition is to establish at the earliest moment the right of African peoples to freedom, self-support, intelligence and political autonomy and to counteract the still prevalent opinion that colonies exist primarily for the profit of private investors.

C.U.N.D

The undersigned organizations wish to bring to the attention of the United Nations and their appropriate committees the following matters in regard to the Natives of Africa:

1. We believe that the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations and the proposed Trusteeship Council of the United Nations represent a great forward step in the attitude of modern nations toward colonial peoples. We are therefore opposed to the annexation of the Mandate of Southwest Africa to the Union of South Africa on the ground that the Union neither at home nor in the mandate has shown any desire or ability to treat colonial people, especially those of a different race and culture, in a way which will insure their progress and development as human beings.

2. We believe that the former attitude of regarding the land, labor and materials of Africa as chiefly for the profit of investing industry is a serious mistake. We believe that the labor legislation of modern nations giving laborers a right to bargain for their wages and conditions of work, curbing the rights of employers, and using taxation for public welfare should be extended to colonial people.

46-7-38

3. We believe that out of local taxation and through foreign philanthropic effort education and health services should be furnished to colonial peoples and they should be prepared definitely and within a reasonable time for the duty of self-rule. We are especially alarmed at the failure to recognize native opinion and desire for autonomy in British West Africa, the lack of ~~higher~~ education and social services in the Belgian Congo and the reported conditions of serfdom in the colonies of Portugal.

4. We are alarmed at the failure to recognize the just claims of Ethiopia, to her ancient territory of Eritrea and a seaport; the continued presence of foreign troops on Ethiopian soil and the evident plan to recognize some Italian rights of conquest in Ethiopia in the peace treaty.

forcible and different

To the Assembly of the United Nations,

meeting in New York in September, 1946:

The undersigned organizations and individuals representing African Negroes and descendants of Africans in the West Indies and United States of America, united under the initative of the Pan African Congress respectfully submit:

1. The great need of the world today is intelligent citizenship capable of controlling the actions of men by democratic methods of government.

2. One of the greatest obstacles to this accomplishment is the poverty, ignorance and disease in colonies and especially in African colonies.

4. In spite all efforts in this direction by the colonial powers, by philanthropy and missions and by the efforts of the Negroes themselves, progress is hindered by the difficulties which these Negroes have in making known their needs and wants and the opposition that confronts them; and in addition to this, the widespread assumption that Negroes lack the intelligence to complain and can only be represented by the imperial governments or by exclusively white organizations.

Because of this situation which renders the problem of colonial Africa the least understood and most neglected of all colonial problems, it is of pressing importance that some method be found by which the Africans can freely express their grievances and their demands.

46-7-43

Already for nearly a half century peoples of African descent in Africa and overseas have been holding congresses. Their object has been to increase mutual knowledge of each other and cooperation among the various African peoples and their descendants in America. Such congresses have been held in London, 1900; Paris, 1919; London, Paris and Brussels, 1921; London, Paris, Lisbon, 1923; New York, 1927; Manchester, England, 1945. The organization of the Pan African Congress has been loose and only partially representative of all the elements interested. But it has had far-reaching and increasing influence among Negroes and has especially brought persons of Negro descent in the Americas into sympathy and cooperation with their African brethren.

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government and contribute to progress in Art and Literature. Also the African Negroes themselves have made far more progress in modern culture than they are usually given credit for and have a growing class of educated persons capable of expressing their desires. Even those who lack modern education have the training of ancient and highly developed cultural patterns which render their opinions and desires of value.

Because of this situation:

1. The Pan African Congress and its affiliated organizations in Africa and America desire to be authorized to send a limited number of consultants to the Assembly of the United Nations.

2. That these consultants have the right to attend sessions of the Assembly of the United Nations and of such committees as may deal with Africa.

3. That these consultants may by conference, speech or by written statement express to the Assembly of the United Nations from time to time, their opinions and wishes and help voice the complaints and demands of African Negroes ~~as they by study and investigation understand them~~.

The object and aim of this is to establish at the earliest moment the right of African peoples to freedom, self-support, intelligence and political autonomy and to counteract the still prevalent opinion that colonies exist primarily for the profit of private investors.

COPY OF CABLEGRAM to the CHAIRMAN OF U.N.O.

"We Africans of South Africa protest and oppose the incorporation of South West Africa into the Union. Pray urge control of the territory by UNO Trusteeship Council. The mandate over the territory was established under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations

The Africans of South West Africa have no share in the Government and therefore are no party in the incorporation negotiations. South Africa itself denies political and economic rights to her 8,000,000 Africans.

83 per cent of the land is reserved for 2,000,000 Europeans, only less than 17½ per cent for 8,000,000 Africans.

Only 40 per cent of African children are accomodated in Mission schools. I would also like to add that there are no Government schools for African children; the schools that exist were established by Missions which the Government merely subsidize.

95 per cent of the African prison populationis imprisoned for discriminatory regulations used against Africans only. South Africa must first remove colour bars, restrictions, discriminations at home.

African trade unions are not recognised. Africans are excluded from skilled work. In short, Africans are under fed, under paid, under-educated, under- employed, poorly housed and poorly and indirectly represented. The 8,000,000 Africans have no direct representation there and no influence on the policy of the country. We feel that South Africa must first put her house in order."

X A.B. XUMA,
PRESIDENT GENERAL,
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA

[UNITED NATIONS]

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK • FIELDSTONE 7-1100

CONFIDENTIAL

REFERENCE:

19 November 1946.

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director of the Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York 18, N. Y.

22-9-98

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

This will acknowledge receipt of the Human Rights Questionnaire for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I note that in filling out this questionnaire you have raised the following question: "I trust the recipient of this questionnaire will be able to let us know just how and under what circumstances this petition can be sent."

The Charter of the United Nations makes no provision for the receipt of "petitions" except that under Article 87 the Trusteeship Council is empowered to "accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority." The provisions of this article apply, of course, only to Trust Territories.

The Charter gives the Commission on Human Rights no authority to accept petitions. Hence there exists a basic question as to what status should be given communications alleging violations of human rights received by this organ of the United Nations. No decision on this question can be made until the Commission holds its first meeting, which will be after the present session of the Assembly ends.

A.

The document of which you speak may be forwarded to the Commission or to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, by mail, or can be delivered in person. If it comes from a private individual or organization, it would appear to have no legal status unless and until the Commission decides to give it some. If, on the other hand, it comes from a Government, from a Specialized Agency of the United Nations, or from a non-governmental organization which has been

granted consultative status by the Economic and Social Council, it is considered to be an official communication, and as such is distributed as a document to all Members of the Commission. Specialized Agencies include such inter-governmental organizations as UNRRA, ILO, and UNESCO. The only non-governmental organizations which have been granted consultative status are the World Federation of Trade Unions, the American Federation of Labor, the International Cooperative Alliance and the International Chamber of Commerce.

I trust that you will find the above information of value.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Lawson

Edward Lawson
Social Affairs Officer.

22-9-99

[United Nations]

MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION OF THE

ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

- - - - -

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly, meeting at least annually, is composed of representatives of all Member states (now 51). In the thirty-three plenary sessions held in London, (January-February, 1946) it created its own internal organization, called into being other organs of the United Nations in accordance with the Charter, and deliberated upon a number of matters of general policy and interest. Its internal organization is as follows:

General Committee

The President of the General Assembly
The Seven Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly
The Chairmen of the Six Permanent Committees of the General Assembly.

Main Committees

Committee I, Political and Security Questions
Committee II, Economic and Financial Questions
Committee III, Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Questions
Committee IV, Trusteeship Questions
Committee V, Administrative and Budget Questions
Committee VI, Legal Questions

These Committees are composed of representatives from each of the 51 member nations.

Standing Committees

Advisory Committee for Administrative and Budgetary Questions. (Members to be elected in the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly).

Committee on Contributions
One-year Term
Paul H. Appleby (American)
Chi Chao-ting (Chinese)
Pavle Lukin (Yugoslav)

Two-year

Subcommission on the Status of Women

Mrs. Bodil Begtrup	(Danish)
Miss Minerva Bernadino	(Dominican)
Miss Angela Jurdak	(Lebanese)
Rani (Lady) Aruit Kaur	(Indian)
Miss Mistral	(Chilean)
Mrs. Vienot	(French)
Miss Wu Yi-Fang	(Chinese)
	(Soviet)
	(Pole)

Three members appointed by the Commission on Human Rights to serve as ex officio members.

Economic and Employment Commission

Mr. Luis Angel Arango	(Colombian)
Dr. Franklin L. Ho	(Chinese)
Dr. Alexander Kunosi	(Czechoslovak)
M. Fernand Van Langinhove	(Belgian)
Dr. Alexander Loveday	(British)
Mr. Isador Lubin	(American)
Miss R. Zafirion	(Greek)
	(Canadian)
	(Soviet)

21-25

Commission on Narcotic Drugs

Canada	Peru
China	Poland
Egypt	Turkey
France	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
India	
Iran	United Kingdom
Mexico	United States
Netherlands	Yugoslavia

Statistical Commission

Mr. H. Campion	(British)
Mr. M. G. John	(Norwegian)
Mr. Souza Freitas	(Brazilian)
Mr. Mahalanobis	(Indian)
Mr. Stuart Rice	(American)
Professor Sauvy	(French)
	(Chinese)
	(Ukrainian)
	(Soviet)

Temporary

Temporary Social Commission

Mr. S. W. Harris	(British)
M. Henri Pierre Louis Léopold Hauck	(French)
Dr. Frantisek Kraus	(Czechoslovak)
M. Gerardo Molina	(Colombian)
Mr. Manuel Leoane	(Peruvian)
Mr. Xenophon Zolotas	(Greek)
	(Cuban)
	(Ukrainian)
	(Yugoslav)

Temporary Transport and Communications Commission

Mr. George Baker	(American)
Mr. Ing Baracek-Jaquier	(Czechoslovak)
Sir Gurunath Bewoor	(Indian)
M. Felepi	(French)
Mr. Leif Hoegh	(Norwegian)
Brig.-Gen. Sir H. Osborne Mance	(British)
	(Chilean)
	(Chinese)
	(Soviet)

21-25

COMMITTEES

Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons

Australia	Lebanon
Belgium	Netherlands
Brazil	New Zealand
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Peru
Canada	Poland
China	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Colombia	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Czechoslovakia	United Kingdom
Dominican Republic	United States
France	Yugoslavia

Negotiating Committee for Specialized Agencies

Belgium	France
Canada	Norway
China	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Chile	United Kingdom
Colombia	United States, and President of the Economic and Social Council.
Czechoslovakia	

Committee

Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations

China
Cuba
France
Greece
Lebanon
Peru
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Kingdom
United States
Yugoslavia,
and President of the Economic and Social Council

Technical Preparatory Committee for Health Conference

Dr. Gregorio Bermann	(Argentine)
Dr. René Sand	(Belgian)
Dr. Geraldo H.de Paula Souza	(Brazilian)
Major General G.B. Chisholm	(Canadian)
Dr. P.Z. King	(Chinese)
(Alternate: Dr. Szeming Sze)	
Dr. Josef Cancik	(Czechoslovak)
Dr. Aly Twefik Shousha Pasha	(Egyptian)
Dr. A. Cavaillon	(French)
(Alternate: Dr. Leclainche)	
Dr. Kopanaris	(Greek)
Major C. Mani	(Indian
(Alternate: Dr. Chuni Lal Katial)	
Dr. Manuel Martinez Baez	(Mexican)
Dr. Karl Evang	(Norwegian)
Dr. Martin Kacprzak	(Pole)
Sir Wilson Jameson	(British)
(Alternate: Dr. Melville Mackenzie)	
Surgeon-General Thomas Parran	(American)
(Alternate: Dr. James A. Doull)	
Dr. Andrija Stampar	(Yugoslavia).

and, in a consultative capacity, representatives of: The Pan-American Sanitary Bureau - L'Office International d'Hygiene Publique; The League of Nations Health Organization; The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Preparatory Committee on Trade and Employment Conference

Australia
Belgium-Luxembourg
Brazil
Canada
India
Lebanon
Netherlands
New Zealand

Chile

Chile
China
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
France
Norway
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Union of South Africa
United Kingdom
United States

21-35

March 11, 1946

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

The Economic and Social Council, composed of eighteen members elected by the General Assembly, held thirteen meetings in London in January and February, 1946, principally organizational in character, in which it has established a large number of working commissions and committees in order to deal with the wide range of economic and social problems with which it is concerned.

Of the five major commissions, all but one (the Commission on Narcotic Drugs) were set up with only a nucleus of members, appointed in their individual capacity for a term of one year, at the end of which time the commissions are to be constituted on a permanent basis.

The members of the Council and a list of the members of the various commissions and committees follow:

Members of the Council

Three-year term:

- Belgium
- Canada
- Chile
- China
- France
- Peru

Two-year term:

- Cuba
- Czechoslovakia
- India
- Norway
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- United Kingdom

One-year term:

- Colombia
- Greece
- Lebanon
- Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
- United States
- Yugoslavia

COMMISSIONS

Commission on Human Rights

M. Paal Berg	(Norwegian)
Professor René Cassin	(French)
M. Fernand Dehousse	(Belgian)
M. Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre	(Peruvian)
Mr. K. C. Neogi	(Indian)
Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt	(American)
Dr. John C. H. Wu	(Chinese)
	(Soviet)
	(Yugoslav)

Subcommission

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The fifteen members of the International Court of Justice have been elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, in accordance with the Statute of the Court. The Court will have its headquarters at The Hague, and is scheduled to convene on April 3, 1946.

The judges of the Court are as follows:

To serve for three years:

M. Abdel Hamid Badawi Pasha	(Egyptian),
Dr. Hsu Mo	(Chinese)
Mr. John Erskine Read	(Canadian)
M. Bohdan Winiarski	(Pole)
Dr. Milovan Zoricic	(Yugoslav)

To serve for six years:

Mr. Isidro Fabela Alfaro	(Mexican)
Mr. Green Haywood Hackworth	(American)
Dr. Helge Klaestad	(Norwegian)
Prof. Sergei Borisovich Krylov	(Soviet)
Dr. Charles de Visscher	(Belgian)

To serve for nine years:

Dr. Alejandro Alvarez	(Chilean)
Dr. José Philadelpho de Barros e Azevedo	(Brazilian)
Prof. Jules Basdevant	(French)
Dr. J. Gustavo Guerrero	(Salvadoran)
Sir Arnold Duncan McNair	(British)

THE SECRETARIAT

The General Assembly, upon the recommendation of the Security Council, has elected Mr. Trygve Lie, former Foreign Minister of Norway, as Secretary General.

In providing for the administrative organization of the Secretariat, the General Assembly set up eight principal units, but left the Secretary General with wide discretion as to the number of officers and the details of the organization.

These principal units are as follows:

Department of Security Council Affairs
Department of Economic Affairs
Department of Social Affairs
Department for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self Governing Territories
Department of Public Information
Legal Department
Conference and General Services
Administrative and Financial Services.

For each of the first four Departments, the Secretary General has appointed an Assistant Secretary General. A special Assistant in Charge of Administrative and Financial Services, and a Legal Advisor to the Secretary General have also been appointed.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council, composed of five permanent members and six temporary members elected by the General Assembly, six non-permanent members, has so far held twenty-three meetings (January-February, 1946) following the election of its non-permanent members by the General Assembly, in which it has made progress in completing its organization, as well as in dealing with certain substantive problems. Its composition is as follows:

Permanent Members

China
France
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Kingdom (Sir Alexander Cadogan)
United States (The Honorable Edward R. Stettinius Jr).

Elected Members

One-year term:
Egypt
Mexico
Netherlands (H.E. Dr. E.N. Van Kleffens)

Two-year Term:
Australia
Brazil (H.E. Pedro Leão Velloso)
Poland

THE MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE

The Military Staff Committee, the technical body to advise the Security Council on military matters, has completed its organization. It is composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council, or their representatives.

Two-year Term

M. Baumont (French)
Sir Cecil Kisch (British)
Nedim el-Pachachi (Iraqi)

Three-year Term

J.P. Bridgen (Australian)
Seymour Jacklin (South African)
Martinez Cabañas (Mexican)
Nicolai V. Orlov (Soviet)

Special Committees:

Negotiation Committee on the League of Nations

Chile	Union of South Africa
China	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
France	United Kingdom
Poland	United States

Headquarters Planning Commission

Australia	Netherlands
Brazil	United Kingdom
China	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
France	Yugoslavia
Iraq	

UNRRA Committee

Canada	Norway
China	Poland
Dominican Republic	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
France	United Kingdom
Greece	United States
New Zealand	

COMMISSION ON ATOMIC ENERGY

"The Commission shall be composed of one representative from each of those states, represented on the Security Council, and Canada when that State is not a member of the Security Council." (Resolution of the General Assembly, January 24, 1946.)

This Commission was established by the General Assembly but reports to and is responsible in all security matters to the Security Council.

RESOLUTION ON

ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMISSION TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS RAISED BY THE DISCOVERY OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND OTHER RELATED MATTERS

Resolved by the General Assembly of the United Nations to establish a commission, with the composition and competence set out hereunder, to deal with the problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy and other related matters:-

1. Establishment of the Commission

A Commission is hereby established by the General Assembly with the terms of reference set out under Section V below.

2. Relations of the Commission with the Organs of the United Nations.

(a) The Commission shall submit its reports and recommendations to the Security Council, and such reports and recommendations shall be made public unless the Security Council, in the interest of peace and security, otherwise directs. In the appropriate cases the Security Council should transmit these Reports to the General Assembly and the members of the United Nations, as well as to the Economic and Social Council and other organs within the framework of the United Nations.

(b) In view of the Security Council's primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council shall issue directions to the Commission in matters affecting security. On these matters the Commission shall be accountable for its work to the Security Council.

3. Composition of the Commission

The Commission shall be composed of one representative from each of those States, represented on the Security Council, and Canada when that State is not a member of the Security Council. Each representative on the Commission may have such assistance as he may desire.

Rules

4. Rules of Procedure

The Commission shall have whatever staff it may deem necessary, and shall make recommendations for its rules of procedure to the Security Council, which shall approve them as a procedural matter.

5. Terms of Reference of the Commission

The Commission shall proceed with the utmost despatch and enquire into all phases of the problem, and make such recommendations from time to time with respect to them as it finds possible. In particular the Commission shall make specific proposals:

(a) For extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends;

(b) For control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes;

(c) For the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction;

(d) For effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying States against the hazards of violations and evasions.

The work of the Commission should proceed by separate stages, the successful completion of each of which will develop the necessary confidence of the world before the next stage is undertaken.

The Commission shall not infringe upon the responsibilities of any organ of the United Nations, but should present recommendations for the consideration of those organs in the performance of their tasks under the terms of the United Nations Charter.

RESOLUTION ON THE EXTRADITION AND PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Taking note of the Moscow Declaration of 1 November 1943 by President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill concerning enemy atrocities in the course of the war, and of the declaration by certain allied governments of 13 January and 18 December 1942 concerning the same matter; and

Taking note of the laws and usages of warfare established by the Fourth Hague Convention of 1907; and

Taking note of the definition of war crimes and crimes against peace and against humanity contained in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal dated 8 August 1945; and

Believing that certain war criminals continue to evade justice in the territories of certain states,

RECOMMENDS

That Members of the United Nations forthwith take all the necessary measures to cause the arrest of those war criminals who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above crimes, and to cause them to be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done, in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of those countries; and

CALLS UPON

The governments of States which are not Members of the United Nations also to take all necessary measures for the apprehension of such criminals in their respective territories with a view to their immediate removal to the countries in which the crimes were committed for the purpose of trial and punishment according to the laws of those countries.

RESOLUTION ON NON-SELF-GOVERNING PEOPLES

I

Non-Self-Governing Peoples
(Chapters XI, XII, and XIII of the Charter)

The United Nations, meeting in its First General Assembly, is keenly aware of the problems and political aspirations of the peoples who have not yet attained a full measure of self-government and who are not directly represented here.

Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter recognize the problems of the non-self-governing peoples as of vital concern to the peace and general welfare of the world community.

By Chapter XI, all the Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount. They accept, as a sacred trust, the obligation to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories. To that end they accept certain specific obligations, including the obligation to develop self-government and to assist the inhabitants in the progressive development of their free political institutions.

By Chapters XII and XIII, the Charter provides for the establishment of an international trusteeship system, the basic objectives of which are, among others, to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of trust territories, and to promote their progressive development towards self-government or independence.

The General Assembly regrets that the Trusteeship Council cannot be brought into being at this First Part of the First Session, not because of any lack of desire to do so but because, before the Trusteeship Council can be established, trusteeship agreements must be concluded.

The General

The General Assembly holds the view that any delay in putting into effect the system of international trusteeship prevents the implementation of the principles of the trusteeship system, as declared in the Charter, and deprives the populations of such territories as may be brought under the trusteeship system of the opportunity of enjoying the advantages arising from the implementation of these principles.

With a view to expediting the conclusion of these agreements and the establishment of the Trusteeship Council, the Preparatory Commission recommended that the General Assembly should call on those Members of the United Nations which are now administering territories held under mandate to undertake practical steps, in concert with the other States directly concerned, for the implementation of Article 79 of the Charter.

Without waiting for the recommendation of the Preparatory Commission to be considered by the General Assembly, the Members of the United Nations administering territories held under mandate took the initiative in making declarations in regard to these territories.

THEREFORE

WITH RESPECT TO CHAPTER XI OF THE CHARTER, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:-

(1) Draws attention to the fact that the obligations accepted under Chapter XI of the Charter by all Members of the United Nations are in no way contingent upon the conclusion of trusteeship agreements or upon the bringing into being of the Trusteeship Council, and are, therefore, already in full force.

(2) Requests the Secretary-General to include in his annual report on the work of the Organization, as provided for in Article 98 of the Charter, a statement summarizing such information as may have been transmitted to him by Members of the United Nations under Article 73 (e) of the Charter relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are responsible other than those to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

WITH RESPECT TO CHAPTERS XII AND XIII OF THE CHARTER, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:-

(3) Welcomes

(3) Welcomes the declarations, made by certain States administering territories now held under mandate, of an intention to negotiate trusteeship agreements in respect of some of those territories, and in respect of Trans-Jordan to establish its independence.

(4) Invites the States administering territories now held under mandate to undertake practical steps, in concert with the other States directly concerned, for the implementation of Article 79 of the Charter (which provides for the conclusion of agreements on the terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system), in order to submit these agreements for approval, preferably not later than during the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly.

IN CONCLUSION, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:-

(5) Expects that the realization of the objectives of Chapters XI, XII and XIII will make possible the attainment of the political, economic, social, and educational aspirations of non-self-governing peoples.

II

Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Trusteeship Council

The General Assembly requests the Secretary-General to transmit the "Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Trusteeship Council" (Section 2 of Chapter IV of the Preparatory Commission's Report) to the Trusteeship Council as soon as it is constituted.

RESOLUTION ON RECONSTRUCTION OF COUNTRIES BELONGING TO THE UNITED NATIONS DEVASTATED BY WAR

CONSIDERING

that the war of aggression waged on the territories of many members of the United Nations resulted in the destruction of vast areas of these countries on an unprecedented scale;

that these peace-loving nations, which suffered such an extensive damage, represent nearly one-half of the total population of the world;

that the vast areas representing a big consuming power are virtually eliminated from the normal flow of world trade, so that the whole world economy must be seriously affected;

that the great scale of destruction resulted in most cases in a dangerous lowering in the standard of living and in the health of the population, in a substantial loss of productive capacity and sometimes in the complete destruction of the normal economic activities of the respective countries;

that in order to make good the destruction and so to restore the shaken world economy vast amounts of new capital goods must be invested in the destroyed areas;

that in most cases it would be impossible to deal with the work of reconstruction with the necessary speed and efficiency if the affected countries were limited in this respect to their internal resources and possibilities alone;

that only a full-scale and whole-hearted co-operation of all the United Nations can bring about the right solution of this grave problem.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS:

1. recognizes the problem of full reconstruction of the countries belonging to members of the United Nations which suffered substantial war damage as a grave and urgent matter which should be given very high priority among post-war problems;

decides

2. decides to discuss generally this matter under paragraph 17 of its Agenda and to transmit it at the next session of the General Assembly for a close examination by the Economic and Financial Committee which shall present to the General Assembly a report resulting from this examination;

3. asks the Economic and Social Council to place this subject on the agenda of its first meeting, as an urgent matter in the economic and social field, according to paragraph 10 of the provisional agenda of the first meeting of the Council, as proposed by the Preparatory Commission.

21-25

RESOLUTION ON REFUGEES

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
recognizing that the problem of refugees and displaced persons of all categories is one of immediate urgency and recognizing the necessity of clearly distinguishing between genuine refugees and displaced persons, on the one hand, and the war criminals, quislings, and traitors referred to in paragraph (d) below, on the other:

(a) DECIDES to refer this problem to the Economic and Social Council for thorough examination in all its aspects under item 10 of the Agenda for the First Session of the Council and for report to the Second Part of the First Session of the General Assembly;

(b) RECOMMENDS to the Economic and Social Council that it establish a special committee for the purpose of carrying out promptly the examination and preparation of the report referred to in paragraph (a); and

(c) RECOMMENDS to the Economic and Social Council that it take into consideration in this matter the following principles:

(i) this problem is international in scope and nature;

(ii) no refugees or displaced persons who have finally and definitely, in complete freedom, and after receiving full knowledge of the facts including adequate information from the governments of their countries of origin, expressed valid objections to returning to their countries of origin and who do not come within the provisions of paragraph (d) below, shall be compelled to return to their country of origin. The future of such refugees or displaced persons shall become the concern of whatever international body may be recognized or established as a result of the report referred to in paragraph (a) and (b) above, except in cases where the government of the country where they are established has made an arrangement with this body to assume the complete cost of their maintenance and the responsibility for their protection;

the main

(iii) the main task concerning displaced persons is to encourage and assist in every way possible their early return to their countries of origin. Such assistance may take the form of promoting the conclusion of bilateral arrangements for mutual assistance in the repatriation of such persons, having regard to the principals laid down in paragraph (c) (ii) above.

(d) CONSIDERS that no action taken as a result of this resolution shall be of such a character as to interfere in any way with the surrender and punishment of war criminals, quislings and traitors, in conformity with present or future international arrangements or agreements;

(e) CONSIDERS that Germans being transferred to Germany from other States or who fled to other States from Allied Troops, do not fall under the action of this declaration in so far as their situation may be decided by allied forces of occupation in Germany, in agreement with the Governments of the respective countries.

21-25

RESOLUTION ON REPRESENTATION OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL BODIES ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

In connection with the requests of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the American Federation of Labour, the International Co-operative Alliance, and other non-governmental organizations, that their representatives shall be allowed to take part in the work of the Economic and Social Council, and in accordance with Article 71 of the Charter providing for the carrying out by the Economic and Social Council of appropriate consultations with non-governmental organizations,

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RECOMMENDS

(a) That the Economic and Social Council should as soon as possible adopt suitable arrangements enabling the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Co-operative Alliance as well as other international non-governmental organizations whose experience the Economic and Social Council will find necessary to use, to collaborate for purposes of consultation with the Economic and Social Council.

(b) That the Economic and Social Council should likewise adopt as soon as possible suitable arrangements enabling the American Federation of Labour as well as other national and regional non-governmental organizations whose experience the Economic and Social Council will find necessary to use, to collaborate for purposes of consultation with the Economic and Social Council.

RESOLUTION ON SPAIN

1. The Assembly recalls that the San Francisco Conference adopted a resolution according to which paragraph 2 of Article 4 of Chapter II of the United Nations Charter "cannot apply to States whose regimes have been installed with the help of armed forces of countries which have fought against the United Nations so long as these regimes are in power."

2. The Assembly recalls that at the Potsdam Conference the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Soviet Union stated that they would not support a request for admission to the United Nations of the present Spanish Government "which, having been founded with the support of the Axis Powers, in view of its origins, its nature, its record, and its close association with the aggressor States, does not possess the necessary qualifications to justify its admission."

3. The Assembly, in endorsing these two statements, recommends that the Members of the United Nations should act in accordance with the letter and the spirit of these statements in the conduct of their future relations with Spain."

21-35

RESOLUTION ON U.N.R.R.A.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, impressed with the imperative urgency that action to facilitate the final stages of the work of UNRRA be taken at the earliest possible date in view of the understanding of the Council of UNRRA that the work of that organization will be completed in Europe by 31 December 1946, and in the Far East by March 1947,

1. Establishes a Committee.

(a) to consult with states signatory to the UNRRA Agreement who have not made or arranged to make the further contributions to UNRRA recommended in Council Resolution No. 80 of August 1945, and to urge upon them that they make such contributions with the least possible delay; and

(b) to urge upon Members of the United Nations who are not signatories to the UNRRA Agreement to join that organization and thereby to make their contributions to this great humanitarian task.

2. Appoints as members of this committee the representatives of the following countries: Canada, China, Dominican Republic, France, Greece, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, USSR, United Kingdom, United States, and instructs the committee to begin its work as soon as possible.

3. Instructs the Secretary-General to seek to make arrangements with the Director-General of UNRRA whereby the General Assembly may be furnished with full reports on the work of UNRRA and on the progress made towards economic rehabilitation in the countries being assisted by UNRRA.

RESOLUTION ON WHEAT AND RICE

The damage caused by war and the dislocation of agricultural production resulting from the shortage and dislocation of labour, the removal of draught animals, the shortage of fertilizers and other circumstances connected with the war have caused a serious fall in world production of wheat. In addition a large number of countries, including some of those which are normally the largest producers of grain, have suffered serious droughts and have therefore reaped abnormally small crops. The supply of rice is also so short as to threaten a famine in certain areas. There is, moreover, a serious risk of grain production in the coming season being insufficient to prevent continuing hunger. For these reasons the world is faced with conditions which may cause widespread suffering and death and consequently set back all plans for reconstruction.

21-35

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THEREFORE,

1. Urges all governments and peoples to take immediate and drastic action, both directly and through the international organizations concerned, to conserve supplies, by securing adequate collection of crops from the producers, by saving food and avoiding waste, and to ensure the maximum production of grain in the coming season;

2. Notes that several of the United Nations have recently announced measures to reserve grain supplies for direct human consumption and to secure increased production;

3. Urges all governments to publish as full information as possible regarding their own supplies and requirements of cereals and the steps they have taken or are prepared to take to achieve the objectives expressed in paragraph 1.;

4. Requests the international organizations concerned with food and agriculture to publish full information in their possession on the world food position and the future outlook, and to intensify efforts to obtain as full information as possible on this subject, in order to assist governments in determining their short term and long term agricultural policy.

TENTATIVE UNITED NATIONS CALENDAR

March 21, 1946 -- Resumption of Meetings of Security Council

March 21, 1946 -- Resumption of Meetings of Military Staff Committee

April 3, 1946 -- First Session of the International Court of Justice at The Hague

May 25, 1946 -- Second Session of the Economic and Social Council

September 3, 1946 -- Second Part of First Session of the General Assembly

In addition, two general conferences under the aegis of the United Nations and to be convoked during the present year; the International Trade and Employment Conference and the International Health Conference, the latter to convene not later than June 20, 1946.

[United Nations]

Program

REPORT ON THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
London, January 10 - February 14, 1946

March 13, 1946 - 3:30 p.m. - Room 285
Department of State

21-25

SPEAKERS:

Mr. Alger Hiss,
Director, Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State

Mr. Harding Bancroft,
Associate Chief, Division of International Security Affairs, Department of State

PANEL:

Mr. Leroy D. Stinebower, Deputy Director, Office of International Trade Policy, Department of State

Mr. James F. Green, Acting Associate Chief, Division of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State

Mr. Wilder Foote, Special Assistant to Mr. Stettinius

Mr. Philip M. Burnett, Assistant on International Organization, Division of International Organization Affairs, Department of State

[C.I.O.]

Resolution on Issues Affecting Africa Arising at the Meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations

As American citizens concerned with economic security and democratic rights for oppressed peoples in other countries as well as for the Negroes and other minorities who suffer discrimination and mob violence in the United States, we call upon our government and upon the United Nations to support and adopt the following policies with relation to Africa at the current session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

1. Reject the South African Dominion's request for annexation of the mandate territory of South-West Africa and place that territory under the direction of the Trusteeship Council itself, the justification for such action being the gross contradiction of United Nations principles represented by the claim for annexation and the manifest unfitness of the Union of South Africa to continue as trustee over any peoples or territory;

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2. Give full consideration to the petition of the Indian Government on the matter of discrimination against Indians in South Africa and adopt the recommendations submitted to the Human Rights Commission by the Council on African Affairs, May 10, 1946, calling for the investigation and exposure of violations of the principle of racial equality in the Union of South Africa and other countries, to be followed by recommendation to the Security Council for appropriate action to be taken against countries found guilty of persistent violations;

3. Grant the indigenous peoples of the African mandate territories the right to be heard in drawing up trusteeship agreements for these territories, and limit trusteeship of all colonies to a specified period of time so that such jurisdiction shall be clearly understood to be simply a transition to full independence;

4. Place the African colonies belonging to the fascist governments of Spain and Portugal directly under United Nations supervision so that the inhabitants of these colonies may be protected from fascist tyranny;

5. Use the full powers of the Economic and Social Council to provide for the full protection of the rights of labor in all sections of Africa on the same basis as labor in free countries; foster the development of local industries and collective enterprise; promote the rapid economic and social advancement of the African people; restore the ownership of land and natural resources to the native peoples; abolish the pass laws and race discrimination in taxation.

6. Provide guarantees to the subject peoples of Africa for the immediate exercise of full democratic rights, and the achievement of political autonomy and self-determination within a definitely stated time limit;

7. Provide for the representation of African colonial peoples in the United Nations so that they may have a direct voice of their own in affairs which concern them.

8. Press for advance toward autonomous nationhood in British West Africa by control of business and industrial interests, increasing of education and health service and advancing the real political power of the masses by reducing the power of the governors and the colonial office.

9. Demand that Belgium provide higher education in the Congo sufficient to train native physicians and other professionals and forward leadership for participation of the natives in their own government; and that Belgium curtail the privileges and profits of corporations and monopolies.

10. Demand that Ethiopia be given access to the sea, that Eretrea be restored to her and that British troops be withdrawn from her territory.

[U.S. Department of State]

PARIS MEETING of FOREIGN MINISTERS

21-25

Report of Secretary Byrnes

May 20, 1946

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PUBLICATION 2537

CONFERENCE SERIES 86

PARIS MEETING

OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

I wish to talk with you about the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers at Paris. On that mission I was accompanied by Senator Connally, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Vandenberg, a Republican member of that Committee. I cannot adequately express my appreciation of their wise counsel and loyal cooperation. Senator Connally was exceedingly helpful. Senator Vandenberg by his wholehearted cooperation let the world know that regardless of how much he and his party may disagree with the administration about domestic issues, in our relations with foreign governments we have but one policy, the policy of the United States.

Building the foundations of a people's peace in a war-shattered world is a long, hard process. A

Broadcast by the Secretary of State, the Honorable James F. Byrnes, over the networks of the American Broadcasting Company and the National Broadcasting Company on May 20, 1946, on the occasion of his return from the Paris Conference of the Foreign Ministers of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States, which took place between Apr. 25 and May 16, 1946.

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people's peace cannot be won by flashing diplomatic triumphs. It requires patience and firmness, tolerance and understanding. We must not try to impose our will on others, but we must make sure that others do not get the impression they can impose their will on us.

The progress made towards peace at the Paris meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers was disappointingly small in light of the expectations we had when it was agreed at Moscow last December that the Council should resume the work which had been interrupted by our inability to agree at London last September.

But the progress towards peace at Paris was infinitely greater than I expected when I suggested that the Council should meet in Paris preparatory to the prompt calling of a peace conference. The Ministers did come to Paris seriously intending to pave the way for a peace conference. We differed considerably on a number of fundamental points; but we did come to know what those fundamental points were and the varying weight the different Ministers attached to those points.

We found that there were three basic issues outstanding on the Italian treaty: reparations, the colonies and the Italian–Yugoslav boundary, particularly as it concerns the Italian city of Trieste.

In summarizing the significance of these basic issues, I shall deliberately seek to avoid intensifying the conflict in viewpoints.

Our position on reparations is simple. To enable the Italian nation to live we have already advanced directly or indirectly $900,000,000. We should prefer in the interest of peace to forget about reparations. But we are willing to agree to limited reparations, provided these do not deprive Italy of resources necessary to enable her to subsist without external assistance.

If Italy requires help from others she will look to us. And we made it clear we are not going to advance millions of dollars to enable Italy to produce goods to be paid as reparations to any of our Allies.

The Soviet Government has insisted on reparations for itself of $100,000,000. We have pointed out certain sources from which reparations can be taken which would not seriously affect the Italian economy and which would yield substantially the amount which the Soviets claim. But the Soviet Government is unwilling to count what she will obtain from some of these sources as reparations.

For example, she insists that some of the naval ships surrendered by Italy to the navies of the United States and Britain be shared with her. She declares the ships are war booty. But war booty belongs to the nation capturing it. The Soviet Union has never shared with Allied nations any war booty captured by her. We are willing to give to her in lieu of reparations some of the

naval ships surrendered to us. She demands the ships but refuses to consider them as a substitute for reparations. She insists upon being paid out of current production. We would have to finance the production, and therefore I refused to agree to the proposal.

Differences regarding the colonies have been narrowed but not resolved. The Soviet Government receded from its claim for a trusteeship of Tripolitania, first in favor of a joint Soviet–Italian trusteeship and later in favor of an Italian trusteeship as originally proposed by the French.

Our position has always been that the colonies should be placed under United Nations trusteeship, having as its objective the welfare of the inhabitants and their independence at the earliest practicable date. The Trusteeship Council should appoint a neutral administrator responsible to it, thus avoiding all possible rivalry between the powers. Libya and Eritrea should be granted independence in ten years.

It is open to question whether Italy is in an economic position to assume the responsibility of trusteeship and whether the return of the colonies to Italy as trustee takes sufficiently into account the wishes of the inhabitants. For these reasons it was with considerable reluctance that I indicated my willingness to yield to the French suggestion of an Italian trusteeship if that would

bring about an agreement in the Council, and if it were agreed that a definite date would be fixed for the independence of Libya and Eritrea. But the French Government was unwilling to agree to a fixed date for independence.

The British felt that because of their promises during the war they could not agree to an Italian trusteeship for territory occupied by the Senussi tribes. For security reasons they also proposed a British trusteeship for Cyrenaica.

When no agreement was reached, I again urged the original American proposal for a United Nations trusteeship.

It was my impression that agreement on reparations and the colonies as well as on a host of other questions would not be long delayed if only a solution of the Trieste problem could be found. The Soviet Representative finally indicated that there would be no serious question on the cession of the Dodecanese Islands to Greece but he refused to approve it until the other territorial dispositions could be agreed upon.

The experts appointed to investigate the Italian–Yugoslav frontier did not differ as to the facts. But the Soviet Representative differs from the other members of the Council as to the conclusions to be drawn from the facts. It is his position that Venezia Giulia must be treated as an inseparable whole, and that so treated the claim of Yugoslavia to the area is superior to that of

Italy. The other Representatives believe that wise statesmanship as well as the explicit decision taken by the Council at London requires a boundary line which will in the main be an ethnic line leaving a minimum of people under alien rule.

It was wrong to give Italy the whole of Venezia Giulia after World War I. It would be equally wrong to give Yugoslavia the whole of Venezia Giulia now. It would transfer from Italy to Yugoslavia approximately 500,000 Italians.

The British and French experts proposed ethnic lines more favorable to Yugoslavia than our own. In an effort to reach agreement we stated we were willing to accept the British or French line or any other ethnic line that could be justified upon the basis of the London decision.

The American Delegation suggested a plebiscite for the area between the line proposed by the United States and the line proposed by the Soviet Union—but the Soviet Delegation would not consider a plebiscite except for the whole Venezia Giulia area. All of us are agreed that Yugoslavia and the countries of Central Europe which have for years used the port of Trieste shall have free access to Trieste at which there shall be a free port under international control. But we will continue to appeal to the Soviet Government and the Yugoslav Government not to press for a boundary line which will needlessly violate ethnic principles and will breed trouble in the future.

Agreement on the Balkan treaties is blocked principally by the inability of the Council to agree upon the economic clauses. Agreement on these provisions may have been delayed as part of a bargaining process, although so far the Soviet Government has stood out against the inclusion in the treaties of any provision which would promise freedom of commerce on the Danube, the gateway to Central Europe.

If the Soviet Government is opposed, as the United States Government is opposed, to the formation of exclusive political and economic blocs, they will not persist in their refusal to permit the countries of Central Europe to open their gates to the commerce of all nations.

It is regrettable that our outstanding differences on the treaties could not have been adjusted at our recent meeting in Paris. A short recess to allow a calm re-examination of our respective positions should expedite agreement when we reconvene. But when a world short of goods and short of food is crying for the return of conditions of peace, we cannot indefinitely delay the making of peace and the withdrawal of troops from occupied areas. The four Allied governments cannot indefinitely delay the making of peace with countries which they have long ceased to fight, simply because they cannot agree among themselves on peace terms. The Council of Foreign Min-

isters was formed to facilitate and not obstruct the making of peace.

If a peace conference is not called this summer, the United States will feel obliged to request the General Assembly of the United Nations under Article 14 of the Charter to make recommendations with respect to the peace settlements. But I confidently expect a peace conference to be called this summer.

The situation which we will face in the coming months will be a test not only of others but of ourselves. There are now and there will be in the future many occasions which might impel us to say as we did after the last war that, much as we would like to cooperate in the restoration of Europe, cooperation as a practical matter is impossible without the sacrifice of our principles and that we must be content to cultivate and defend our own hemisphere.

But we must not forget that if we fail to cooperate in a peace which is indivisible we may again find that we will have to cooperate in a war which is world-wide. Whether we like it or not, we live in one world.

I am unwilling to admit that we cannot cooperate without sacrifice of our principles. If we are going to play our part we must take the offensive for peace as we took the offensive for war.

But the victories of peace like those of war require sacrifice not of principle but for principle.

They require faith in ourselves and in our ideals. They require initiative, resourcefulness, and unrelenting effort. There is no iron curtain that the aggregate sentiments of mankind cannot penetrate.

The American Delegation at Paris did not hesitate to start the offensive for peace.

Security is the concern of every nation. But the effort of one nation to increase its security may threaten the security of other nations and cause them in turn to try to increase their own security. The quest for security may lead to less rather than more security in the world.

It is in truth extremely difficult to know to what extent the action of any nation may be ascribed to its quest for security or to its desire to expand. But some so-called security moves on the diplomatic checkerboard have not contributed to a general sense of security.

Many of these moves are said to originate in the fear of the revival of German military might.

On our way to Potsdam last summer President Truman and I discussed this situation and agreed that it should be American policy to disarm Germany and keep her disarmed and to do what we can to prevent a struggle between the powers for the control of Germany which might give Germany the chance to divide and conquer.

Those principles were stated in the Potsdam agreement. But President Truman and I thought at that time that the policy of disarming Germany

and keeping Germany disarmed for a definite period of years should become a part of a solemn treaty between the principal Allied powers. Our policy should be to prevent war and not to wait until aggression gets out of hand.

It was not a new thought. It had been foreshadowed in the Moscow Declaration of 1943. Others had discussed it, but no one more forcefully than Senator Vandenberg in a speech in the Senate in January, 1945.

At the London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers when the Soviet Foreign Secretary seemed greatly concerned about the Soviet security requirements in the Balkans, I suggested a twenty-five year four-power treaty, to keep Germany disarmed as a means of preventing any real threat to Soviet security. I explained that we contemplated a similar joint guaranty of the disarmament of Japan.

I again proposed such a treaty in a talk with Generalissimo Stalin on December 24 while I was in Moscow. The Generalissimo said that if the United States made such a proposal he would whole-heartedly support it.

Later I also spoke to Mr. Bevin who advised me that he personally was most sympathetic to the suggestion.

In February I sent a working draft of the proposed treaty for German disarmament to the Soviet, British and the French Governments and

the proposed treaty for Japanese disarmament to the Soviet, British and Chinese Governments. I invited their suggestions as to the draft.

I was informed by Mr. Bevin and M. Bidault that they favored the proposal in principle but would have a few suggestions to make. I did not hear from Mr. Molotov. Just before the Paris meeting I advised the Ministers I would like to discuss the proposal at Paris. The Soviet Minister agreed to discuss it informally but stated without specification that there were serious objections to the draft.

At Paris the Soviet Representative stated he first wanted to know if Germany was being disarmed as contemplated by the Potsdam Agreement and he feared the treaty might delay immediate disarmament. I pointed out that our proposal could not fairly be so construed; that it did not lessen the obligation to disarm Germany now but provided machinery to keep Germany disarmed.

To remove any question as to our purpose I asked General Clay to request the Allied Control Council to appoint representatives with power to go into every zone and make a report as to the disarmament of Germany.

Later the Soviet Representative stated that when Generalissimo Stalin agreed with me to support the treaty I did not have a draft of it. He said that as it could not become effective until after a German treaty was signed, consideration of it could be delayed.

It is our sincere hope that after the Soviet Union studies our proposal and comes to appreciate our earnest desire to see Germany disarmed and kept disarmed, the Soviet Union will support it wholeheartedly.

While the making of the German peace settlement may take some time, we took the initiative at Paris to propose the immediate appointment of special deputies to prepare a peace settlement which could be considered at a general Allied conference, the date of which should be fixed by the Council at its next session.

While there is no German government yet which could accept the settlement, agreement among the Allies on the nature of the settlement is necessary to enable the Allies to know the goal towards which the Allied occupation and administration should be directed and the kind of German government which should be created to accept the settlement.

I also asked that the Special Deputies on Germany be instructed to report on several pressing problems, including boundary and economic questions. We cannot, for example, continue to carry out the reparation program if Germany is not to be administered as an economic unit as agreed upon at Potsdam. Whatever boundaries are agreed upon for Germany, she must be able to subsist without external assistance. We cannot subsidize Germany to enable her to pay reparations to other nations.

I regret that the Soviet Representative was not prepared to act upon my proposal for the appointment of Special Deputies without further study. I shall renew my proposal when the Council reconvenes.

Important as the German questions are and eager as we are to press for their speedy solution, we must not and cannot delay the peace settlements with other countries. At Potsdam it was agreed that the start should be made with Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Finland. While Germany must remain under occupation for some time, we cannot fail to do our part to rid the rest of Europe of the burden of the forces of occupation. There can be no recovery in Europe until we do.

It is particularly important that we press forward vigorously with the Austrian treaty. The Moscow Declaration on Austria contemplated that Austria should be regarded more as a liberated than as a satellite country. It was agreed at Potsdam that no reparations would be taken from her. She was one of the first countries in Central Europe to have free elections following the liberation. The continuance of foreign troops in Austria is an undue burden on her economy.

In February we asked that the Austrian treaty be prepared along with other treaties for satellite states. At Paris I insisted upon its preparation but the Soviet Representative declined to discuss the

Austrian treaty or say when he would consider it.

The making of peace with Austria is essential to the restoration of anything like conditions of peace in Europe. As long as there is no peace with Austria and foreign troops remain on her soil, military communication lines will continue to be maintained in Rumania and Hungary and possibly Italy.

It was for that reason that the American Delegation proposed that the Council at its next meeting on June 15 should conclude as far as possible its work on the proposed drafts, but that the date for the peace conference should be definitely fixed for July 1 or July 15 and invitations should be issued at once.

It was our view that the Council had taken sufficient time to try to narrow their differences and at this stage with the principal issues defined, we should not deny to our other war partners their right to participate. The making of peace is not the exclusive prerogative of any four governments.

The Soviet Delegation insisted that invitations for the conference could not be sent until we had reconvened and agreed on all fundamental questions. Unanimous agreement was necessary and we were forced, therefore, to recess without agreement for the actual calling of the peace conference.

While the American Delegation will, when the Council reconvenes, make every effort to reach

agreement on fundamental questions, it will renew its demand for the calling of a peace conference on July 1 or July 15.

If we cannot have a peace conference until the four nations agree on every subject deemed fundamental by any one of them, that will give to one member of the Council the power to stop all efforts toward peace. It would be better for the Council to submit to the peace conference a single draft of each treaty and to set forth in this draft both the matters on which agreement had been reached and those on which agreement had not been reached. This would permit free discussion in the peace conference by all the nations that did the fighting, and world opinion will then point the way to a final settlement.

If peace could be made with Austria concurrently with the treaties now under consideration, there would be no necessity or excuse for a single soldier on foreign soil in Europe with the exception of Germany and a line of communication through Poland. European States would have a chance to live and breathe.

It is American policy to press unremittingly for the conclusion of peace settlements to make possible the withdrawal of troops from countries where they do not belong and where they impose unjustified economic and social difficulties upon the people. And even without waiting for the conclusion of peace treaties it is American policy

to press for the reduction of occupation troops in all countries.

Our policy of continuing to press for the return of conditions of peace, without regard to the making of formal peace treaties, finally yielded some constructive results in the case of Italy. For months we have been urging the revision of the Italian armistice so as to restore virtually complete sovereignty to Italy except in the colonies and in the controversial Venezia Giulia area. At Paris this revision was agreed to.

While the absence of a peace treaty still handicaps Italy in her effort to rebuild her broken economic and political life, the revised armistice gives the Italian Government the largest possible freedom that can be given to it without a formal peace treaty.

Our problems are serious, but I am not discouraged. Our offensive to secure peace has only begun. We are determined to work for political and economic peace in Europe, in the Near East and in the rest of the world. We shall work for it in the peace conferences and in the councils of the United Nations. The objective of our offensive is not territory or reparations for the United States. The objective is peace—not a peace founded upon vengeance or greed, but a just peace, the only peace that can endure.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1946

DEPARTM

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June 18, 1946 at 3:00 p.

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Speakers: Assistan

James Ri
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the Department, Republic

Mr. Perry

Dr. DuBois

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in box on Registration Desk or call
ic 5600, Ext. 417.

George

George KENNAN

Minister-Counsellor

American Embassy

Moscow

MONTHLY
INFORMATION SHEET

FOR RELEASE AT ANY TIME

JUNE 1946

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ITEMS MAY BE OBTAINED BY WRITING TO:

MASS MEDIA BRANCH • DIVISION OF PUBLIC LIAISON
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

GRAIN SHORTAGE IN INDIA

India faces as severe a food shortage as any part of the world owing to a series of natural disasters including drought which sharply reduced the last grain crop.

The farm population of India has been getting only 15 ounces of cereal per person per day which represents cattle feed as well as human consumption. Food for India's 100 million non-farm population is rationed and can be bought only at Government food stores. The daily cereal ration for the non-farm population amounts to 960 calories.

Serious starvation has been postponed by the effective system of rationing instituted after the Bengal famine of 1943, but it is feared that the system will break down unless present grain requirements can be met.

An Indian Food Delegation arrived in the United States in March seeking grain to relieve the cereal deficit and requested the Combined Food Board to allocate 2 1/2 million tons of grain for shipment to India before July 1. In view of the present supply situation it seems unlikely that this amount can be delivered by this date.

81-25

UNITED STATES DEPUTY TO SECURITY COUNCIL

Herchel V. Johnson, former Minister to Sweden, who has recently been confirmed by the Senate as deputy to Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Permanent United States Representative on the Security Council, is now one of four Americans authorized to take part in and vote at Security Council meetings. Under Council rules of procedure, "heads of governments and Foreign Ministers" may exercise the voting privilege, which means that the President and Secretary of State may do so, according to officials of the State Department.

The United States Participation Act provides that the Permanent Representative, who holds the rank of Ambassador, may vote for the United States, while his deputy, with the rank of Minister, may vote in the absence or disability of the Permanent Representative. Only one person representing the United States may vote at any one time.

INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING -- A VARIED PROGRAM

Programs in 24 languages are shortwaved by the International Broadcasting Division of its Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs the State Department announces. Programs include news, special features, music, and dramatizations

of American science, industry, the arts and government.

A special feature, "Radio University", started in Italian, is now broadcast in Polish also. On this program American scientists discuss such varied topics as agricultural experiments and X-ray. Italian and Polish scientists and students gather abroad to listen to the programs and then discuss them. It is hoped that these program can be extended soon to other countries in Europe and Latin America.

World wide broadcasts from Hunter College Gymnasium of the sessions of the United Nations Security Council have been another feature of OIC's radio activities.

William T. Stone, Director of OIC, speaking at a recent conference of the Institute for Education by Radio said, "Just as domestic radio plays a leading role in developing good American citizenship, international radio can help in building good world citizenship".

81-23-

COMMISSION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS

The only international organization with powers of inspection, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs established by the Economic and Social Council of UN in February, will hold its first session in New York in July, the State Department reports.

The purpose of the Commission is to advise ECOSOC on such problems concerning narcotic drugs as national and international controls and the limitation of raw materials.

The Commission is made up of representatives of fifteen countries: China, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France, India, Netherlands, Canada, Mexico, Turkey, Egypt, Iran, Yugoslavia, Peru, Poland, and the United States.

NEW LIBRARY IN HAVANA

The new Marti-Lincoln Library of 3500 volumes was opened to the public February 24 in Havana by the Instituto Cultural Cubano-Norteamericano. The library is principally a reference library but also contains copies of some seventy American, Latin American and British magazines. Also available for loan are several hundred albums and single records of classical, popular and religious music, the State Department reports.

The library is named jointly for Abraham Lincoln and Jose Julian Marti, Cuban author and patriot.

STRANGE STORY PICKED UP BY OIC

The field offices of its Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC), the State Department reports, are continually on the job meeting misconceptions, misstatements and erroneous ideas about the United States. The following story comes from China:

On January 29 a wire service item appeared in all Chinese papers, with a Washington dateline, saying, "U.S. reports whales fight ducks; several whales killed in battle." The report went on to say that, "Auks, puffins, seagulls and ducks had a big battle with whales in the sea. Many of them were drowned as their feathers were stuck by the floating oil on the sea which subsequently deprived them of their swimming ability. Meanwhile many whales were also killed in the battle." The report was attributed to the United States Department of the Interior.

A quick check by the OIC offices revealed that some slight errors had been made by an imaginative Chinese translator. The real story from the Department of the Interior was that due to hostilities "thousands of auks...were killed during the war along with large quantities of whales."

INFLATION AFFECTS FOREIGN SERVICE PAY

Frequent changes in the rate of exchange abroad due to war-time inflation make it difficult to adjust the pay of native employees of the United States Foreign Service, the State Department reports.

For example the rate of exchange in China increased from the pre-war rate of three Chinese dollars to one American dollar until at one time it reached 3000 to 1. During the war, wide variations occurred but at the present time the Chinese have temporarily stabilized the rate at approximately 2000 to 1.

Chinese employees of our Foreign Service posts pay their own living expenses and have therefore been subject to great variations in the cost of living resulting from fluctuations in the rate of exchange which accompanied war-time inflation.

PHILIPPINE WAR DAMAGE

Total war damage in the Philippine Islands is stated by the War Damage Corporation to be $618,768,000. This total consists of the following classes of damage: public property, $195,348,000; church properties, $139,000,000; private properties, $464,420,000; and vessels and water craft, $20,000,000.

BRIEF NOTES

Great Britain, which normally imports 60% of her food, was importing only 30% in 1943.

54 countries maintain 722 consular offices in the United States.

In 1895 the State Department had 60 employees, two telephones and a few typewriters.

The United States Government participated in 65 international conferences in 1945.

Washington has been chosen as the permanent home of the International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

"Spiritual UNRRA" is the name sometimes given to the United States Information Service in Yugoslavia.

Use of some 300 materials from 56 foreign countries in the manufacture of a typical American automobile illustrates the vital role of imports in our national economy.

REPORT OF EDUCATION MISSION TO JAPAN

Recommendation that Japan adopt a simpler form of written language is one feature of the recently issued Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan, officials of the State Department report.

The Report recommends that the control of elementary and secondary schools be decentralized and that special attention be given to teacher training, adult education and higher institutions of learning.

The Report recognizes the necessity for including such activities as training in morals and physical education as well as book learning in any plan for the establishment of a sound education system.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND EMPLOYMENT

An international Conference on Trade and Employment to consider establishment of an International Trade Organization (ITO) was called for at the first session of the Economic and Social Council of UN, according to reports from the State Department. A Preparatory Committee was appointed to draft a proposed charter.

The purpose of the proposed ITO would be the expansion of world trade. Membership in ITO would be open to all members of the United Nations who accept the principles laid down in the charter. ITO would be linked to the International Bank

for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and ECOSOC.

AGRICULTURAL MISSION TO THE PHILIPPINES

A United States Agricultural Mission will go to the Philippine Islands before July 1 to assist in rebuilding the Islands' war-damaged agricultural economy, the State Department reports.

The Mission will cooperate with Philippine agricultural authorities in attacking such problems as food shortages and loss of production of such important items as sugar, copra and tobacco.

Head of the Mission, which will spend about five months in the Islands, will be Dr. Leland Everett Call, Dean of Agriculture and Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, Kansas State College. The Mission goes under the authorization of the State Department and its personnel and program are arranged by the Department of Agriculture.

SCIENTIST TO HEAD UNESCO PREPARATORY COMMISSION

Dr. Julian Huxley, well-known to scientists and the public both for his scientific research and his active leadership in public affairs, was recently appointed Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The State Department announces that Dr. Huxley, accompanied by his wife, is now visiting the United States to discuss with representatives of the Economic and Social Council of UN the agreement to be made between UNESCO and the United Nations defining the principles which will govern cooperation between the two organizations.

Dr. Huxley's work with UNESCO is in line with the view he has long held that science has a responsibility to society and that scientists should take an active part in political life. As Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission, he will hold office until the organization is fully established and a Director-General appointed.

Now known as one of the most prominent scientific scholars of our time, Dr. Huxley's first college position was with Rice University in Texas. He is the author of a book, "Living in a Revolution", and of a number of film commentaries on scientific subjects. Dr. Huxley is also Biological Editor of the Encyclopedia Britannica and Secretary of the Zoological Society of London.

ACTIVITIES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

July 5 Preparatory Commission of UNESCO, in Paris

July 8 Demonstration of Special Radio Technical Division, Air Navigation Committee, PICAO, England

July 8 International Institute of Agriculture, in Rome

July 9 International Technical Commission of Aerial Legal Experts, in Paris

July 9 Committee of the International Bureau of Wine, in Paris

July 12 Society of Chemical Industry of the International Council of Scientific Unions, in London

July 15 Executive Committee of the International Council of Scientific Unions, in London

July 24 General Assembly of the International Council of Scientific Unions, in London

July (date not determined) Commission on Narcotic Drugs of ECOSOC, in New York

MISCELLANEOUS DATES AND ANNIVERSARIES

August 1	Switzerland	National Fete Day
August 3	Norway	Birthday of King
August 6	Bolivia	Independence Day
August 10	Ecuador	Independence Day
August 20	Hungary	St. Stephen's Day
August 25	Uruguay	Independence Day
August 31	Netherlands	Birthday of Queen

FOR EDITORS, WRITERS, COMMENTATORS - BACKGROUND SUMMARIES AVAILABLE

The following background summaries containing factual information on subjects of current interest are available on request from its Division of Public Liaison, the State Department announces:

The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project
Europe Starts to Rebuild
Germany - Unfinished Business
America - "A Full and Fair Picture"

[U.S. Senate].

21-19-184

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

23 July 1946

Senator Tom Connally, Chairman
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

I AM STRONG OPPOSED TO CHINA MILITARY ASSISTANCE BILL H. R. 6795 AND ASK THAT OPPONENTS BE GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO TESTIFY BEFORE FINAL CONSIDERATION.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
Longacre 3-6890

[U of Chicago - Society for Social Research]

Society for Social Research
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

June 15, 1946

Lectures

Special Delivery
Air Mail

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

21-27-182

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago is having itd annual Summer Institute this August 8th & 9th. There have been scheduled sessions on International Relations, Social Planning, Communications, Industrial Relations, Race Relations, Rural Life, and Social Science & Social Policy.

Thusfar, we have been fortunate in getting the promise of contributions from such persons as Robert Redfield, Tugwell (now in Peurto Rico), Donald Young, T.V.Smith, and Morganthau.

Last night the Society voted overwhelmingly to invite you as the principal contributor to the session on Race Relations (or Minorities). We are sorry to say that the Society, being somposed largely of graduate students, is without funds to offer our speakers for traveling expenses and honorariums. However, we felt that you might possibly be in Chicago around this time and, if so, might consent to introduce the problem for discussion.

Will you kindly let us know by collect wire whether you will find it possible to be with us?

Thank you very much.

Yours very truly,

Alvin Walcott Rose,
Secretary-Treasurer

1126 East 59th Street
Social Science Building
The University of Chicago
Chicago 37

Sorry but am not planning
to be in E. in August

[U of Chicago - Society for Social Research]

21-27-103

July 9, 1946.

Mr. Alvin Walcott Rose
The University of Chicago
Social Science Building
1126 East 59th Street
Chicago, 37, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Rose:

I regret to say that I am not planning to be in Chicago this summer and therefore could not attend your summer institute unless you were able to pay travel and fee.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois.

Translation of Letter C

Leopoldville-East October 3,1946

My Dear Vanderkuylen:

I received your letter after your long silence. It gave us a great deal of pleasure and we thank you very much for it.

I did not know that you had been sick for such a long time in the hospital. I hope that at the moment you are well and that your wife, your daughter and your handsome son are in excellent health. I read that your daughter is expecting a baby. I'm very happy about it. Soon you will be a grandfather and you will hear the joyous cries of the little baby. Happy grandfather!

Madame Jeanne Giot told me that she was in the company of her husband on a visit to you. She wrote me that you were a very interesting and educated man. She said that you were at home in all fields. She spoke of you in superlatives and told me that "the friend of my friend is my friend." Also, she said nice things about your dear wife who, if I read correctly, was a schoolteacher. Madame Giot thanks me for having enabled her to make the acquaintance of friends like you. I think you will also find splendid qualities in her, which will strengthen the friendship thus born.

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Here everything goes along well. Our friend Dolamba has stopped making the rounds of all the brothels. I think the reason is that he has eaten up all the 20,000 francs given to him by the State as an advance to buy his house in Leopoldville-West.

For the time being, he has rented my place at Libenge, where we formerly lived. He almost never comes to visit me any more. He is working hard now in a literary contest started by the King of Ruanda Urundi. He asked me to take part in the contest, but I refused because I prefer to enter business contests and lose time there rather than to sit up nights for a prize of 1,000 or 2,000 francs. And even then....

You ask me for articles for the paper on which your son-in-law writes. I may tell you that for the time being I am not writing, at least nothing that has anything to do with politics. You know why: I am very biting and since truth is a very sharp blade I prefer not to use it. My business would thereby suffer if I wrote. You have no idea how small-minded these big businessmen can sometimes be. Their ambition is to conquer, to overcome the small men, step on them and grind them to bits. One must not attempt to expose their crimes and gangsterism; if one does, he is condemned to death. Poor men! And everywhere men talk about equality of rights, democracy, and all sorts of stupidities. No, I am too truthful to write.

I hope your son-in-law will excuse me, I ask his forgiveness. I only have here manuscripts that I wrote a long time ago. It's a book of some 110 pages typed single-space. I haven't had the heart to revise it since I went into business. If he wishes, I can send it to him to look over, edit it and publish it. It's an unpublished story and quite interesting. Both of us might

earn some money with it.

If that interests him, drop me a line and I will send it to you with comments from Brothers of the Christian Schools who play a role in the story.

So you are about to enlarge your old memories of the brush! I think you'll be able to make a fortune with them, at least I hope so. You told me you were finding it difficult to obtain a post again in the Congo: I knew it, my dear Joseph, you are too pro-Negro for the Colony. Negroes must not have white friends, especially Belgians who out of pure condescension visit them in their homes in order to get to know them. You may recall that story of the priests who let loose a whole crowd of brats to spy on all your movements behind your back. No, old man, even if the King returns, you will not win out. The priests will still be there, and even in a stronger position; and you'll be put on the Index. What you can do is to look for powerful support among the Cabinet ministers. You're an energetic man, capable of anything. Go to it, old boy, and when you re here, we'll laugh at them.

I saw Paul one day. He asked me about you: I replied that in spite of my letters, you weren't writing to me. That was during your long period of silence. Paul is rather tumultuous, and every time I see him he passes by on his motor-bike like a whirlwind.

Every time I borrow Prince Baudhuin, I see the site of the chateau where you stayed. The houses are all run down and the good Virgin Mary standing in front of them seems to regret the solitude which now surrounds Her.

All our friends here are well. Big Eugene who was a candidate in the elections for headman of the [illegible] City has just lost his post. He received more votes than anyone else but the priests went gunning for him and toppled him. A young man, a"medical assistant" who comes from Burma, has been proposed for the post. We don't know yet when the inauguration will take place. For myself, I think that henceforth I'm getting out of politics in favor of business. Don't you think I'm right? I have a houseful of kids to feed at home and I have to work hard to do the job.

Last Sunday I saw Langstshowert pass, coming from a cruise. It s the first time in two months.

You really ought to see how the city of Leopoldville is expanding now. The new native quarter which was once a dream is now almost inhabited. Work is going on there feverishly. It's quite typical of the little Belgian when he devotes himself to a task: he is a real genius, this little Belgian, so agile and so untiring in his job as a colonizer. Always in the van of progress, often by his diligent work provoking rage in the hearts of the big nations which are unable to furnish so much effort and patience. Leopoldville is redounding to the honor of Belgium, while Brazzaville is becoming the shame of the French.

A Portuguese told me the other day that without them the Colony would not be so beautiful. That's true, I said to him, the proof is that you came without being invited and found it on the highroad of civilization. Try to go away and see if the little Belgian will wait for you to pursue his aims. I can assure you that the man squinted at me when he closed his mouth. Poor

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Portuguese! Doesn't he see that without a dictator like Salazar his country would slip into decadence?

I am in constant correspondence with my brother Robert. He proposed to me that we go into business together, but I refused for various reasons. Besides, you know the prevailing mentality in the Congo: one must have a solidly fortified soul, like a Vanderkuylen, in order not to be involved in its petty meannesses. But will my brother be able to overcome his temptations and not let himself be carried away by the passion which minimizes the civilizing work of most Belgians? Will he still remember that I am his brother? And in such conditions how do you expect our hearts to be joined in mutual confidence, which is what a partnership requires? Oh no! I couldn't. Besides, I explained that to him in a roundabout way and I think he understood me. I continue to handle my little business matters: if God grants me His grace and everything goes along for the best, in five years from now I will have a car, a house, and I will be called with due respect: Monsieur.

That's enough gossip, my dear friend, and it's time to finish this letter. A cordial handshake to you, my dear Joseph. My best regards to your wife, your daughter, and your son-in-law.

The whole crowd here send you their very warmest regards.

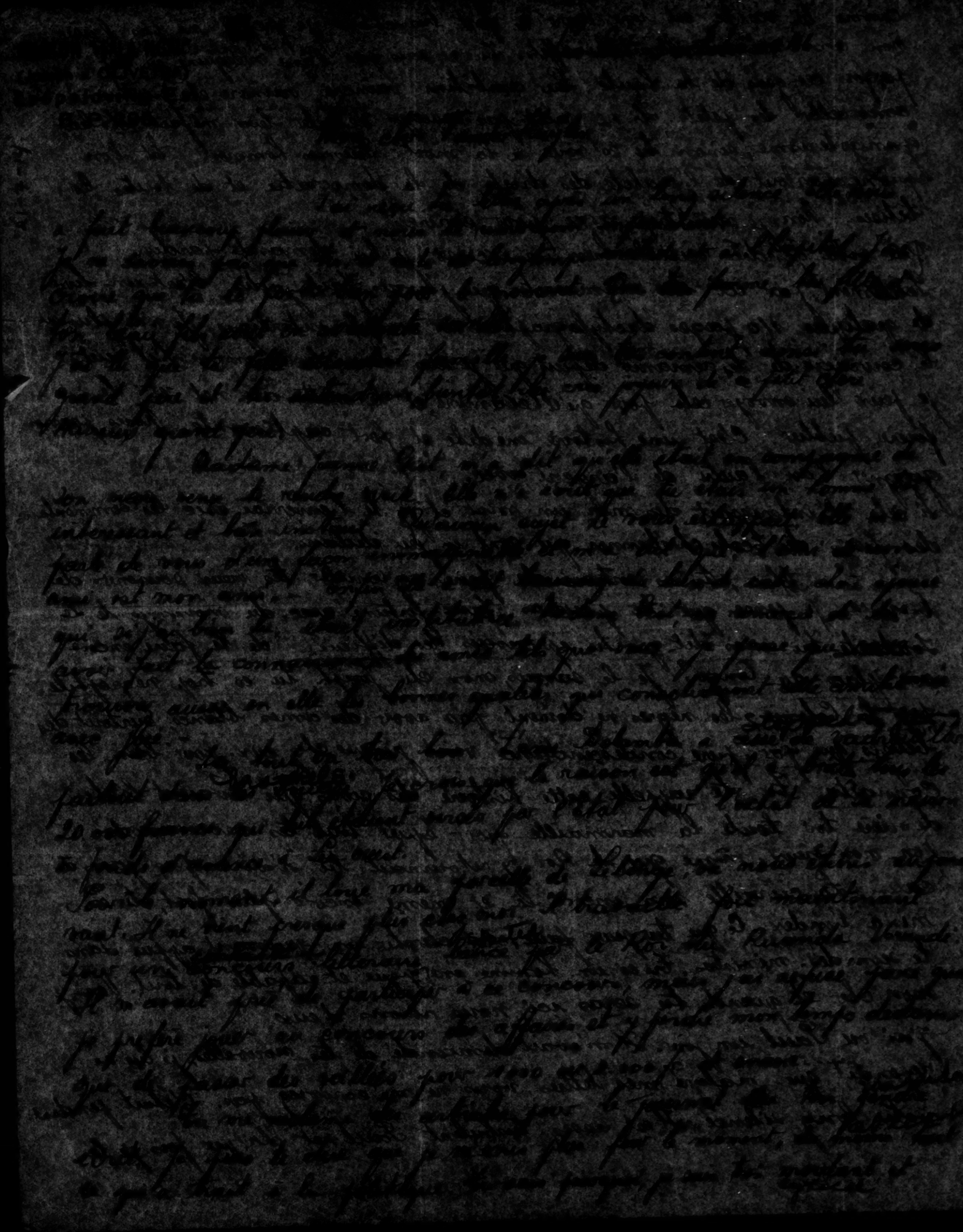
Affectionately as ever,

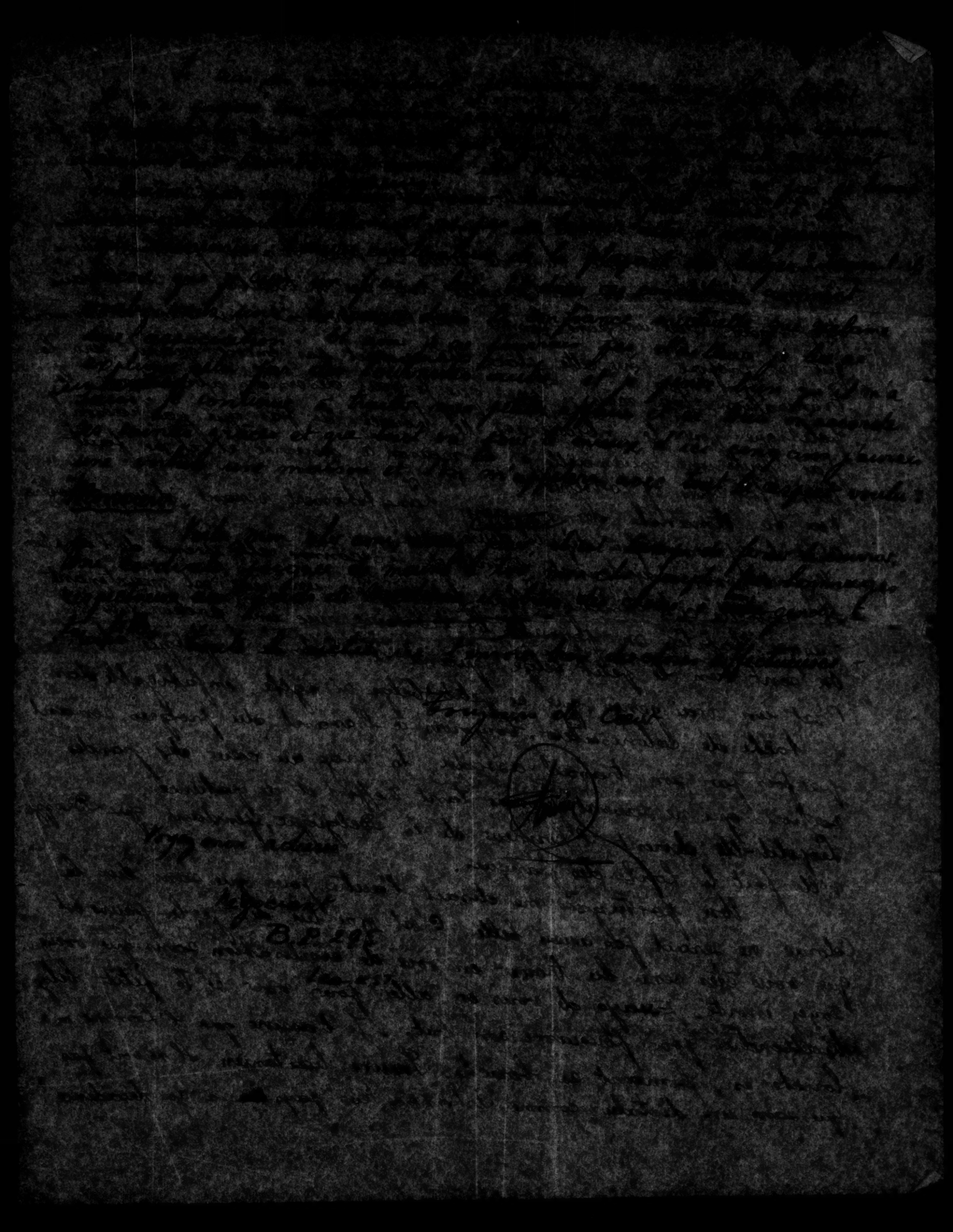
Jōseph d'Oliveira

My address is:

Merchant
P.O. Box 295
Leopoldville- East

40/56/35





[Enclosure]

TRANSLATION

October 10, 1946

21-7-10

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I greet you and beg the weight of your office to help me obtain all documentation regarding American Negroes and if possible to place me in contact with various Negro organizations.

In order to better establish my position and give you all assurances concerning my patriotism, I point out to you that I am an ex-political prisoner (1914-1918) escaped from German jails, a war volunteer and the holder of the following decorations (lists several war honors).

The above constitutes a summary of my patriotism but does not take into account my activities. I had the rare good fortune to be able to live near my black brothers, those who are called the inferior race. I have sworn to dedicate the rest of my life to their defense.

Having arrived in the Belgian Congo in August of 1943, I have been able to judge for myself ~~concerning~~ the shameful ~~information (—~~) contrary to what we have believed in Belgium ~~about~~ our black brothers. I have been able to study closely the barbarous methods used to exploit these people and the false education of the missionaries called "Catholics". I must particularly extol the American Presbyterian Congo Mission of Luebe, directed by Mr. Morrison, true benefactor and great friend of the Negro.

Returning to Belgium at the end of 1945 I believed that taking into consideration the contributions to the war effort that these Negroes made and having ~~witnessed the~~ false ~~promises that would~~ make their lives ~~so much~~ better, alas, the spoils of war have only served to ~~enlarge the finances of~~ the exploiters. The life of the Negro is ~~still~~ more ~~shameful~~ than before.

It is inadmissable that under the pretext of civilization -- after 60 years of occupation, 60 years devoted to exploiting the Negro -- hatred is still rampant.

21-7-11

One of the greatest plagues of the Congo is prostitution -- ~~use of~~ with its resulting diseases, (syphillis, etc.) as well as all of its specialized perversions. It is not rare to see in the large communities Negro children of six years ~~or so~~ and ~~particularly~~ little boys living in this manner because it is so lucrative. The ~~people~~ whites in power have created desires among the Negroes and ~~on the other hand~~ have given them no opportunity to realize any of them. For example, ~~I~~ let me point out to you that the policemen ~~(Banzille)~~ here made 18 francs a month and food ~~included, in 1944~~ when, ~~too, sometimes three~~ 2 or 3 cigarettes cost them one franc; (whites pay 3½ francs for a package of twenty.)

I fought American propaganda during my stay in the Belgium Congo. Now I recognize that, having been misinformed, this action was a great error on my part. After deep reflection and saddened by the evidence in the letters that I received from the Negroes in Leopoldville that the situation gets worse daily, I have come to wish with all my heart that the Negroes of America most interested in this situation will go to the Congo to teach their race brothers. That is why I wish to be placed in communication with them.

My purpose being sincerely altruistic and humanitarian, I hope to receive a favorable reply and pray that you, Mr. Ambassador, will accept the assurance of my most profund respect.

(Signed) Joseph Vanderkuylen
37, Avenue Van Elderen
Auderghem-Bruxelles

Vandercleyen

Translation of Letter B

Brussels, October 10,1946

Mr. Ambassador:

I send you my respectful greetings and take the liberty of asking for your gracious support in obtaining research material concerning the American Negroes and, if possible, in entering into contact with various Negro organizations.

To give you a good idea of my point of view and to reassure you as to my patriotism, I may tell you that in World War I, 1914-18, I was a political prisoner and escaped from German prisons. Volunteering in the Belgian Army, I received the following decorations:

40/56/31

1914-1918 Knight of the Order of Leopold II with swords
Croix de Guerre with palms
Civil Cross, first class
Croix de Feu
Enlisted Man's Medal and Political Prisoner's Medal;
Inter-Allied-medal of Victory
Five stripes for service at the front, one stripe for wounds
State employee, working at the S.N.C.F.B. since 1912
Centenary Medal
Civil Medal for good and loyal services
Agricultural Medal
Silver Medal of Honor from France as a token of national gratitude
Soldier in the Underground 1940-42
Participant in the Resistance movement and the Underground press - escaping from Belgium at the end of 1941
Volunteer in the Colonial Army (1943-46) - serving four months of imprisonment in Spain
Holder of the Escaped Man's Cross and due to receive the Medal of National Gratitude, the Resistance Medal, Croix de Guerre, Enlisted Man's Medal, Commemorative Medal, Political Prisoner's Cross, Service Star for the Congo, Commemorative Medal for war effort in the Congo.

All this should prove my patriotism; but it is no longer sufficient for my activities since I have had the rare privilege of getting to know my black brothers, who are called members of an "inferior race."

I have sworn to devote the rest of my life in their behalf.

Arriving in the Belgian Congo in August 1943, I have been able to see for myself what a shameful amount of misinformation we are given in Belgium concerning our black brothers. I have been able to make a close study of the barbarous methods used to exploit

them and the false education of the so-called "Catholic" Missions. Here I must pay special tribute to the American Presbyterian Congo Mission at Luebe, headed by Mr. Morrison, a great friend and benefactor of the Negroes.

I returned to Belgium at the beginning of 1946. In view of the splendid war effort of the Negroes and the promises made to them, I thought that their lot would be improved. Alas! The big financiers have been enriched as a result of the war, while the lot of the Negroes is more wretched than before....

It is intolerable that, on the pretext of civilization, after 60 years of occupation - 60 years devoted to exploiting the blacks - beatings are still compulsory.

One of the worst evils in the Congo is prostitution and the diseases arising from it, syphilis, etc, as well as sexual perversions. It is not unusual to see in large centers of population 6-year old Negro children, particularly little boys, indulging in this vile profession because it is more lucrative.

Needs have been created for the Negroes; but on the other hand, they are given no chance to fill these needs. Just to give you an example, let me point out that the policemen in Banzyville at the end of 1944 got 18 francs monthly, food included. But 2 or sometimes 3 cigarettes cost 1 franc; while for the whites a package of twenty cigarettes costs 3 and a half francs.

During my stay in the Belgian Congo, like a good patriot I fought against all American propaganda. Nevertheless, I must acknowledge that, since I was badly informed, that was a serious mistake on my part.

After thinking things over, I find it sad to point out , on the basis of letters I receive from Negroes in Leopoldville, that the situation there is daily growing worse. I have come to hope with all my heart that the most gifted American Negroes are sent to the Congo, in order to educate their racial brethren. That is why I would like to enter into contact with them.

Since my aim is altruistic and most humanitarian, I hope for a favorable reply from you. Please accept, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, the assurance of my deepest respect.

Joseph Vanderkuylen
37, Avenue Van Elderen
Auderghem-Brussels

A0|56|32

B

Bruxelles, le 10 octobre 1946

21-7-16

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur;

Respectueusement je vous salue et me permets de solliciter votre bienveillant appui pour l'obtention de toute documentation concernant les noirs d'Amérique et, si possible, d'entrer en contact avec diverses organisations nègres.

Pour bien situer mon point de vue et vous donner tous apaisements quand à mon patriotisme, je vous signale être ex-prisonnier politique 1914-1918, évadé des geôles allemandes, volontaire de guerre, titulaire des décorations suivantes :

1914-1918 Chevalier de l'Ordre de Léopold II avec glaives
- Croix de guerre avec palmes
- Croix civique de 1ère Classe
- Croix de Feu
- Médaille du Volontaire combattant et du Prisonnier politique interallié de la Victoire, Commémorative
- Cinq chevrons de front, 1 chevron de blessure
Agent de l'Etat, employé à la S.N.C.F.B. depuis 1912-
- Medaille du Centenaire
- Médaille civique pour bons et loyaux services,
- Médaille agricole
- Médaille d'Honneur en argent de France pour reconnaissance nationale.
Soldat du front intérieur 1940-1942
Résistance et presse clandestine - évadé de Belgique fin 1942
Volontaire Colonial (1943-1946) 4 mois de détention en Espagne;
- Titulaire de la Croix des Evadés et en instance pour l'obtention de la Reconnaissance Nationale, Médaille de la Résistance, Croix de Guerre, Médaille du Volontaire de Guerre, Médaille Commémorative, Croix du Prisonnier politique, Etoile de Service du Congo, Médaille commémorative de l'effort de guerre (Congo).

Le tout constitue un brevet de bon patriote mais ne suffit plus à mon activité ayant eu le rare bonheur de pouvoir approcher de près mes frères noirs, ceux qu'on appelle de race inférieure.

Je me suis juré de consacrer le restant de mes jours à leur défense.

Arrivé au Congo Belge en Août 1943, j'ai pu me rendre compte du bourrage de crâne éhonté dont on nous abreuve en Belgique au sujet de nos frères noirs. J'ai pu étudier de près les méthodes

21-7-17

barbares mises en oeuvre pour exploiter ceux-ci et la fausse éducation des Missions dites "Catholiques", je dois rendre un hommage tout particulier à l'American presbyterian Congo Mission de Luebo placée sous la direction de Monsieur Morisson, bienfaiteur et grand ami des noirs.

Revenu en Belgique au début de 1946 j'ai cru, eu égard à l'effort de guerre accompli par les noirs et vu les promesses faites que leur sort serait amélioré, hélas, les événements de guerre ayant enrichi la grosse finance le sort des noirs est encore plus douloureux qu'avant ...

Il est inadmissible que, sous prétexte de civilisation, après 60 ans d'occupation - 60 années consacrées à spolier les noirs - la chicotte est encore de rigueur.

Une des plus grandes plaies du Congo est la prostitution et les maladies qui en résultent, syphilis etc. ainsi que les mœurs spéciales . Il n'est pas rare de voir dans les grands centres des enfants de noirs de 6 ans et tout particulièrement des petits garçons se livrant à ce triste métier parceque plus lucratif.

On a créé des besoins aux noirs par contre on ne leur donne aucune possibilité de réaliser ceux-ci . A titre d'exemple, je vous signale que les policiers de Banzyville touchaient 18 frs par mois nourriture comprise fin 1944 - alors que 2 parfois 3 cigarettes coûtent 1 franc - 3,50 frs; le paquet de vingt pour les blancs, etc..

J'ai combattu durant mon séjour au Congo Belge toute propagande Américaine en bon patriote , je dois pourtant reconnaître que, étant mal documenté, cela a été une grave erreur de ma part.

Après mûre réflexion, et triste de constater par les lettres que je reçois des noirs de Léopoldville que la situation s'empire de jour en jour; j'en suis arrivé à souhaiter de tout coeur que les Noirs d'Amérique les plus intéressants au début soient envoyés au Congo pour y éduquer leurs frères de race, c'est pourquoi je souhaiterais pouvoir entrer en contact avec eux.

Le but poursuivi étant altruiste et des plus humanitaires, j'ose espérer une suite favorable et vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, l'assurance de mon plus profond respect.

Joseph Vanderkuylen,
37, avenue Van Elderen,
AUDERGHEM-BRUXELLES

[ERIC]

Central Africa

Translation of Letter A

October 18,1946

To Monsieur Joseph Vanderkuylen
37, Avenue Van Elderen
Auderghem-Brussels.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of October 10th, addressed to the United States Ambassador, has been turned over to me.

In our Research Center we have several works dealing with the American Negroes, and we invite you to come and consult them. The library is open every day from 9 to 7, except Saturdays and Sundays, and is in the Shell Building, 60 Rue Ravenstein.

Moreover, I am herewith sending you the address of an American organization with which you will probably like to enter into contact: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N.Y. The head of the research and information department is Miss Julia Baxter.

40/56/20

Please accept, sir, the expression of my most cordial sentiments.

George T. Moody
Assistant Cultural Attaché

A

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
American Embassy
Shell Building. 60 rue Ravenstein
Brussels, Belgium.

21-7-19

Le 18 octobre 1946.

Monsieur Joseph Vanderkuylen,
37, avenue Van Elderen,
Auderghem-Bruxelles.

Monsieur,

Votre lettre du 10 octobre, adressée à l'Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis, m'a été transmise.

Nous possédons à notre Centre de Documentation plusieurs ouvrages concernant les noirs américains que nous vous invitons à venir consulter. La bibliothèque est ouverte tous les jours de 9 à 7 heures, sauf le samedi et le dimanche, au Shell Building, 60 rue Ravenstein.

Je vous communique d'autre part l'adresse d'une association américaine avec laquelle vous aimerez probablement vous mettre en rapport: "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People", 69 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N.Y. Le chef de la section de recherches et d'information est Miss Julia Baxter.

Je vous prie de recevoir, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments distingués.

George T. Moody

George T. Moody.
Attaché Culturel Adjoint.

GTM/jhg.

TRANSLATION

[Enclosure]

21-7-12

October 19, 1946

Madam:

I am transmitting to you the enclosed dosier because you yourself know how best we can unite our efforts to arrive at a tangible result because it is a regrettable thing that those who have for their mission the defense of their race brothers are most often fakers.

This is the case of Ballomba, editor of the paper LaVoix du Congolais edited at Leopoldville, and one who is also an editor, Joseph D'Ollivera, whose letter is enclosed, has made known to me the scandalous state of affairs desired by these superiors and was between Catholic missionaries to the end that the former (Ballomba) is at their mercy and writes in the paper that which they wish written.

It did mean a great deal to me to be able to do something for my colonial friends because I know them to be my friends having lived three years among them and having been able to appreciate their sincere and devout character.

Next Monday I am going to the American documentation center at Brussels to secure all documentation but I am taking this opportunity of asking you to send me that which you can best place at my disposal. I await the agreeable pleasure of hearing from you. You have the assurance of all my good wishes.

(Signed) Joseph Vanderkuylen

Translation of Letter D

Auderghem-Brussels, October 19, 1946

Dear Madame:

I am herewith sending you the enclosed file; and you will then be in a position to judge whether we can unite our efforts in order to achieve tangible results.

For it is regrettable that those whose mission it is to defend their own racial brethren are often nothing but buffoons. That is true of Bolamba, editor of the newspaper La Voix du Congolais (Voice of the Congo Inhabitant), edited at Leopoldville. One of the other editors of the xpaper, Joseph d'Oliveira, has informed me in the enclosed letter of Bolamba's scandalous behavior. This behavior was what his superiors and also the Catholic missionaries wanted of him, so that he would be at their mercy and write in the paper what they wanted him to write.

I would be very happy indeed if I could do something on behalf of my colonial friends. I consider them friends, having lived three years among them and learned to appreciate their sincere and devoted character.

Next Monday I am going to the American Study Center in Brussels for all the research material I can find. But I am taking advantage of this opportunity to ask you to send me what you are able to place at my disposal.

It will be a real pleasure to read you. Please accept, Madame, the assurance of my warmest regards.

Joseph Vanderkuylen

37, Avenue Van Elderen
Auderghem-Brussels.

40|56|36

D

21-7-12

Anderghem 19 Octobre 1946

Madame.

29775 OCT 22 '46

Transmettant le dossier ci-joint
Vous transmettant les lettres ci-jointes
vous prie a bien de juger en connaissance
de cause si vous pourriez unir vos
efforts pour arriver a un resultat favorable
car c'est une chose respectable
mission the défendre
Institution de défendre leurs propres freres de
race ne sont souvent que des parias.
C'est le cas de Bolamba - Redacteur du
journal. La Voix des Congolais - édité a
Leopoldville et dont un des redacteurs
Joseph d'Oliveira dans sa lettre ci-jointe.
me fait part de sa conduite scandaleuse con-
duite blâmée par ses supérieurs et aussi par
les Missionnaires catholiques afin que celui ci
soit a leur merci et s'exile dans ce journal
ce qu'ils voudront bien.
they wish to write

because you personally know

Il me serait infiniment agréable de pouvoir faire quelque chose en faveur des amis coloniaux car je les regarde comme amis ayant bien vécu trois ans parmi eux et ayant pu apprécier leur caractère sincère et dévoué.

J'irai voir Lundi prochain au Centre de documentation Américain à Bruxelles pour toute documentation, mais profite de l'occasion pour vous demander de vouloir bien m'envoyer ce que vous pourriez bien mettre à ma disposition sur ce plaisir vous lire veuillez agréer Madame, l'assurance de mon dévouement le plus absolu.

Wanting for the pleasure of hearing

absolu.

Jos Vanderkerghen

37 Av. Van Eloeren
Anderlecht

[VANDER KUYLEN] 24/11/46

Chez Monsieur du Bois.

Madame Julia Baxter par sa lettre en date du 18/11/46 me fait part de ce qu'elle vous a communiqué ma lettre et son contenu.

Permettez moi de compléter cette documentation par les quelques notes ci-jointes.

Au nom de mes grands Amis noirs que j'ai laissé au Congo Belge permettez moi d'insister auprès de vous pour qu'une commission d'enquête soit envoyé là-bas. commission instituée par le Conseil des Nations Unies et pilotée par un blanc jouissant de la sympathie des noirs, un blanc qui n'a pas peur de dévoiler toutes les horreurs, intrigues, etc.

Nos noirs sont plus malheureux que des esclaves - ce qui existe encore dans l'Oubangi où j'ai connu personnellement un jeune chef indigène qui prenait dans certains villages des jeunes femmes

21-7-13

les obligeait à faire ses nombreux champs de coton puis le vendait des femmes à certains de ses sujets en mettant le prix d'achat dans sa poche, cette pratique étant connue par l'Administration qui n'ayant jamais pris de sanctions et voyant la responsabilité décroissante s'est désintéressé de moi pour éviter à devoir se justifier.

Trop de commettants visitent le Congo Belge sans qu'une distinction soit faite - je veux vous aider dans toutes les mesures du possible pour arriver à un résultat tangible - pour mes frères noirs qui m'ont donné du Kasai à l'Ubangi le meilleurs d'eux mêmes et ce parce que je les ai traités en frères et non pas comme des inférieurs juste tout les a être traités comme des bêtes. Monsieur Morrillon représentant légal de l'A.P.C.M. peut en attester.

Veuillez agréer, Chers Monsieurs de Trois, l'assurance de mes sentiments les meilleurs & dévoués

Jos. Vanderkuylen

37 Av. Van Elderen - Anderlecht - Bruxelles.

Translation of words on back of photos

Photo A

The great pity of the _____ (Word indecipherable, probably the name of a native tribe)

The ditto swarm in numbers but the State is incapable of properly clothing them.

At the left: old traces of whippings.

Photo B

Coquil dressed up

Among my little Liberdza (children of fishermen)

40|56|37

CARL VAN DOREN
41 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK 23

7 May 1946

21-29-73

Dear Dr. and Mrs. DuBois:

Nothing this spring has given me more genuine pleasure than your beautiful announcement of your Golden Wedding, in those golden words that so fitly record the golden years you have had together. It seems to me a fine honor to have been included among your friends on this occasion, and you have my thanks for that.

Please believe that on the twelfth of this month I shall be thinking of you, happy for you in the happiness the day must bring, and with all my heart wishing you fair weather for that day and countless more days to come, all as fair as I hope this one will be.

And please count me among the friends who greet you with the truest admiration and affection.

Yours

Carl Van Doren

CARL VAN DOREN
41 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK 23

21 September 1946

22-9-60

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I am happy to endorse the petition of the Pan African Congress to the Assembly of the United Nations, and I am sorry I cannnot attend the meeting at the Public Library on October 5, since I must be out of town that day.

Always sincerely

Carl Van Doren

CARL VAN VECHTEN
101 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK CITY 23

TELEPHONE: ENDICOTT 2-8748

21-19-14

Dear Dr Du Bois, You can imagine how I felt when Shirley marched in with those manuscripts yesterday for the James Weldon Johnson Collection at Yale, as though an angel had descended from Heaven with the keys to eternal life. Your manuscripts and letters are so important to this Collection that I can scarcely begin to tell you how overjoyed I am that they have begun to come in and, although I shall not annoy you, my impatience to see more, all the rest, indeed, is very real. Shirley tells me you have two more trunks to open and until I am sure I have ALL the material belonging to the manuscripts in question I shall hold off having boxes made, but I hope I can get at this SOON.

I am sure you will be delighted to know that in a recent letter to me Miss Helen Chesnutt promises me all her father's manuscripts and correspondence.

Shirley tells me you would not be bored too much by a complete view of the Negro series in color. Next time these are shown then it will give me pleasure to ask you.

sincerely,

Carl Van Vechten

November 28, 1946

Request for information 1946

21-24-31

Morgan State College
Arlington Avenue and Hillen Road
Baltimore, Maryland

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are members of a Workshop in "History of Maryland" and because of our interest in the part played by the Negro in history, we have chosen "Slavery in Maryland" as our project.

In spite of the information offered by many references, your treatment of the Negro in The Gift of Black Folk is of utmost value in conveying the true picture of our existence here.

We feel that there are many facts about the slavery question in Maryland that have not been recorded. We will deeply appreciate an interview. If such is possible please advise us as to the time and date.

Very truly yours,
(Mrs.) Adelle Vessells
Miss Annabel Hawkins
Jerry P. Day

21-24-32

31 July 1946

My dear Madame:

Your letter without date was sent to my home in Baltimore. You probably realize by this time that I am only there occasionally and consequently I could not arrange for an interview with you.

There is a great deal ~~being~~ to be written on slavery in Maryland and Baltimore is the best place for you to find these references. You know, of course, of the studies printed in the John Hopkins series and of the Latrobe's monograph on Banneka. These are only the beginning. You should search the libraries in Washington and Baltimore for further references.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ardelle Vessells
Morgan State College
Arlington Avenue and Hillen Road
Baltimore, Maryland

[Viking Press]

(COPY FOR YOUR INFORMATION)

August 19, 1946

COPY

Miss Marjorie Grissser,
The Viking Press Inc.,
18 East 48th Street,
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Miss Grissser:

Thank you for your letter of August 16 enclosing the copyright assignment form.

We have filled in the information requested and are returning the form herewith, so that it may be recorded in the copyright office.

We appreciate very much your courtesy in the matter.

Sincerely yours,

Hortense C. Moon

Hortense C. Moon
Editorial Assistant

cc: Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois

21-8

13 February 1946

22-9-17

My dear Mr. Villard:

I want to tell you how ashamed I am of the action of the NAACP in removing your name from the list of vice-presidents. This will not hurt you but it certainly hurts the Association. I did not attend the meeting in which this action was taken and just learned of it yesterday.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard
20 Vesey Street
New York City

81-6-22

Oswald Garrison Villard
~~No. 20 Vesey Street~~
79 E 79th St. New York 7, N.Y.

February 16. '46

Dear Du Bois,

Many thanks for yours with the sentiment it contains. It's rare we the first news that it has been dropped, as a letter from Miss Ovington received in the same mail assures me it has, but it left me without any idea of what she was writing about. You remember the old German saying "Undank ist der Welt Lohn?" This more would seem to mean that a Colored group has caught up with the Whites in practicing

intolerance!

Of course it is based upon a misunderstanding of the Act & only I shall probably ask my right as a member to appear before the Board & explain the situation. It made a mistake in not asking me to appear before passing judgment — there it injures itself.

I assure you this action leaves no sting. I am about the end of my active life & my deafness makes me useless as a board member — indeed I have been of little help for years past. A far, far greater loss to the Board is the death of William Allen Neilson. He was a prince of men & an extremely wise Counsellor. His loss concerns me greatly — my explanation does not.

Cordially, Oswald Garrison Villard.

21-29-60

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1946 MAY 12 PM 4 40

(54)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA577 DL PD=NEWYORK NY 12 310P

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

1946 MAY 12 PM 4 37

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE BALTO=(14)

PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR REMARKABLE ANNIVERSARY AND STILL MORE UPON YOUR HAVING HEWED TO THE LINE AND KEPT YOUR STANDARDS GOLDEN HIGH AND UNTARNISHED THOUGHOUT YOUR WHOLE FIGHTING LIVES MAY YOU ENJOY HAPPINESS MANY MORE YEARS=

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD.

HA-9015

add
4591
Ed
Mail

By 448 Ped

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Oswald Garrison Villard
No. 20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N.Y.

October 10, 1946

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I enclose the letter from Prof. Link and the six pages of his manuscript. I am so glad that your recollection is fresh and that you can help out, because he obviously wants to tell the truth. Will you kindly send your reply to me at Thomaston, Connecticut?

22-9-75

With thanks for your cooperation,

Cordially yours,

Oswald Garrison Villard Jr

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P..
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

18 October 1946

My dear Mr. Villard:

I am returning Mr. Link's manuscript with this comment:

There were three approaches to Mr. Wilson concerning his attitude toward Negroes when he was elected president; the first was that of Waldron and Carter who represented an independent movement. They are the ones that got the statement from Mr. Wilson quoted in the Crisis for September, 1912.

22-9-76

The second was the effort of Bishop Walters; he was an enrolled Democrat and third was the approach of Mr. Villard. Bishop Walters obtained a clear and straight forward statement from Mr. Wilson much more acceptable to Negroes than that given to Mr. Waldron. This is referred to in my biography Dusk of Dawn, pages 234-235. The approach of Mr. Villard was independent of the other two and while he and I talked over the matter the actual letter writing was between him and Mr. Wilson. At no time did I see Mr. Wilson or talked to him. I hope

I hope this will help in some respects. The exact quotation from Mr. Wilson's letter to Bishop Walters and the circumstances of his sending it may be found in Bishop Walters' biography My Life and Work. I am copying it in case Mr. Link cannot find the book.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard
Thomaston, Conn.

[Virginia State College]

21-14-18

26 November 1946

My dear Mr. Foster:

I am delivering a few lectures in the South chiefly at the colleges during February and March, 1947. My subjects would include the "United Nations and the Negro", "Africa", and "Russia"; and can be given either as public lectures or as conferences. I could speak at the Virginia State College Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday, February 4, 5 or 6. My charge would be $100. If you can arrange such a lecture, I should be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Luther H. Foster
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

lectures
1947

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

December 12, 1946

21-14-10

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sorry that our committee has not been able to arrange to have you with us at Virginia State on February 4, 5, or 6. I am sure that our staff and students will appreciate having you here when this can be arranged and I hope that a time mutually satisfactory can be agreed upon at some other period of the school year.

With all good wishes for you and your family,

Sincerely yours,

L. H. FOSTER
President

LHF:mb

Box 33
Thompson Ridge N.Y.
9-13-46

DR. W. E. B. DuBois,
Director of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
New York City

21-24-46

Dear DR. DuBois:

I am very much interested in the subject of race relations. Although I am not a sociologist, I have read numerous texts, including books of your authorship. May I state that I believe in complete equality of the Negro, including intermarriage. I make this statement in sincere earnestness.

By profession, I am a veterinary physician. I cannot contribute financially to the cause of race-relations. I can request membership to the NAACP, and perhaps thereby contribute to some degree. What can I do? Will you kindly suggest some way whereby I can be of help?

I shall provide further personal information at your request.

Most sincerely,

James R. Wadsworth, V.M.D.

21-24-47

3 October 1946

Dear Dr. Wadsworth:

Thank you for your letter of September 13th. I would suggest that you join the NAACP preferably some local branch. If you will drop a letter to the branch secretary, Mr. Current at this address, I am sure he will be glad to answer you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. James R. Wadsworth
Box 33
Thompson Ridge, New Jersey

On Your GOLDEN Anniversary

How very many happy thoughts
This special day must hold
As you relive in memory
These fifty years of gold,
And may the years that lie ahead
Be just as happy, too,
Filled with all Life's very best
And finest things for you.

A & Mrs Walden

LAckawanna 4-8954

[Blacker?]

John Walker

8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Quality Direct Mail

Dr. Du Bois
Director of Special Research
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

October 10, 1946

46-A-45

7721 Cut and Mimeo 100 copies
9 pages, collate and staple $ 14.25

PAID 10/11/46

Thank you,
John Walker

10 May 1946

21-18-10

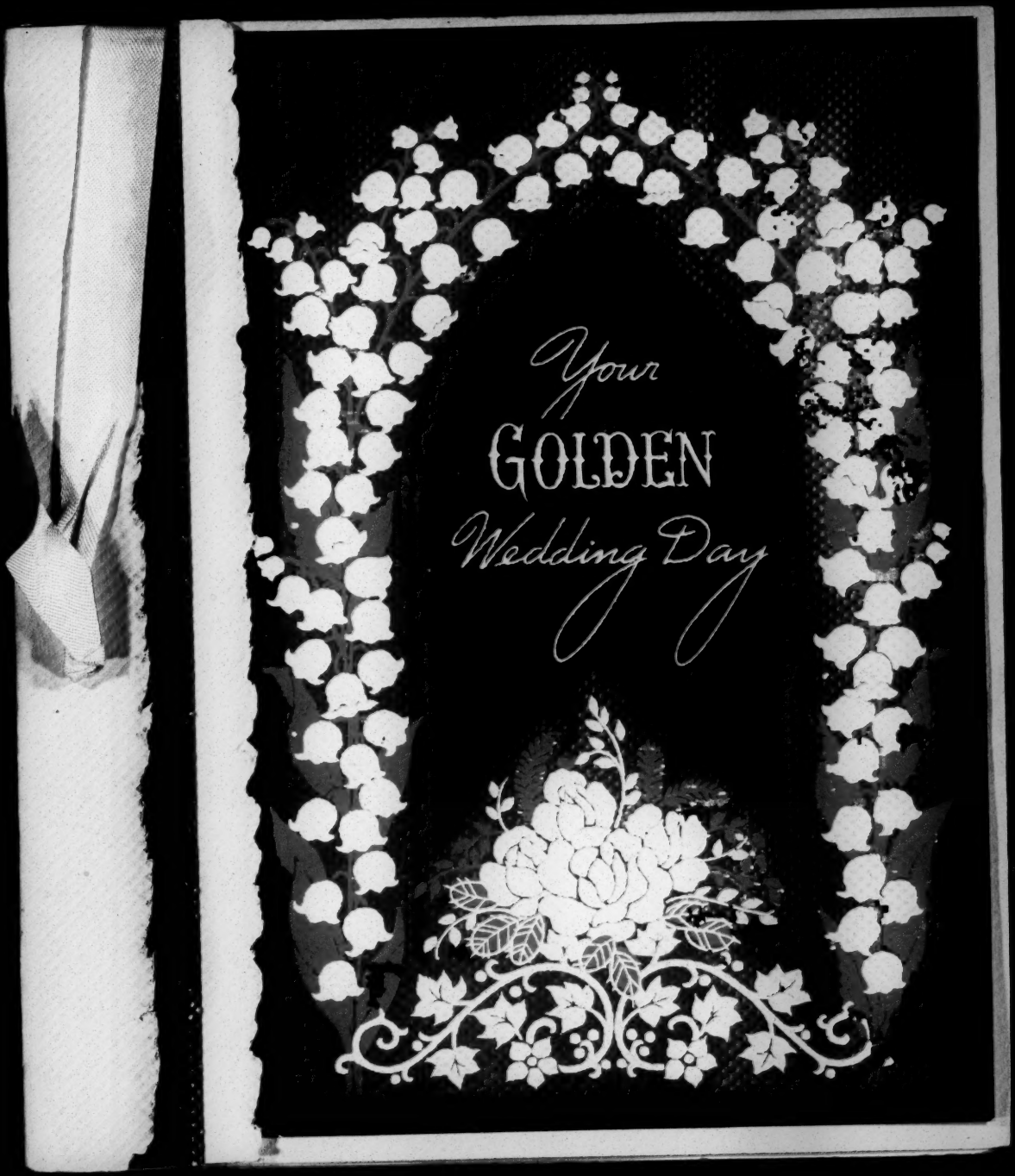
My dear Walton:

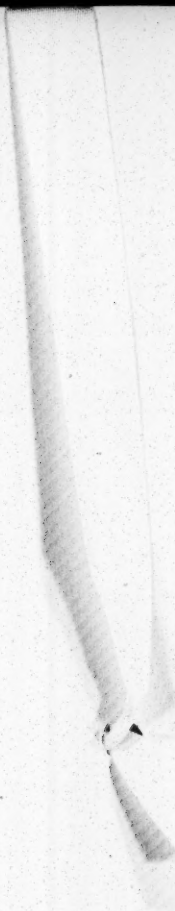
Quit stalling. You must know that I have been home for a week or more and am hungry. Call me up at your convenience.

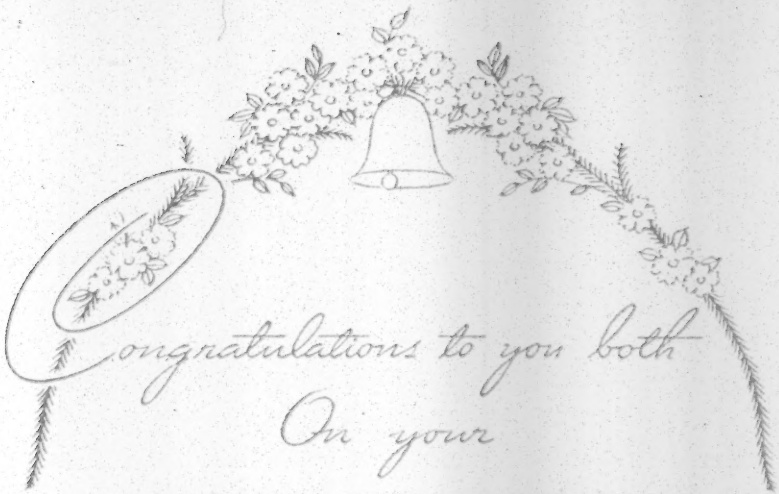
Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Honorable Lester Walton
2588 Seventh Avenue
New York City


Your
GOLDEN
Wedding Day





Congratulations to you both

On your

GOLDEN WEDDING DAY

May you find still deeper happiness

Together .... on life's way

Mr. and Mrs. Lester Walton

17 June 1946

21-18-11

My dear Walton:

I have a plan for a Pan African exposition which could be begun here on a small scale so as to be used when the United Nation's assembly meets in September and then could be expanded to form the main nucleus of the Liberian exposition in 1947. The cost could easily be kept under five thousand dollars.

Let's have lunch together sometime next week, say Friday or Saturday, the twenty-eight or twenty-ninth.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lester A. Walton
2588 Seventh Avenue
New York City

LESTER A. WALTON
2588 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

November 16, 1946

2-19-58

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

The enclosed reference to mistreatment of natives in South Africa appears on Page 16 of The Atlantic Monthly for November, which may be of possible interest; that is, if you have not already seen same.

Your letter in The New York Times under the caption "Problems of Africa," was timely and pertinent.

Continued best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Lester A. Walton

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

25 November 1946

Dear Mr. Walton:

Thank you for your letter and calling my attention to that statement in the Atlanta monthly. I used it in my talk to the staff of the Y.W.C.A. 600 Lexington Avenue the other day. I am beginning to get hungry.

21-19-59

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lester A. Walton
2588 Seventh Avenue
New York City

16 April 1946

21-8-17

Gentlemen:

Will you please send an Easter lily (priced around five dollars) to:

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Montefiore Hospital
Gun Hill Road and Bainbridge Avenue
New York City

and charge to my account. I enclose a card to be sent along with it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

ak
John Wanamer New York
Broadway and Ninth Street
New York City

Please order:—

12 dozen woven names * (over)
made by —
J. & J. Cash Inc.
So. Norwalk Conn.
Price #3.00 Rush !!!

9/-1/2

Also:—

5 sheets 63" X 108"
4 pillow cases - 22½" wide
6 table napkins
4 Bath Towels
1 pr boots for rainy weather

* (over)

9

N.B. The "Cash" names can be ordered of Wanamakers at the' they are made in Connecticut. Mama always gets them there' Wanamakers.

Y.

Name to be as follows:-

"DuBois LeWilliams"

29 July 1946

Gentlemen:

Will you please order for me twelve dozen woven names of the kind made by J. & J. Cash Incorporated, South Norwalk, Connecticut. The woven name should be: Du Bois Williams. I would be glad if you would rush this order.

Also I would like

five sheets 63" x 108"
four pillow cases - 22½" wide
six table napkins
four bath towels. Please send these at your earliest convenience to Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois, 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore, Maryland.

If there is any question about them telephone me in New York at - Longacre 3-6890 - Extension 12. Please charge to my account.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

John Wanamaker
Mail Order Department
Broadway at Ninth Street
New York City

5 August 1946

21-19-162

Gentlemen:

Will you please send the following articles to Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

1. one pair of black or red rubber boots size eight. These are for a girl age thirteen who wears a size seven and a half shoe.

2. two regular size bed pillows made of duck feathers.

Please send this merchandise as soon as possible to the Baltimore address and the bill to me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Wanamaker does not have pillows made of goose feathers but as far as I know the only difference is in the size of the bird.

John Wanamaker
Mail Order Department
Broadway at Eighth Street
New York City

Mrs. S. Du Bois

11 November 1946

Gentlemen:

On October 19 you charged to my account and mailed to my address 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore 14, Maryland, a R. C. A. radio 56 X 2 serial number BS-9116. The sales slip 10-16 Sec. 178, Sales 58, 1020-7.

We did not unpack the radio until yesterday because of sickness in the family; but when it was unpacked there on the upper right hand corner a crack in the plastic four inches long and at one end of the crack the plastic was loose. I do not know if this in any way injured the radio, but certainly it injured its appearance. I therefore had it packed in the same material in which it came, and am writing to ask you just what I shall do: Shall I return it to your New York office or what? Please let me know at this address at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B.Du Bois

John Wanamaker
9th St. and B'way
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. W. E. Du Bois

John Wanamaker

NEW YORK PHILADELPHIA LONDON PARIS

November 20, 1946

Mr. W. E. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14 Maryland

21-8

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We are sorry the radio was received damaged.

Please return it to the department at which time we will endeavor to send a replacement.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours very truly
Bureau of Adjustment

I. E. Dobbs

EY
D-11/27

NOVEMBER
12th
1946

MEMORANDUM TO DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS FROM MRS. WARING:

I called the Associated Hospital Service in reference to your letter sent them on November 4th. They informed me that even if the hospital your wife is in is a non-member hospital that they would pay to the hospital a flat rate on her bill if she is a bed patient.

That rate is $34.00 for 3 days, $42.00 for 4 days and $50.00 for 5 days.

If, however, she has already paid the hospital, she should keep her bills or receipts and they would have the hospital refund her the money.

They said that you would probably receive an answer to your letter within a week.

L. H. Waring
Lillian H. Waring

mr

21-8

11 November 1946

Memorandum to Mrs. Warwick:

I sent the enclosed letter to the Associated Hospital Service, November 4. To date I have had no answer. What shall I do?

W. E. B. Du Bois

Manakin, Virginia,
May 1, 1946.

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
2302 Montebello Terrace,
Baltimore 14, Maryland.

21-29-56

Dear Du Bois:

Greetings and felicitations to you and Mrs. Du Bois on the happy occasion of your Golden Wedding.

I trust that you have not forgotten the pleasant years we had at Harvard, and the occasion of a Class meeting when we met at the Harvard Club in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond Weeks

Raymond Weeks

Req for photo

George Albert Welch
Zeeland Town
near Amsterdam Berbice
British Guiana
South America
26/5/46.

12-13-47

Dr W. E. B. Du Bois
20 west 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Respectful Sir, Some time ago I wrote several letters Communicated with persons & organisations in the United States enquiring of Photographs of outstanding Negroes & got no reply. eventually I wrote the Student Christian movement in London & they refer me to the Phelps-Stokes fund, 101 Park avenue, new York. I receive a reply from them, they in turn gave me the Address which I am now writing you Sir. You see I am trying to get a collection of the outstanding Negroes of the States which I will like to place in our Community Hall at Zeeland Town for Public view. & from my what I gather from their letters I should write you which they has no doubt that you will favour me with one of yours. thence my letter. I am trying in my little way to inspire Race Consciousness & upliftment in our people here. Sir, I am asking of you your help not only of your Photo but of Books literature etc. & you may gladly give me addresses of others which I will gladly write too & solicit their help.

Thanking you in anticipation, With very good wish I am

very truly yours.

G. A. Welch

********** 20 West 40th Street

7 January 1946

21-8-25

Dear Ophelia:

Mrs. Du Bois and I thank you and your son for the beautiful Christmas plant which you sent. Mrs. Du Bois has not seen it as she has been since November 27 in the Montefiore Hospital
Gun Hill Road and Bainbridge Avenue
New York City

She is making excellent progress toward recovery. Of course she never will be completely herself again but she probably will be able to walk and do for herself. I had the children go up and stay with her during the holidays while I stayed in Baltimore and that way received your plant for Christmas.

I fully planned to come over and visit you during the holidays but did not get to it.

My best regards and happy New Year.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ophelia Wells
1333 R Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

21-29-42

MOSS INC.

[1946]

Congratulations on
Golden Wedding
Anniversary -

Mrs. S. J. Davidson & Eugene
Davidson - Ophelia &
Leslene Wells & Lesene Jr.

over

1333 R St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

N.B Yellow roses - golden rubber - golden rose - !!
Very beautiful!
V.

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D. L. WEST
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Publisher, Calhoun Times
Calhoun, Ga.

Hon. TOM JOHNSON, Atty.
Macon, Ga.

21-19-61

427 Furnald Hall
Columbia University
New York, N.Y.

January 25, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It was a very great pleasure to see you again, have dinner at Shirley's and hear your splendid lecture afterwards.

As I mentioned to you during that evening, I am applying to Rosenwald for a renewal of my fellowship, and have given your name as a reference. When they write you I will surely appreciate your kind consideration in writing a letter in my behalf.

With best wishes for your success and progress in all your efforts and endeavors, I remain

Sincerely,

Don West

Don West

THE WEST AFRICA PUBLISHING CO. LTD. PROPRIETORS AND PUBLISHERS OF

WEST AFRICA

THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF NIGERIA, GOLD COAST, SIERRA LEONE, GAMBIA, FRENCH WEST AFRICA, MANDATED TERRITORIES AND BELGIAN CONGO. 26TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION.

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LH/MK

3rd January, 1946.

W.E. Burghardt Dubois, Esq.,
Director,
Nat'l Ass'n F The Adv. of Coloured People,
69, Fifth Avenue, NEW YORK N.Y.

Dear Sir,

I am sorry to note that as yet I do not appear to have received a renewal of the subscription which you kindly took out and which expired with our 29th December issue.

Possibly this has been an oversight on your part, and I have pleasure in enclosing a subscription form herewith. On the other hand, the Editor is always interested to have the reactions of his readers, whether favourable or otherwise, and it may very well be that you are not satisfied with certain aspects as you see them. Should this be the case your views will be welcomed as naturally it is our policy to endeavour to gratify the demands of our reading public, however divergent they may be.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

Publisher.

Encl:

Subscription (WEST AFRICA)

No. 8386

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Date 14 Dec 46

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commencing 4th January 1947

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WITH THANKS

[West African Nat'l Secretariat]

Pan Africa

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94, GRAYS INN ROAD.
LONDON, W.C.1.

BA/MMcI.

4th November, 1946.

Dear Doctor Du Bois,

I am writing to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 18th September and the enclosed petition which the Pan African Congress is presenting the United Nations Organisation. At a recent meeting of the West African National Secretariat the text of the petition was read, discussed and unanimously approved. The Secretariat fully supports the Pan African Congress in this step which it has taken to bring to the notice of the U.N.O. the important question of the treatment of Africans and peoples of African descent, racial discrimination and colonial matters generally, which are all vital to the making of world peace.

Yours very sincerely,

Kwame Nkrumah

Secretary-General.

22-9-91

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
Department of Special Research,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,
20 W. 40th Street,
New York 18,
New York,
U.S.A.

14 October 1946

21-14-58

My dear sir:

Answering your letter of October 1st, I beg to say that I referred it to the Executive Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. I am sure he will write you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Nelson Blackburn, Pres.
West Eight Mile Road Victory League, Inc.
21384 Glenlodge Street
Ferndale 20, Michigan

21-11-19

4 September 1946

My dear Mr. Greene:

May I thank you very much for the copy of Holders of Doctorates among American Negroes which you kindly sent me. I appreciate having it in my library and congratulate you upon your industry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Harry Greene
West Virginia State College
Box 131
Institute, West Virginia

[West Virginia State College]

Oct 1947

26 November 1946

21-26-29

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am planning a lecture trip among Southern colleges February and March of 1947. I could speak at your institution Friday, January 31, or Saturday, Sunday or Monday, February 1, 2, or 3. My lectures would include "United Nations and the Negro", "Africa", "Russia". They can be given as public lectures or conferences. My charge would be $100. Let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John W. Davis
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

Lectures 47

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE, W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

30 November 1946

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

21-26-24

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of November 26th. In reply please know that we are placing your name in our calendar for February 2, 1947 for a lecture here on the United Nations and the Negro. We will be able to provide for you $100.00 for the address, now mentioned.

Our college may be just a little bit ragged at this time since we will be in the midst of semester changes. Inspite of this, I believe that persons who will be interested will gain much from you and your message. Write me and indicate whether or not we may expect you to deliver an address here at seven o'clock on Sunday evening, February 2, 1947.

Mrs. Davis joins me in kindest regards to you.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
N A A C P, 20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

21-26-28

11 December 1946

Dear Mr. Davis:

This is to acknowledge my engagement to speak at West Virginia State College, at 7 p.m. February 2nd. My best regards to you and Mrs. Davis.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President John W. Davis
West Virigina State College
Institute, West Virginia

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE, W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

17 December 1946

21-26-30

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Let me thank you for your letter of December 11th. Please know that we will expect you here on February 2, 1947.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
N A A C P, 20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Mrs Davis and I want you to be sure that you will be able to stand us.

Davis

21-29-14a

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1946 MAY 10 PM 12 36

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TERR (HAM 9015)=

MRS WHITE AND I JOIN IN SENDING YOU OUR WARMEST REGARDS AND CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY=

WALTER WHITE.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Helen Adele Whiting

May Twelfth

— 1 9 4 6 —

Just dropped by
to say congratulations
Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois
and family on this
memorable day.

Helen A. Whiting
and Joseph L. Whiting

21-29-126

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DR & MRS W E B DUBOIS=

:2302 MONTEBELLO TER BALTO=

CONGRATULATIONS UPON FIFTY YEARS OF DEVOTION AND LOVE. MAY GOD CONTINUE TO BLESS YOU=

MR & MRS JOHN P WHITTEDEN.(

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA
4

Committee on African Studies

August 23, 1946

428F/19

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am taking this opportunity to answer your letter of August 22nd in the absence of Dr. Wieschhoff. He has been away from the office taking a much needed rest. I have, however, notified him of the contents of your letter and I am sure that he will make every effort to attend the preliminary meeting if it is at all possible for him to do so.

Very truly yours,

J M Tibert

Secretary to
H. A. Wieschhoff

UNITED NATIONS • NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NASSAU COUNTY, NEW YORK

IN REPLY REFER TO:

September 6, 1946

42-8F-30

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am in receipt of your letter of September 3rd regarding your petition to the United Nations. Since at the present I am doing consultant work for the United Nations, and have thus become temporarily a staff member, I feel it would be impossible for me to sign your petition. I am, of course, in complete sympathy with your draft and should have been willing under ordinary circumstances to associate myself with it.

Very sincerely,

H.A. Wieschhoff

haw:on

(WILBERFORCE)

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY

FOUNDED IN 1856

CHARLES H. WESLEY, PRESIDENT

WILBERFORCE, OHIO

May 8, 1946

21-29-29

Dear Friends:

The President and Faculty of Wilberforce University send greetings to you on the occasion of your Golden Wedding Anniversary. These congratulations are sent not only because of the fact that you are observing your Golden Wedding Anniversary, but also because we are informed that it was at Wilberforce University that you had your first reception following your marriage at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Some residents here in this community remember with pleasure your return as newlyweds to our campus. Because of this personal relationship, we are more than pleased to send this message. Your continued interest in advancing this University is an additional reason for the pleasure which we have in sending this greeting.

With cordial regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charles H. Wesley

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, 14, Maryland.

WALTER F. WILLCOX
3 SOUTH AVENUE
ITHACA, N. Y.

April 5, 1946

Mr. W. E. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I had the pleasure of listening a few days ago to Dr. Benjamin E. Mais, President of Morehouse College, Atlanta, and of talking with him afterwards. He told me that since your retirement you are working in New York City which gives me a better chance of renewing our long dormant intercourse. I have been enjoying your latest book, Color and Democracy, and agree substantially with your position.

22-9-25

I enclose an article which you may already have seen and about which I should like to talk with you. It was written by a favorite student of mine who hopes after he gets out of the Army to find some field of work along these lines.

If this reaches you before Sunday perhaps you will telephone to the Century Club telling me how I may reach you. I shall have headquarters there for Monday and Tuesday and possible Wednesday. But if I can telephone you at this address, you need not trouble.

I hope you, who are seven years my junior, keep as well as I do.

Yours cordially,

W. F. Willcox

Enc
(Dictated but not signed)

[January, 1946]

Ilse Bass Williams

2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, 14, Maryland

21-19-152

Dear Grandpa,

I'm going to try to write more often to you this year. How are you and grandma. I hope everything is all right. Have you seen any skates yet? I'm sorry if I didn't thank you for my clarinet but I thought that I had already thanked you. Anyway "Thank you very much". Next time I see you I'll play it for you. I hope that I will see you soon. My piano lesson and school lessons are getting along fine. I want to come up to see grandma some week-end. So I'll see you soon.

With love, Ilse Bass

[Williams]

********** 20 West 40th Street

17 January 1946

21-19-153

Dear Du Bois:

I was very much pleased to get your letter this morning. You must remember that grandfathers are human and have their disappointments and discouragements and do not like to be forgotten. I am always interested in what you are doing and especially in your music. I want you to keep well and strong and determined to do a good job of living. Then too, you must begin to realize that the future of our family is going to depend very largely upon you; that you have got to take over the responsibility, understand and take care of your Mother and Grandmother.

Grandmother is really making remarkable recovery. I was up there yesterday. She is walking a little without assistance and she is beginning to move her arm and hand. If she keeps her good courage and sticks to this treatment for three or four more months she will be able to take care of herself largely, although she will never be entirely well or able to do anywhere near as much as she used to.

I should be glad to have you come up and see me and we will try to take care of you. My love to yourself and your Mother.

Very sincerely,

P. S. You are beginning to write a very beautiful and neat letter. I am pleased.

21 January 1946

Dear Du Bois:

You asked about skates. Do you mean roller skates or ice skates?

Yours with love,

Miss Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

[February, 1946]

21-19-133.

Dear Boys Letters.

Dear Grandpa,

seeing that there is no place down here to ice skate I most definetly mean roller skates or were you only kidding. How are you getting along in both health and business. We just got our report cards and I got:

Religon A	Satin A	Typing B
algebra A	History A	Art Craft C
English A	Music A vocal	Music B Piano

I haven't gotten my band, guidance, effort and conduct mark yet. We have had beautiful clocks (large wall clocks) Put in the halls and every

class room. We also have lights over our bulletin board. Our Penny Bazaar will be coming along soon but we're going to change the name because we don't get pennies any more we get thousands of <u>dollars</u>. If you know any one with a trillion dollars tell them to send us a billion of it right a way to St. Frances Academy carry of the freshmen class.

I guess you saw by grandmothers letter that I am now Catholic. I hope that is alright with you because I did not discuss

it much with you. Do you still have your mind set on sending me to (Mich) Northfield. The more I stay at St. Frances the more I hate to leave. Mommie say Catholic schools make you narrow minded and intolerant but I don't think so and I want to go to Catholic University then go to several foreign colleges and study medicine Tell (Miss Diggs) Aunt Irene hello.

I hope to all you soon

Until then,

Love

(Jean Doris)

(Baptismal name) Marie Therese

18 February 1946

21-19-134

Dear Du Bois:

Enclosed is a check for $12 to cover your travel to New York and return. Grandmother will be glad to see you. I hope you have received the skates which I sent.

If you had talked to me about joining the Catholic Church, I would not have been opposed but I would have said that you are rather young to settle your religious convictions before you know more about the world. But that is not very important if you are satisfied at present as I think you are.

The Catholic Church as a religious organization is not in itself narrow but there are narrow people in it just as there are in other churches and other organizations. For instance there has always been difficulty in securing admission of colored children in Catholic schools in the United States. This has not been true in Europe but it has been so true in our country that you will notice how few colored priests there are and this is mainly because young colored candidates for the priesthood have, in most cases, been refused admission to Catholic seminaries. This is changing and I hope this change will be permanent in the future.

This, however is still the main reason that I want you to fit for college in a school of high standing which does not discriminate. Xavier, which has been mentioned to you several times, is in New Orleans and is a low grade college which does excellent work under the circumstances but the children who come to it are poorly prepared in the public schools of the South. For that reason I do not want you to have your education there. If you are going to be a well-trained human being, and especially well-trained in a profession, you have got to have first class education. You must graduate from a fitting school whose standing is recognized by the leading colleges. Then you can go on and if you wish you might be received at the Catholic University although in the past the Catholic University has not received colored students.

After all you must remember that it is not the church you belong to or the school you attend which is of final importance. It is you, yourself, and whether you do right and tell the truth and are willing to sacrifice for the happiness of other people.

Yours with love,

Miss Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

Feb. 26th, 1946

Mr. Boris Wolkowsky

Dear Grandpa,

Thank you for the most enjoyable weekend. My skates haven't arrived yet but I guess they'll come soon. Don't forget my knitting. I'll write grandma soon and I've written Aunt Irene already. You should get some more rest, you look tired.

Mildred wrote me and asked if was coming back. I think you can answer her better than I, Please write me and tell me just what I should say in this case. Mommie and I are looking forward to your visit.

21-19-137

I'll see you soon.

Love
Du Bois

5 March 1946

21-19-135

Dear Du Bois:

Have you received your skates and what about my sugar? Write me soon.

Yours with love,

Miss Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

13 March 1946

21-19-136

Dear Du Bois:

Enclosed is a check for four dollars to be used as follows:

$1 to pay your Grandmother's dues to the school organization
$1 to be used as her contribution to your Penny Bazaar
$1 to be used as my contribution to your Bazaar and
$1 for Miss Diggs' contribution to the Bazaar.

Thank you and your Mother so much for the sugar. I hope the knitting needles and wool have arrived. Write me when you can.

Yours with love,

Miss Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

March 20th, 1946

21-19-132

Dear Grandpa,

I received your most generous check, thank you, and miss Diggs. Please ask Aunt Shirley if she has a little contribution for the Penny Bazaar. Your white (tattle-tale grey) scarf is coming along nicely. Will see you soon,

Love,

Du Bois

[April, 1946]

Du Bois Williams

W. E. B. Du Bois

409 Edgecombe Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.

21-19-130

Dear Grandpa,

How did you enjoy your journey? I received your card just as we were leaving to catch the 4:29 B.+O. (Royal Blue) train. I will be glad when I am able to make a flight in an airplane. I hope you are having a nice time! You apartment is still very nice and Nathan was very glad to see us and is doing everything to make us happy and comfortable. I hope you have a very happy and Blessed Easter. We are going to Northfield Tuesday on the 4:00 o'clock train. Mrs. Davis, Director of Admissions said that Great Barrington is between 40 and 60 miles from Northfield so I guess we won't

1.-

get to visit the old homestead this time. When will you be back? You missed the blooming of the Phisiphia (yellow flower we have 2 of them and I'm not to sure of that spelling) The azaleas are coming out now they are red. I hope to see you soon. Grandma is doing very well. She was glad to see us. Goodbye for now.

Loving Granddaughter
DuBois

[Williams, DuBois]

NORTHFIELD SCHOOL FOR GIRLS
EAST NORTHFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL

May 6, 1946

Dear DuBois:

21-19-128

I am happy to write you that our Admissions Committee has selected you as one of the successful candidates for entrance next fall. This is on the assumption that you will maintain your good record throughout this school year.

Your name will be placed definitely on the list of entering students as soon as the customary enrollment fee of ten dollars has been received.

School will open on Tuesday, September tenth. Late in the summer word of your dormitory assignment will be sent to you.

With many good wishes for the year at Northfield,

Sincerely yours,

Miss B. Wilson

Principal

Miss DuBois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

17 June 1946

21-11-25

My dear Du Bois:

Grandmother is coming down Monday the twenty-fourth and I am writing Mother asking that you come up and come down with her and me. I want you to spend your vacation this summer in taking care of Grandmother and making her as comfortable as possible. I imagine you will have time enough to do something with your music also but I want you to devote your chief thought and work to Grandmother. I hope you will be willing to do this.

Yours with love,

Miss Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

July 4th, 1946

Dear Grandpa,

How are you? Grandma got your telegram today and mommie gave grandma flowers and I gave her a plant for her birthday. She is still rather tired but she thinks she is feeling better now. I got your newspaper clipping and I read it to grandma, it was very beautiful especially the last paragraph. How was your trip up? Did miss Higgs get there safe and sound? When is she going on her trip? Tell her "shame on her for not telling us of her operation." We've had pretty good weather down here I think the highest temperature has been about 96°. I am going to a carnival at school tomorrow. It's been rather lonely out here just listening to the radio and listening for Grandma's bell.

121-61-12

The workmen have been working
deligently but there was a pipe
in the way of the window so
they had to stop while the plumber
came and worked, they haven't
come down to finish it yet but
I guess they will and Mr. Perdue
has to go to summer school so
we don't know how the detail
will be finished up yet. I'm
keeping mommies accounts
for her "secretary DuBois
Hilliams". I guess that's all
the news for the moment.
Take care of yourself, Goodbye

Lovingly,
DuBois

July 14th, 1946

Dear Grandpa,

There are two wedding anniversary presents here for you, a pickle knife and spoon from the Tallys in Nashville and probably a salt and pepper shaker from the same place but no name or card was in it. The young lady who came to interview us wants $30 a week for her wages mommie wants to know if it's to much and would you let her know right away. Grandma is doing nicely except that it's very warm down here and she

21-19-123

she said to tell you that she will write you very soon. Thank You for the schedule you sent but you don't realize that it is not easy to do all those things while you're taking care of a helpless person. Well I guess that's all for now. I hope you're taking good Care of yourself

Goodbye,

Du Bois

29 July 1946

21-19-163

My dear Du Bois:

You remember when Grandmother came down we brought a large and small suit case and also a paper bundle. Will you find where that bundle is and look through and see if there are not some books there. Grandmother wants a book by Mrs. Roosevelt, If you Ask Me. I think it must be in there. Look and see and let me know.

Also could you not telephone Mr. Hoag and tell him he must have the toilet room finished.

I am going to Maine next week for two weeks. Unless there is something special needed, I do not think I will come down to Baltimore before that. You ask Grandmother and Mother and let me know.

Tell Mother I have ordered everything she wanted except "one pair boots for rainy weather". She did not mention kind and size. Also hand her the enclosed check.

Yours with love,

Miss Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14

[Williams]

August 3, nd 1946

Dear Grandpa,

My boots must fit over a size 7½ shoe probably and 8 boot. Most boots are the same preferably black or red in color, they're higher than galoshes, etc. Mommie wants you to order two pillows from Wanamakers, we need these right away because the furniture store here is unable to

21-19-161

renavate the old ones and the feathers are flying hither, thither and yon. Grandma says they should be goose feathers because down feathers are too expensive and chicken feathers are no good. They will probably cost between $5.00 and $7.00 a piece. Please have them sent to the Baltimore address as soon as possible.

The plasterer has finished the walls now the carpenter, plumber, and electrician have to finish. Mr. Perdue is back. Grandma has the book of which you wrote. We all hope you have a nice rest in Maine,

Love from us all
& Your loving
granddaughter
Du Bois

[Williams]

September 3rd, 1946

21-19-158

Dear Grandpa,

Mother and I are coming up on Sept. 6th, Friday afternoon - we don't know what train yet. Shall we go to your apartment or Aunt Irene's? Do you expect to be down here before (you) we leave or will you meet us up there?

Mother says if you ordered the towels and washcloths she hopes that you have them sent to Baltimore because she does ~~not~~ want them to go to Northfield all at once and they have to be marked.

The powder room is practically finished all except the light fixtures. Grandma is feeling well. Mrs. Kendall (Miss Matilda) is still with us.

Captain and mrs. Boutté came to see Grandma on Labor Day on their way from Virginia. He left the letter about the high school and college for Catholic girls it sounds very nice. Will be seeing you soon.

Lovingly your Granddaughter,
Lu Lois

P. S. I will (have) need to get my shoes, pajamas, umbrella, rainhat and a few other things so I must have the Wanamaker or master coin.

[Williams] Sept. 30th [1946]

Dear Grandpa,

Please forgive me for not writing sooner but I've been very busy as you can well imagine. I like Northfield very much although it is rather hard to get adjusted to the schedule.

(over)

21-1945-12

(3)

When you get the time I would like you to send me your opinion of the conferences now being held about (a) the atom (b) the peace (Paris) (c) the keeping of the peace (new York)

this is not for a report or anything it is just to have the information on hand. We have current event meetings once a week here and we are told about all important world events. These have aroused my

(over)

interests immensely.
I have been meaning
to write to Aunt
Irene but I just
haven't gotten
around to it. Have
You heard from
her lately? How
are you by the way?
What are you doing
of interest now at

(over)

21-11-12

the office? Have you made any lectures lately?. I'm just dying for mail up here so <u>when</u> you have a little time please write. Keep healthy I'll write again

Your loving granddaughter,
Lou Bris

D.B. (nickname)

P.S. Have you been to Baltimore lately? In Case you are wondering I'm in very good health.

Y.A.H.

P.S. You should hear me explaining about my name every time.

17
second. (Ha-Ha)

[Williams]

Oct. 8th [1946]

21-19-156

Dear Grandpa,

Thank you for sending my typewriter. I have got time for a lengthy epistle but I just want to keep you informed about my school work. I went back ½ year in Latin

temperarily because they wanted to be sure I had a good foundation. My algebra is a little dusty but I think I can make out other than that everything is doing fine. Don't

forget about the
things in my last
letter. All I want
is just your
brief opinion.
Thank You, keep
well,

Your loving
Granddaughter
Du Bois

[williams; DuBois]

22-9-67

8 October 1946

Dear Du Bois:

I have your nice letter and was of course planning to write you a long note on the whole philosophy of your new school life and so forth.

Your letter brings up certain specific questions and in answer I am sending you a few clippings from newspapers; also I think I will send you a six months subscription to P.M. That is a popular daily newspaper and you may like it if you read and use it. I think that it will be a good reference paper for your use in discussions. I may find some books that will help you, but of course you realize that for current history, newspapers and magazines, especially the weekly magazines, are the only resource.

I think you are beginning to see what I mean by the higher standards of education in certain schools; they are more aware of what is going on in the world and they keep you on your toes and the competition is keen. I shall be interested to know how you stand up under it.

There is on the other hand, the matter of "race relations"; you are for the first time going to what is called a "white" school and there are two attitudes which children often develope. One is the feeling of withdrawal and isolation; homesickness for your own group and consequent unwillingness even to try to cooperate. There is a equally dangerous opposite attitude, that is the feeling that you have come into contact with unusual and super-human people who can do things better than you and your folks, and are altogether above and beyond you, so that you make every effort to bow down to them. Both of these attitudes is I am sure you see altogether wrong. These people are human beings just as you are. There are among them the good and the bad, the kind, and the cruel and they are part of the world which you are going to live and work. Person for person they have had in their lives better food, better homes, better clothes, better training than your little colored friends in Baltimore. They have met people with good manners, and good clear English. They are not necessarily better people; they have had better opportunities.

You now have a splendid opportunity to become acquainte

with them and friendly and learn to look upon them as everyday folks and neither fawn upon them or be unduly uncooperative and unfriendly. Be nice to those who evidently are willing to be nice to you and if there are some who withdraw from you or seem to, be studiously polite but make no undue effort to force yourself into their company.

I sent you your typewriter the other day. I hope you will use it regularly for your reports and letters and things of that kind. It is very necessary that you should learn to use a typewriter well. If there is anything else that I can get for you or any way that I can help, I shall be so glad to try to see if I can.

22-9-48

I have not been to Baltimore since you left but I understand that Grandmother is still improving slowly. The doctor reports that she is doing very well indeed. I shall not be able to get down there for a couple of weeks, but I telephone every once in a while.

Perhaps I forgot to be more specific about my own attitude toward these subjects you mention. The Atom Bomb calls for some understanding of physics and realization of the immense opportunity of atomic power. Of course it ought to be used for peaceful industrial purposes, replacing coal and electricity for the manufacture of power. It is a great calamity that today we think of using the atom as a weapon of war. An international understanding on the subject of the atom involves our willingness to stop making atomic bombs, destroy those which we have except as they are used for industry and share our knowledge of the atom. If we are willing to do this, I am quite sure that Russia can be induced to submit along with other people to inspection of her atomic activities. But of course in cases like that, nations must have faith in each others honesty and good will. It is impossible for them to insure security simply by treaties.

As to the Peace Conference in Paris, that has very unfortunately gone back to imitation of the old method of power politics: that is, of setting up nation and groups of nations against each other so as to insure their defense. Possibly this was inevitable at first but we must move beyond this or the future is full of danger.

In the United States so far, the United Nations have faced a number of questions and have not made a very good record but we are looking forward to the meeting of the Assembly in the latter part of this month. We have great hopes for the future of that organization. I saw the first Assembly under the League of Nations in Geneva in 1921 and I'm going to meet Trygve Lie in the near future.

I have been making a few speeches; and a few nights ago I spoke at the 115th Street Branch of the Public Library and on the same program with Mrs. Roosevelt whom I met for the first time.

I also attended a very splendid dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria celebrating the 100th anniversary of Liberia. Late in the month I am going to Columbia, South Carolina to attend the Negro Youth Conference. I shall see some of the people in Atlanta. Goodbye and good-luck and please write me often and tell me all of your difficulties and joys.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

22-9-69

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Hall
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

[October, 1946]

NORTHFIELD

21-19-157

Dear Grandpa,

My weekend arrangements have been made with Mrs. DeBerry for the weekend or rather Saturday Nov. 2nd and for the whole weekend Nov. 8th. My subjects have been changed around a little. I am presently taking: English II, Bible I, Latin Ib, Algebra Ib and Piano as a subject instead of Biology which I will take next year. I hope

this arrangement will
meet with your approval.
I would like to take
German as my language.
How are things doing
down there. It's still
pretty mild up here. I hope
you find one day soon
to come up and see
how are school-day is
performed and made
very delightful.

Your loving
grandchild,
Dee Bois

29 October 1946

Dear Du Bois:

I was glad to get your letter when I returned from the South. (It did not have a date; you should always date your letters!) So far as I can see, your subjects are all right; but I would not plan to take German as your foreign language; the value of German has been greatly lessened since the two World Wars. You should take French and then Spanish. French first, because it is the most perfect language in the world and understood by the largest number of educated people everywhere. English goes further than French as to numbers but French is still supreme as to the quality of those understanding. After that, you should take Spanish because Spanish is spoken by a very large number of colored people with whom you ought to come in contact.

I do not quite understand why you are going to Springfield twice, only a week apart; but I presume that it is all right. Of course you will try not to outdo our welcome there.

Sometime I shall come up to see you but that can wait, I am sure, for a few months. I had a very pleasant trip to the South, to Columbia, Atlanta, and Montgomery.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Hall
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

[1946]

NORTHFIELD

Oct. 31st and
Nov. 1st

Dear Grandpa,

I got your card and your letter and I trust you have had a quite delightful trip in the past week or so. I have decided not to spend the whole weekend at the DeBarry's only that Sat. when I have my hair done. I will take French as you suggested because it makes no difference really which one I take I like to have you come up just as soon as you feel free to leave your work. I guess that's just about all.

31-13-75

Lots of Love, Ann Bois

xxxxxxxxxxx

P.S I am using my typewriter and my money is holding out very well. I am getting to know a little about that world "budget" and I am doing quite well. Don't forget to come up soon. How do you find Grandma?
We had a very interesting report her on the annual Herald Tribune forum. Did you get an invitation or hear about maybe.
The paggers come regularly and are very interesting

D. W.

8 November 1946

21-19-145

Dear Du Bois:

I am going down to Baltimore tomorrow for a couple of days. Grandmother has had a set back; she twisted her back while going to the toilet and loosened one of those ligaments again. Dr. Higgins thought it best for her to go back to the Provident Hospital for a while so that she could have an x-ray and proper nursing attention. There is no fracture of the bones and while she was in great pain at first, she is much better now. I think that every thing will come our right in a few weeks.

Speaking of your work, there is one thing I have meant to say. Always when one changes schools there is some difficulty getting into the routine of the new studies, especially where there is a question as to whether you are up to the new schedule or not. This will be true for you in algebra and probably in Latin. You must always remember one thing: be sure that you understand thoroughly each step of what you are doing. If you do not understand, ask; do not be afraid to ask. There are sometimes little points especially in algebra, which if they are cleared up at the time, will make the whole matter easy for the future. So in any case of difficulty in understanding do not hesitate to go to your teacher or to write to me.

I hope you have had a nice visit in Springfield. I shall try to come up as soon as I can but it is a little difficult to get away with the work I have to do and with necessity of not overtiring myself. I hope you are happy and if you are not, let me know of any point where things are not going quite well. Aunt Irene and Mildred Bryant Jones of Chicago, both write me and speak of you.

Yours, with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Hall
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

[Williams]

21-19-149

NORTHFIELD

Nov. 46

Dear Grandpa,

I received your letter and I was very sorry to hear that Grandma is at sick. I wrote her a letter immediately.

Who did you vote for and what do you think of this political stage of the game? Should President Truman stay in office? Please send me

your own opinions, thank
you.

Your Granddaughter
Du Bois

21-19-143

13 November 1946

Dear Du Bois:

I would be glad to come up to see you either next week or Thanksgiving week; which would suit you best and what day? I could come and spend Thanksgiving but perhaps that would not be convenient for you. Let me know at your earliest convenience. I have just returned from Baltimore. Grandmother has suffered a great deal of pain but semms cheerful. Just now she has a night and day nurse and probably has to stay in the hospital for two or three weeks. Your mother is looking very well and the house is beautifully clean almost too clean. Write me when you can.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

P.S. Your letter still undated (please date all your letters) has just arrived in which you asked about certain political matters. I voted in New York State for the democratic candidates, Mead for Governor and Lehman for senator. I voted for Mead because I do not like Governor Dewey and do not think that he has the breadth and knowledge to be either governor or president. The campaign which he conducted against the late president Roosevelt was, in my opinion, of very low grade. Lehman is an excellent man; a Jew with a fine record as governor and in UNRRA. Both of these men were unfortunately defeated.

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Hall
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

I do not think that President Truman should resign. There is of course a great deal to be said for the English method of having the real chief executive, that is, the Prime Minister, chosen by a majority of the House of Commons. This in our case, would be that Congress would choose the president; or the man who has the powers which the president now exercises. Our system makes it possible for a president to be of a different political party from the majority of Congress; and that makes legislation sometimes difficult. But that is our system and until it is changed, we should try to work it out. After all there is no such absolute difference between the aims of parties today which makes it impossible for the executive of one party to work with the legislature in the hands of another.

Please let me know immediately just when you want me to come up so that I can make plans of my own. I am enclosing a check for the treasurer.

21-19-147

[Williams] November 18th
[1946]

21-61-12

Dear Grandpa,

If it's possible please come up the weekend <u>before</u> Thanksgiving. If you want to know anything about transportation, hotel, etc. write Mrs. Bennett our house mother or Miss Wilson, principal. I got the check and safely deposited it in the bank. How is Grandmother? I will be very glad to see you. I guess that's all except thank you for your political views.

Your Granddaughter,
Du Bois

21-19-148

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED

DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

Jne

November 20, 1946

Du Bois Williams
West Hall
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

Can leave here November 23 and return Sunday or come Friday, December 6 and return Sunday. Wire answer my expense.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Sent R. L
11-20-46

3 December 1946

21-19-142

My dear Du Bois:

I have just been down to Baltimore to visit with Grandmother. She is much better than she was and can walk about the hospital room with the help of the nurse. I presume that she will have to stay there one or two weeks longer but I hope she will be home by Christmas.

I have heard nothing from you since I wrote you about coming up and you gave me a date that was impossible. First you must remember that it takes letters two or three days from the time you mail them until I actually get them. So you must allow for that. Then, too, I always have a number of engagements not only days ahead but often weeks and months.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Hall
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

[williams] Dec. 9th, 1946

Dear Grandpa,

I'm sorry I haven't written you but this week has been a very busy one. If you want me to come home on the 18th write Miss Daboll and let her know. Do not tell her that I am stopping in New York because I won't be able to go if you do. Tell her that I am to buy a ticket for New York and that you will buy the ticket to Baltimore.

We will arrange your visit over the holiday.

(2

I hope you had a pleasent stay in Baltimore. How is grandma? I haven't time for much more and so, I be seeing you soon

Love

DuBois

P.S. I'm doing nicely in my lessons now. I got my first A in Algebra.
" " " " B " English.

D.W.

P.S. I have called you several times but no one answered.

9 December 1946

21-19-139

Dear Du Bois:

On just what train and what hour do you arrive December 18th? We go to the theatre on the 19th. Do you want a hair-do on the 19th Answer quickly.

With love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Hall
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

Dec. 12th [1946]

Dear Grandpa,

Enclosed is a blank which should be filled out with time of trains both way and it should be signed please return befor the 18th Thank You!!!

Your excited granddaughter,
DuBois

P.S. If you expect to meet me in New York fill in blank

no. 2 only. If you expect to come to Northfield and get me fill in Blank no. 1 only

Dec. 15 [1946]

Dear Grandpa,

Please send money for my train fare immediately !!!

Love,
W. E. B. Du Bois

31-13-76

[Williams]

Dec. 16th, 1946

Dear Grandpa,

The train which leaves Northfield at 10:00 A.M. is a special train which arrives in New York at 3:07 (seven minutes after 3) P.M.

Love,

Alex

December 1946

21-19-140

My dear Du Bois:

I am writing a letter to Miss Daboll and am sending you a copy of it. You will have twenty-five minutes to get your lunch at Springfield. I will meet you at Grand Central Station. I am glad to know that you are doing so well in your lessons, and especially I am proud of that A in Algebra. You must remember that when you try to telephone me, you should telephone at my apartment before 10:00 a.m. or after 6:00 p.m. If you want to telephone me between those hours, then phone to the office. The number is Longacre 3-6890, Extension 12.

Grandmother at my last information was still improving.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Gould
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

Social Memo
1947

GREETINGS

22-17-22

Dear Dr Du Bois:

As I write this letter, I'm thinking how grand it is that once each year the spirit of the season prompts us to make known the fact that throughout the year - and sometimes years - we have not forgotten.

As I continue to follow your career, read your writings and about your statements and your activity, I think of the old times in Atlanta when you were particularly nice to me. My husband and I often talk about you, and when a small study group of the St. Paul Council of Human relations took up the

22-17-23

GREETINGS

study of *Black Reconstruction* along with Howard Fast's *Freedom Road*, I had the honor (in which I took no small pride) to say that I know Dr. Du Bois. I even retold one of your delightful jokes to illustrate your subtle sense of humor, and I mentioned a breakfast built around Minnesota cured bacon.

A merry Christmas to you and may the coming year bring great happiness to you and yours, from

An ardent admirer,
Ethel Maxwell Williams

Yuletide 1946

10 September 1946

My dear Madam:

21-6-133

Your letter of December 14, 1945 has just come to my attention. I am sorry that it was misplaced so long. With regard to the story of the Comet in Darkwater, it is simply a story showing how some unusual catastrophe may change the attitude of persons toward each other. The book by Shufelt is of no importance whatsoever and is long been outdated. You should read Ruth Benedict on Race.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Ruth V. Williams
72 West Point Road
Building 17
San Francisco, California

[January 2, 1946]

Wed.

Papa -

20-5-31

Thanks so much for your hospitality. Your apartment is lovely & we enjoyed it so much. I'm so glad you have a comfortable place. The "Chinese red" is gorgeous. I hope the picture is hung right. It is a nice piece of work. I like the "mona lisa" chuckle effect you got when you look at it a long time.

20-5-32

Please get a garment bag of same kind - one paper for Mama's fur coat. It will get too dusty hanging out us. It is. I left a clean bed - packed in a bag. The blue one she has needs to go to the cleaners. I left a clean pink one with her but to stay clean long. I called Virginia & we'll stay there Wed. night & go to Balto Thursday.

20-5-33

We hope you found everything comfortable there.

I left a tip with Irene for Nathan. Tell him I appreciated his kindness so much

Lots of love from both of us

Yolande.

P.S. Wants a word to Alvin in condolence for his mother's death. Y.

********** 20 West 40th Street

7 January 1946

21-11-28

My dear Yolande:

Enclosed is a check for $90 which is your house money. I forgot to send it earlier.

I do wish you would make a resolution this year to plan your work. It would save you so much time. I found that the storm windows had not been put up. It took me only fifteen minutes on the telephone to get Mr. Davis to come and do it. He also fixed that bed of yours which has been an eye sore for a year or more. The awning people promised to take down the awning. I hope you have attended to it. It cost $75 and ought not to ruined.

A little foresight and thoughtful planning will save you infinite time and trouble later. You were in New York ten days and did not do the necessary shopping until the very last day. Doubtless you did not have time to do half that you wanted to. Won't you think of this?

I am still very much distressed by the fact that I have not heard from Du Bois for three months. She has not even thanked me for her clarinet.

Mother continues definitely to improve which means that we have got to plan for the future. You must have an housekeeper in Baltimore and Mr. Davis mentioned a person who might do. You ought to begin immediately and think this through. If I kept your mother up here I would have to have an housekeeper and you also in Baltimore. We cannot afford two. Probably also we will have to install an elevator or escalator in the house.

Do think of these things and plan them with me. Don't wait for weeks saying absolutely nothing until a crisis breaks upon us.

Yours with love,

P. S. I am very sorry to have sprung the door of your car and told Sam to have it fixed and send me the bill. Please have it done.

[January 4, 1946 (?)]

Monday

Dearest Pops —

Received your telegram. Dorothy is coming up Thursday will bring the coat. Will write again soon — have to.

Yours

20-5-30

1 February 1946

Dear Yolande:

Enclosed is a check for $90. Please return me my Wanamaker coin. Remember next month is the income tax and soon after the tax bill for the house. Keep your bank account ready for these things.

With love to you and Du Bois,

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

[February 3, 1946]

Sunday

Dearest Father

Thanks very much for the check. I'm also forwarding some letters - don't know how important they are but I'm sending them up. I'll send the Wanamaker coin up by Dorothy when she comes up - Friday. I'm afraid I'll get lost - the mails. She will leave it at the

20-5-35

She says she has talked with Dr. Wright about her coming back to Boston. She does not seem to upset her terribly. We do not want another stroke so do not discuss it with her until we can talk it over. Maybe you'd better talk to Dr. Lewis.

DuBois is well and doing well with her work and music.

desk or quite I I read.

I & the beginning of
the term I am as frantic
as usual but the new
term will eventually
settle down I suppose.

The arthritis has
been bothering me again
but it comes and goes

I got a nice letter
from Mother - she seems
to be getting along
very nicely.

Young Masa Hawkins called today to inquire for Mama they all send to be well

Du Bois says she'll be writing - a day or so & sends lots of love

Now I'll go to bed as our morning sheet has been moved up & we have to be - Ugh Building at 7 45 - this morning! I said that a ungodly hour!

Lots of love -

Yolande

6 February 1946

21-11-29

Dear Yolande:

Will you kindly pay the enclosed bill? Last year you bought fifty dollars worth of clothes for yourself and promised to pay me. You have not paid a cent. You may pay this on account.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

13 February 1946

21-11-30

My dear Yolande:

If you are coming up Washington's birthday, as Dorothy intimated, please let me know immediately as I should like to plan for you.

I saw your Mother yesterday. She was in good spirits and it is extraordinary the progress she is making. She was walking without assistance.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

[February 18, 1946]

Monday

Yolanda to Mr. Bois [illegible]

Dearest Pops -

Well I guess I'm ready to get D. Bois off with Dorothy. They are leaving Thursday on the Pennsylvania at 1.42 P.M. I think it gets into New York at 4.45 P.M. Dot says it is absolutely necessary to meet that train. She can bring D. Bois up to her

20-5-

apartment (385 Edgecombe) & ye ca pick her up there She's plan'g & ye & dinner & if ye want her & she ca take D. Bois along. She'll be back at the apartment about 7:30 in case ye don't pick her up first. I'll give D. Bois a list of her things so she'll be sure & re-pack everything!! By the way did I leave a black pocket-book — your

apartment? I may have tucked in one of your drawers. It's black silk with a gold "Y" on it.

I think it would be best for D. Bois to be sent down Sunday so as to get here around 5 or 6 o'clock. If ye'll wire me the train I'll be waiting for her at the station. Dorothy comes down too late for D. Bois & get & her in time & there's no point in making her cut her

holiday short. I think she'd be safe in charge of the porter - don't you?

I'm sorry not to be able to come up but money is scarce - besides I'm too tired to make the effort & also there's a lot to be done around the house

I paid the Wanamaker bill. The reason I had mentioned it was because all those items were

same necessary Winter clothes for Dr Bass. I knew Mama used to get some of her things there & I did not know whether they came out of the house money or not.

I plan to get the taxes out of the way & once became car insurance & taxes & income tax is due - March. I'm afraid when that's take care of my bank balance will be

20-5-42

back near the original $200.00. The unexpected bills I've had are as follows:—

Wana makes- $32.00
DuBois' glasses $22.00
School uniforms- $15.00

The plumber's bill will come before the household money. The only thing that worries me is that DuBois has to have some spring clothes. I think her shoe

supply is all right but she needs a coat & dress — or a suit — also a hat and a long dress for the band. I understand they play in Washington & she's been asking for this dress for a couple of months.

Among other things I've broken my glasses & have to have them repaired. It never rains but it pours!!

I think I've covered everything
I only hope you can read all
this. Please be careful of
Dr Bois eating habits while
she's there. Her stomach is
funny!! not like mine!
Also her bed time is 9.00 P.M.!!
(one exception is perhaps permissible)

I'm sending the clothes
Mama asked for - either
with Dotty & DeBasco by
mail before the.

If anyone can take Dr Bois
to Mass Sunday morning she'd
appreciate it but don't inconvenience
you or Irene. Give Irene my best
love - lots of love

Yolande.

P.S. Did you get my request re Congress Internal - y Dr Bois y.

21 February 1946

My dear Yolande:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I received from the Northfield school. Do you think you and Du Bois will be able to make this trip? I should be glad to pay for it. Will you write to Mrs. Davis and to me?

2-11-32

I have also written tentatively to the Manumit school about summer camp.

With regard to the Wanamaker bill you must remember that I asked you to pay this bill for $32 because you have said nothing and paid nothing about the $50 worth of clothes which you bought last year for yourself. I want you to get in the habit when you owe me to treat me in the same way as you would your other creditors and not simply go ahead and ignore your debts.

I should be glad to pay for Du Bois' glasses and school uniforms and to help with her spring clothes but I am not willing to pay for clothes for you.

Virginia telephoned to say that your condition and that of Du Bois was quite satisfactory. She has not written.

I saw your Mother yesterday afternoon and she is still improving and cheerful. I shall meet Du Bois this afternoon. She will stop with Irene. Before I received your letter I had arranged for her to see Hamlet Friday night and Life with Father Saturday night but I shall see that she sleeps late both Friday, Saturday and Sunday and be careful of her eating habits. On account of her being out Saturday night I will not attempt to take her to mass Sunday but will put her on the train and get her a seat and send her down. I will let you know the exact time of her arrival later.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

4 March 1946

21-11-33

Dear Yolande:

I do not see how we can plan and get on together if you do not write letters. Your neglect to do this is not only discourteous but leave me and your friends simply helpless.

I have just sent the enclosed letter to Mildred.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

27 March 1946

21-11-34

My dear Yolande:

I am not going to be able to get to Baltimore before I go West. I am putting in every bit of my time finishing my book. I shall leave here Saturday morning for Detroit and Chicago and then go to Los Angeles and San Francisco.

I can be reached in Chicago until April fifth
at Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

and in Los Angeles between sixth and fifteenth at Dr. Vada Somerville
2104 South Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

By that time you will have heard from me.

If you should be in need of me or any thing should happen, wire me. I can come back at any time.

Miss Diggs will send you the monthly remittance April first and furnish money for your trip to Northfield. I hope you have settled the date. If you have any other needs for money, let her know.

I am going to see Mother tomorrow. She has had a cold but otherwise seems quite cheerful.

Mr. Perdue is looking into the matter of an elevator for the house. I am going to have a large electric fan sent you if we can possibly get it packed and transported. Miss Diggs will let you know about. When you come up from Northfield you can stay at my place. Miss Diggs will have the key. At that time you can do the shopping at Wanamakers and charge to me. I am leaving the Wanamaker plate with Miss Diggs.

My best love to Du Bois. I will talk with you over the telephone before I go on Saturday.

Yours with love,

29 March 1946

21-11-35

My dear Yolande:

I am off for the West. If you can find a picture of Mother that would do for reproduction, rush it to Miss Diggs. Be sure to let her know just when you propose to come.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

2 May 1946

21-11-36

My dear Yolande:

I am going to Lincoln University today and coming to Baltimore to stay Sunday and Monday. I will telephone you from Lincoln and let you know just what time I will arrive.

With love to you and Du Bois,

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

9 May 1946

21-11-37

Dear Yolande:

Of course neither I nor your Mother are going to be there for May twelfth and some people will come in or phone. I think you might put a photograph of myself and Mother in the living room with some flowers. PerPerhpas it would be nice to use the earlier photographs and then you and Du Bois will have to be at home and receive guests and make excuses.

I went to see Mother yesterday. She is very cheerful and much more lively and hopeful than she has been since she has been there. She agrees to the home coming June first providing, of course, we can get that housekeeper.

I know how busy you are with the play.
With love to Du Bois and yourself.

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

P. S. A lot of letters will come for us. Open them and after you have read them forward them to me here so that I can show them to Mother.

[YOLANDE WILLIAMS]

21-29-4

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
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Ship Radiogram

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BRA252 NL PD=BALTIMORE MD 11

1946 MAY 12 AM 4 52

DR W E B DUBOIS= AW

=409 EDGECOMB AVE APT 13H NYK=

=CONGRATULATIONS BEST WISHES AND LOTS OF LOVE FOR YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY TO THE WORLD YOU ARE A VERY FAMOUS MAN BUT TO US YOU ARE ALSO THE BEST FATHER AND GRANDFATHER IN THE WORLD=

DUBOIS AND YOLANDE.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[May, 1946]

Yolande Wells Monday night

Dearest Pops—

Just a fast note to
forward these few things.
In a few days I'll put
the cards & telegrams in a
box & send them up. It
seems to me there must be
a couple of hundred of
them. Before I forget—there
is a book from Curtis
Hidden Page—translations
by him—"Sonnets of Pierre

31-13-103

you & Mama here. We had a nice visit.

I included herewith you will also find the notice of property re-assessment & a receipt re.- the awning.

Also Alice wants 2 invitations for the two sister-in-laws of Eva - I include the addresses.

I accidently - erased I have one of the "golden" announcements to keep?

De Ronsard" - It is autographed to you as his classmate & colleague & to you & Mama on your "Golden Anniversary". The book is printed by Houghton Mifflin Co.

Also the lovely golden roses for Ophelia & family - Wash you. I enclose the card I have put the under Mama's picture.

Virginia came down Sunday expecting to find

I'd like to have one !!

I enclose also the letter to DePass from North Ford which speaks for itself.

Well, I think is all for the moment.

Lots of love to you & Mama

Yolanda.

P.S. Love to Irene ..

17 June 1946

21-11-38

Dear Yolande:

I am making arrangements to have Mother come home on the twenty-fourth on some train which will leave here between ten a. m. and noon. I hope you have sent the furniture which is to be repaired down town. If not, I think you ought to attend to this as soon as possible. I would like to have Du Bois come up say Friday or Saturday and accompany Mother and me down and then you could meet us.

Don't you think that would be a good plan? Let me hear from you about it.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

[DuBois]

21-19-160

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(15)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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N116 NL PD=BALTIMORE MD 15

1946 JUN 17 AM 5 28

DR W E DUBOIS=

APT 13H 409 EDGECOMBE AVE=

DEAR FATHER AND GRANDFATHER GREETINGS AND DEEPEST LOVE ON FATHERS DAY FROM YOUR DAUGHTER AND GRANDDAUGHTER=

YOLANDE AND DUBOIS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

19 June 1946

21-11-39

Dear Yolande:

I am awfully sorry and I know how tired you are but it is impracticable to change the time of your Mother's coming. Not the least of the consideration is her own state of mind: she is terribly eager to come home and I cannot disappoint her. It will not be necessary for Du Bois to come up. I will arrange to get her down comfortably and will telegram you the exact time we arrive which will be about three o'clock EST and four DST.

Do not worry, just do the best you can.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

27 June 1946

21-11-40

Dear Yolande:

Dr. Thomas Bell of Newark died Tuesday. The funeral will be Friday and I shall attend. Please break this to your Mother gently.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

18 July 1946

Dear Yolande:

I am planning to come down to Baltimore Saturday and leave Monday. You need not meet me.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

2 August 1946

21-11-41

Dear Yolande:

I am leaving for camp Friday night and will be gone until the seventeenth. You have not let us know what kind of boots and what size you want for Du Bois. You ought to hurry up about it. Also remember that the Boule meets at Morgan College the twenty-first and that the Sommervilles from California and other friends will be there. We certainly, if possible, ought to have a housekeeper by that time. My address will be Cambridge Gun and Rod Club, Rural Free Delivery, Litchfield, Maine. Let me know how mother is getting on and give her my love. Miss Diggs will be here probably until I return. You can write her.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Yolande Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland.

Galen de Williams

[1946?]

In School
In Haste

31-13-45

Dearest Pops -

Just a line to let you know that I interviewed another house-keeper today. The only housekeeper has resigned & found some one - the plumber has been

Keeper & keeping up
with school &
workmen I'm about
frantic. I have to
stay in bed Monday
& get a little rest
rest.

Dick's have well.
I'll stop and
drop you a note as
I know these

working on the "pounder-
ros" for 3 days &
sees & have all
papers in. Now for
the builder & pictures.

Among other things
a sewer stoppage
developed & part of the
lawn had to be dug
up again - Between
phoning & running
& fixing a home -

interesting time and

how glad,

Yolande.

P.S. Dr. Hamlin

can talk on Sunday

[September (?), 1944]

Sunday

Dearest Pops.

Now I will try to get your financial report straight but first about the family.

Dr. Higgins came to see Mama and says she's doing fine - her pressure is down & he's very pleased with her

22-2-17

her letter that Dr. Ferebee says she'll get the things & send me a bill for Dr. Bois' share I don't know whether this includes everything or not. I'll get more details fr Dr. Bois. I particularly want to be sure about the lamp at once because

progress.

We've heard fr DuBois & she seems as happy as a "bug in a rug". As you know we're supposed to supply a small rug - dresser scarves curtains & bed spread. Also a study lamp. It seems, fr

of her eyes

Around the house—
the hot water is on
the blink again. Oh
call the man tomorrow
I suppose we'll have
to get that pump
replaced as the
man said we
probably would.

Now as to the
financial mess

I spent $25.00 in Bath on toilet articles small articles of clothing & express charges. In New York I took $65.00 with me & had $5.00 when I returned. $10.00 of this were my personal expenses — which leaves $50.00

22-2-18

the other calls are until the next bill comes

I think that is everything - only do I forget I have 3 checks to write this week & I don't want them to have. The account is perilously near the $200.00 (which is mine!) the checks will be for Saturdays groceries -

spent on meals, - railroad, things at Macy's & movies.

I enclose the Wanamaker bill & as ye see $13.60 of these are for my hat & shoes. Also enclosed the telephone extra bill for last month. I want to know what

oil; & gas bill. I have cash — hand for Miss Matilda next Sat. & miscellaneous expenses.

Here's hoping that after this 1st year the school expenses will be less — for these initial things anyway.

There was a long distance call for ye today — I think it was fr Nashville — I guess

the operator ya N.Y
telephone number.

I hope ya find
everything - René's
apartment. I left
the laundry a c
chair. There's a
plate of yams
down there. I got
a card from her &
will write &

22-2-19

everything? Hope so
Lots of love
Yolanda.

thank her for her
"clientele" has certainly
that a nice
photo of you in "Ebony"
I like the effect of
the "Victory". Do you
have a copy I can
D. D. Bass? She will
recognize the setting
how does the
take care of

21-11-42

28 October 1946

Dear Yolande:

I am rushing you the enclosed check for $282.00; that is $160.00 for the house, $80.00 for the maid (covering the weeks ending November 9, 16, 23, and 30); and $42.00 for the nurse, (seven days at $6.00). Of course this last is an estimate, but when you find out just what the cost is, let me know. I will talk to you over the phone tonight.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Yolande Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

18 November 1946

Dear Yolande:

Enclosed is an advertisement of tires for sale which appeared in the Sunday's papers; both at Gimbels and Abraham Straus in Brooklyn. I started to order some for you and then was not quite sure of your tire size. I think that it is 600-16 but I do not know. Then, too, I do not know whether you want four or five tires or whether Sam has done anything yet.

21-11

Of course these will be sold out before you get this letter, but I am sure there will be more offered for sale next Sunday; therefore write me immediately and let me know the size and whether or not I should buy them; and whether you are going to be able to finance the transaction. I am well; give my love to yourself and mother.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Yolande Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

[November (?), 1946]

Friday

Dearest Pop -

I - including the report for the exterminator - waiting for it has held up my letter. The man says the house is really infested so I suppose we'll have to have something done. I called him because the mice have eaten 4 or 5 more holes in Mama's couch. The man says it because the house is surrounded by woods & isolated & empty so much of the time.

Thanks for the ties - please

31-5-38

order me 2 600-16 tires and
2 600-16 tubes. I will pay
you because I must have them.
Mail is much better -
now I must rush as today is
"Dunbar Day" & I've given 2
productions & have another
tonight -

Lots of love -

Yolanda.

31-5-39

[December, 1946]

Friday

Dearest Papa —

Just a line to say I suppose you'd like expecting me back there on Friday 13th to pick up Dr. Barnes. I've told her what I pack & what I send so I suppose you've made arrangements with her for trains - meeting

31-5-46

was - Dr - Driggers has
been - every day.
I guess the question
of nerves.
Let me hear
from you - so I know
exactly your
plans.
Lots of love -
Yolande.

P.S If possible please
have Shirley have

her & Ds.

My play are longer so I'm a bit frantic. Also I'd like such a bed with the grippe but I had & get up & get to school.

Mama is doing fair - but had a slight set-back with pain - the intestines & rectum. She sees Helen

Dr. Bois' hair done Thursday or Friday morning. I know she needs it badly & it will save me a lot of time as I don't know hair-dressers there now. Thanks. Y.

P.S. Thanks so much for the special with the "case history" & the "Pan-African Congress". I took it & the gentleman that might & he was most grateful. Y.

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WESTERN UNION

1946 FEB 12 AM 7 30

1201

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SDG

NEWCOMB CARLTON, CHAIRMAN
JAMES L. FLY, PRESIDENT

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21-11-43

A242CC 00C DL PD

WASHINGTON DC 531P FEB 11 1946

DR W E B DUBOIS, NATIONAL ASSOICATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVE NYK

WILLKIE AWARDS DINNER SET FOR FRIDAY MARCH FIRST UNITED NATIONS CLUB WASHINGTON DC PLEASE RESERVE DATE SHALL SEND FORMAL INVITATION AND PROGRAM LATER

AGNES E MEYER

701P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

The Honorary Committee

of the

Wendell L. Willkie Awards for Negro Journalism

invites

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois

to be its guest

at a dinner

in honor of the winners of the awards

at the United Nations Club

1701 Nineteenth Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

on Friday evening, March the first

at seven o'clock

21-12

THE HONORARY COMMITTEE:

DR. DOUGLAS S. FREEMAN, CHAIRMAN
DR. FRANK AYDELOTTE
DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
MRS. EUGENE MEYER
DR. ROBERT G. SPROUL
MR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS
MR. CARL VAN DOREN

MR. MARK F. ETHRIDGE, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE OF JOURNALISTS

R. S. V. P.

MRS. EUGENE MEYER
1624 CRESCENT PLACE, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

DRESS INFORMAL

[Wendell Wilkie Awards Committee]

date?

MEMORANDUM OUTLINING ORGANIZATION SET-UP AND PROCEDURES DECIDED UPON AT ORGANIZATION MEETING OF THE WENDELL L. WILLKIE AWARDS FOR JOURNALISM HELD ON NOVEMBER 18, 1946.

The Wendell L. Willkie Awards for Journalism was organized as a corporation for literary purposes under the laws of the District of Columbia on November 18, 1946. Its Certificate of Incorporation states its purposes as follows:

> "The particular business and objects of this corporation shall be to encourage and foster co-operation among authors, journalists and publishers of the White and Negro races; to make awards in cash or other property in recognition of distinguished articles, books and other literary works on subjects affecting the general public interest, written by authors or journalists of the Negro race, or written by anyone on the staff of or affiliated with the publishers of a publication owned or controlled by persons of the Negro race; to receive and acquire funds or other property, real or personal, by gift or purchase, to invest and reinvest the same and, after payment of the necessary expenses of operation, to utilize the same, the proceeds thereof, and the income therefrom, for the foregoing literary purposes."

The corporation has no stockholders and its Certificate of Incorporation expressly provides that no part of its net earnings shall ever enure to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

Its governing body is a Board of Directors whose members are as follows:

Douglas S. Freeman of the Richmond News Leader - Chairman
Paul Bellamy of the Cleveland Plain Dealer
Marquis W. Childs - Columnist
Jonathan W. Daniels of the Raleigh News and Observer
Mark F. Ethridge of the Courier Journal and Louisville Times

Wilbur S. Forrest of the New York Herald Tribune
Louis M. Lyons of the Boston Globe
Agnes E. Meyer of the Washington Post
Paul C. Smith of the San Francisco Chronicle
Frank L. Stanley of the Louisville Defender
William O. Walker of the Cleveland Call and Post
P. Bernard Young, Jr., of the Norfolk Journal and Guide

Its by-laws provide that its directors automatically become members of the corporation and that additional members may be elected by its directors. The following have been elected as additional members of the corporation:

Dr. Frank Aydelotte
Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Dr. Robert G. Sproul
Mr. Channing H. Tobias
Mr. Carl Van Doren
Dr. Charles H. Wesley
Dr. Frank P. Graham
Mr. Marshall Field
Mr. Hodding Carter
Gov. Ellis G. Arnall
Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas
Most Rev. Bernard J. Sheil
Dr. James Frank Dobie

Those elected as officers are as follows:

President, Douglas S. Freeman
First Vice President, Mark F. Ethridge
Second Vice President, Frank L. Stanley
Treasurer, Agnes E. Meyer
Secretary, Marquis W. Childs
Assistant Treasurer and Assistant Secretary, Marie R. O'Hara

It has been decided that in February or March of each year commencing with the month of February, 1947, the corporation will make the following awards:

1. $250 in cash and a suitable plaque to the bona fide Negro newspaper whose journalism during the preceding calendar year has shown the best example

of public service which contributes to the greater enjoyment of the democratic way of life by all people. To be eligible a bona fide Negro newspaper must be published, owned or controlled by persons of the Negro race.

2. $250 in cash to an individual writer for the best example of objective newspaper reporting during the preceding calendar year.

3. $250 in cash to an individual writer for the best example of writing during the preceding calendar year, other than news reporting, but including columns (serious or humorous) feature articles and editorials.

21-41

To be eligible for Award 1 above the newspaper must be a bona fide newspaper which is published, owned or controlled by persons of the Negro race. To be eligible for Awards 2 and 3 above the writer must be either a person of the Negro race, or be on the staff of or affiliated with a bona fide newspaper published, owned or controlled by persons of the Negro race and the articles written by such person must have been published, during the calendar year preceding that during which the award is made, in a bona fide newspaper published, owned or controlled by persons of the Negro race.

It has been tentatively decided to have a dinner on February 28, 1947 in Washington, at which the three awards for the calendar year 1946 will be announced.

The final judging will be by a committee composed of Mark F. Ethridge, of the Courier Journal and Louisville Times; Frank L. Stanley, of the Louisville Defender; Wilbur Forrest, of the New York Herald Tribune; P. Bernard Young, Jr., of the Norfolk Journal; and Marquis W. Childs. In the event

a newspaper with which a member of this committee is associated comes under consideration for Award 1 above, this committee will appoint an alternate to vote in the stead of such committee member and will appoint such alternate from those nominated by the National Negro Publishers Association.

Fourteen regional committees have been appointed in order to secure wide coverage throughout the country. The function of each of such committees is to annually nominate not more than five eligible nominees for each of the three annual awards, such nominations to be made from such entrants in the region covered by such committee as have placed their entries in the hands of such regional committee by January 15 of the year following the calendar year in which the entered material is published. Such nominations are to be forwarded by the regional committee to the committee on awards not later than the ensuing February 1. The committee on awards, whose membership has been given above, then does the final judging.

81-11

The membership of the regional committees is as follows:

Regional Committee 1

Mark F. Ethridge of the Courier Journal and Louisville Times,
and
Frank L. Stanley of the Louisville Defender.

Regional Committee 2

Paul Bellamy of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and

William O. Walker of the Cleveland Call and Post.

Regional Committee 3

Marquis W. Childs, Columnist, Washington, D. C., and
Carl Murphy of the Afro-American Newspapers.

Regional Committee 4

Virginius Dabney of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, and
P. Bernard Young, Jr. of the Norfolk Journal and Guide.

Regional Committee 5

Marshall Field of the Chicago Sun, and
Charles P. Browning of the Chicago Defender.

Regional Committee 6

Wilbur S. Forrest of the New York Herald Tribune, and
such Negro journalist as he shall designate.

Regional Committee 7

Palmer Hoyt of the Denver Post, and
Roscoe J. Dungee of the Oklahoma Black Dispatch.

Regional Committee 8

Louis W. Lyons of the Boston Globe, and
William E. Wiley of the Boston Chronicle

Regional Committee 9

Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution, and
C. A. Scott of the Atlanta Daily World.

Regional Committee 10

Basil L. Walters of the Detroit Free Press, and
Louis E. Martin of the Michigan Chronicle.

Regional Committee 11

Oveta Culp Hobby of the Houston Post, and

Carter Wesley of the Houston Informer.

Regional Committee 12

Roy A. Roberts of the Kansas City Star, and

Dowdal H. Davis, Jr. of the Kansas City Call.

Regional Committee 13

Paul Smith of the San Francisco Chronicle, and

Leon Washington of the Los Angeles Sentinel.

Regional Committee 14

Hodding Carter of the Delta Times Democrat, and

C. C. Dejoie of the Louisiana Weekly.

A small executive committee of the board of directors has been elected. Its members are:

Frank L. Stanley
Mark F. Ethridge
Agnes E. Meyer.

[Wendell Wilkie Awards Committee]

November 27,1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director of Special Research,
National Assocation for the Advancement of Colored People, New York City
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

As you may be aware last year there was established in honor of Wendell L. Willkie an annual award to the Negro newspaperman or newspaper woman who had done outstanding work. The awards which were made were similar in purpose to the Pulitzer Awards given annually by the Columbia School of Journalism. In March of this year three awards were made, all going to members of Negro newspaper staffs.

Recently, in order to put the matter on a more formal, permanent basis, a corporation, known as "The Wendell L. Willkie Awards for Journalism", was organized on November 18, under the laws of the District of Columbia.

The organization of these awards was begun by Mr. Willkie shortly before his death and the awards were named after him some time ago, with Mrs. Willkie's permission, as a tribute to his outstanding achievements in the betterment of inter-racial relations.

Dr. Douglas S. Freeman, editor of the Richmond News-Leader, has been elected chairman of the Board of Directors and president of the corporation. The governing body of the corporation is a Board of Directors, whose members are listed in the enclosed memorandum outlining the organization set-up and procedures decided upon on November 18, 1946.

At the November 18, 1946 meeting you were elected a member of the corporation. I hope very much that you will consent to be a member.

You will have no duties. Once a year you may be asked to vote by mail ballot for new directors.

There will be three awards in 1947. They are as follows:

1. $250.00 in cash and a suitable plaque to the bona fide Negro newspaper, whose journalism during 1946 has shown the best example of a public service which contributes to the greater enjoyment of a democratic way of life by all people.

2. $250.00 in cash to an individual writer for the best example of objective newspaper reporting during 1946.

3. $250.00 in cash to an individual writer for the best example of writing during 1946, other than news reporting, but including columns (serious or humorous), feature articles and editorials.

To be eligible for award numbered 1 above the newspaper must be a bona fide newspaper which is published, owned or controlled by persons of the Negro race. To be eligible for awards numbered 2 and 3 above the writer must be either a person of the Negro race or be on the staff of, or affiliated, with the publisher of a bona fide newpaper owned or controlled by persons of the Negro race, and the article written by such person must have been published during 1946 in a bona fide newspaper published, owned or controlled by persons of the Negro race. All material, to be eligible, must be received by a regional committee not later than January 15, 1947.

21-11

The plan is to have material submitted to regional committees throughout the country. Each of such committees will screen the entries submitted to it down to not more than five nominees for each of the classifications for which an award will be made.

The final judging will be by the Committee on Awards, whose chairman is Mark F. Ethridge, and whose other members are Frank L. Stanley, of the Louisville Defender; Wilbur Forrest, of the New York Herald Tribune; P. Bernard Young, Jr., of the Norfolk Journal and myself. In the event a newspaper of one of the members of the Committee on Awards is under consideration for the award, the Committee on Awards will appoint an alternate to vote in the stead of such committee member and will appoint such alternate from those nominated by the National Negro News-Paper Publishers Association.

February 28, 1947 has been tentatively set as the date for a dinner in Washington at which the awards will be announced and I hope that you will reserve this date.

We plan to write all eligible newspapers telling them that material must be in the hands of the Regional Committees by January 15, 1947.

Mr. Stanley, Mr. Walker, Mr. Young and others of the Negro press tell me that they feel the award serves a useful purpose in stimulating Negro newspapermen. I am sure you will

agree that it is a recognition that they deserve.

Please address all correspondence to Miss Marie R. O'Hara, the assistant secretary of the corporation, at 1624 Crescent Place, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

Marguis W. Childs

21-11

[Wendell Willkie Awards Comm.]

3 December 1946

Dear madam:

I shall be glad to serve on the corporation of the Willkie Award for Journalism.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-11-01

Miss Marie R. O'Hara
Assistant Secretary of the Willkie Corporation
1624 Crescent Place, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Speakers at the Wendell L. Willkie Awards dinner:

The Honorable Spruille Braden, The Assistant Secretary of State
Mr. P. B. Young, Sr., Publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY
PUBLISHERS OF INDEXES AND REFERENCE WORKS
950-972 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
NEW YORK 52, N. Y.

21-11-02

July 24, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have sent today galleys A-D, 1-20 of the Encyclopedia of the Negro with the corresponding copy to Dr. Rayford W. Logan of Howard University. Duplicate copies of these same galleys are being sent today to you and to Mr. L. A. Roy.

Very truly yours,

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY

H. K. Lansner

HKL:L

H. K. Lansner

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY
PUBLISHERS OF INDEXES AND REFERENCE WORKS
950-972 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
NEW YORK 52, N. Y.

21-11-03

August 9, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are sending to you under separate cover today the remaining galleys of the Encyclopedia of the Negro. This includes all of the front and back material and galleys 40-48 of the bibliographical entries. Duplicates of these galleys have been sent to Dr. Logan (with the copy) and to Mr. L. A. Roy of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Very truly yours,

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY

H. K. Lansner

hkl:l

H. K. Lansner

[Win The Peace Conference]

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1220

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12-13-25

Request to speak

W E B DUBOIS

20 WEST 40 ST NYK=..

MORE THAN 700 DELEGATES TO THE WIN THE PEACE CONFERENCE HELD IN WASHINGTON APRIL 5TH, 6TH AND 7TH AND ADDRSSED BY SUCH OUT STANDING PROGRESSIVES AS SENATOR PEPPER, REPRESENTATIVE SABATH AND DE LACY HAVE VOTED TO SET UP A PERMANENT NATIONAL ORGANIZATION CALLED QUOTE THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO WIN THE PEACE UNQUOTE DEVOTED TO MOBILIZING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AGAINST A THIRD WORLD WAR. ON BEHALF OF COLONEL EVANS F CARLSON AND PAUL ROBESON, WHO HAVE BOTH ACCEPTED THE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP OF OUR GROUP, WE SHOULD LIKE TO URGE YOU TO ACCEPT YOUR NOMINATION BY THE CONFERENCE TO THE NEW NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF MORE THAN 70 PROMINENT AMERICANS. AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE ALREADY ACCEPTED ARE ROBERT W KENNY, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF CALIFORNIA: RUSSELL NIXON OF THE UNITED ELECTRICAL RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, MILLARD LAMPELL, OUTSTANDING SPOKESMAN FOR VETERANS, BARTLEY CRUM, RABBI J. X. COHEN OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, AND MR LEO KRYZCKI OF THE AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS. YOUR ORIGINAL SPONSORSHIP OF THE CONFERENCE AND THE STAND YOU HAVE TAKEN IN PUBLIC LIFE HAVE CAUSED THE DELEGATES TO FEEL THAT YOU BELONG AMONG THE LEADERS OF THIS MOVEMENT AND WE STRONGLY

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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1946 APR 24 AM 3 38

URGE YOUR ACCEPTANCE. WILL YOU PLEASE WIRE ME YOUR DECISION COLLECT IN CARE OF THE WIN THE PEACE CONFERENCE, 1309 14TH STREET, NW, WASHINGTON D.C.=

CLARK FOREMAN PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE, CHAIRMAN OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE WIN THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

700 5 6 7 1309 14

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

21-18-26

2 May 1946

My dear Sir:

Your letter of April twenty-third and declaration of principles found me in California. I write to say that I endorse the statement of principles and will be glad to serve on the Provisional New York Committee.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WIN THE PEACE CONFERENCE
1309 Fourteenth Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

42-8F-1

10 September 1946

My dear Dr. Wise:

The Pan African Congress is preparing a petition to present to the Assembly of the United Nations. I am enclosing a copy. I should very much like to have a number of representative Jewish organizations endorse this petition. Will you kindly suggest to me the names and addresses of organizations to whom I may write? I shall be under great obligation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Rabbi Steven S. Wise
40 West 68th Street
New York City

[Woodard Benefit Comm.]

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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NEWYORK NY JUL 30 1946

DR W E B DUBOIS

NAACP 20 WEST 40 ST NYK

PLEASE BE PRESENT AT PLANNING MEETING OF THE ISAAC WOODARD BENEFIT FUND AT LITTLE THEATRE AUDITORIUM HARLEM YMCA 180 WEST 135TH STREET AND 7TH AVENUE WEDNESDAY JULY 31ST 8 PM. PLANS CALL FOR MONSTER BENEFIT PROGRAM AT LEWISOHN STADIUM AUGUST 16TH. NEED YOUR AID IN ESTABLISHING A WHIRLWIND TICKET SALES CAMPAIGN AND TO HELP US DRAMATIZE THE PLIGHT OF NEGROES IN AMERICA WE ARE COUNTING ON YOU

CAROL BRICE AND JOE LOUIS COCHAIRMAN
ISAAC WOODARD BENEFIT COMMITTEE
2340 8TH AVENUE

1059P

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

31 July 1946

21.13-2N

Gentlemen:

I sympathize with your plans but regret to say that I shall be unable to be present.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

ISAAC WOODARD BENEFIT COMMITTEE
2340 Eighth Avenue
New York City

[Workers Defense League]

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN
122 EAST 22ND STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
21

September 16, 1946

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I was delighted and highly honored when asked recently to be chairman of the National Committee of Sponsors of the Workers Defense League's luncheon in honor of Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina.

The occasion is the presentation to Dr. Graham of the League's annual Clendenin award for distinguished service in behalf of labor's rights. The award, in the form of a plaque, will be given to Dr. Graham Saturday, November 2nd, 12:30 p.m., at a luncheon held in conjunction with the Tenth Anniversary Conference of the Workers Defense League, at the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York.

21-13

The award has gone in the past to Senator Robert M. La Follette, John F. Finerty, A. Philip Randolph, and Rev. James Myers.

Dr. Graham warmly merits the award - for more services to labor and all humanity than can be recorded here. He has been in the forefront of every struggle for labor's democratic rights in the South. Through years of active work with the National Sharecroppers Fund he has contributed much to the campaign to improve conditions of Negro and white sharecroppers and tenant farmers. He has opened the University of North Carolina to labor institutes, an innovation in the South. He has pioneered for adequate federal aid to education, so vital to the cause of equal justice to labor and minorities. He is a tower of strength to all concerned with the improvement of our democracy and opposed to every form of totalitarianism.

Thus I am sincerely happy to invite you to be one of the National Committee of Sponsors of this testimonial to Dr. Frank P. Graham. May I hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

Eduard C. Lindeman

[Worker's Defense League]

11-13-20

14 October 1946

Dear Mr. Lindeman:

I shall be very glad to be among the sponsors of the testimonial to Dr. Frank B. Graham.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Eduard C. Lindeman
122 East 22nd Street
New York 10, N. Y.

WORLD YOUTH COUNCIL

GRAND BUILDINGS,
TRAFALGAR SQUARE,
LONDON —— W.C. 2.
GT. BRITAIN.
(WHitehall 8580)

Oct 27 - Nov 15

Tentative Draft

Prepared by the PLATFORM COMMITTEE, UNITED STATES ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

CHARTER OF YOUTH NEEDS AND RIGHTS

Preamble

To the freedom-loving young people of the world has fallen the greatest share of responsibility in the struggle to free mankind from "tyranny, slavery, oppression and intolerance".

Whether on battlefield or in guerilla units, on ships, in offices or classrooms, in factories or on farms; the young people of the world have earned their right to a democratic, secure and peaceful future.

These youth are determined to fight on until the evil forces of fascism are eliminated and to work to the realization of the goals stated in the Charter of the United Nations.

These youth "reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights in the dignity and worth of the human person ..... and their determination to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors ..... and to promote the economic and social advancement of all people".

To ensure that victory will mean that never again shall young people be forced to suffer and endure slave labor, atrocities in concentration camps, racial and religious persecution, the distortion of education and culture -

To ensure that never again shall young people, as in the Axis countries, be corrupted and led to work against the best interests of mankind -

And with a deep sense of responsibility and devotion to the cause for which so many of our generation have given their lives -

We, the American delegates to the World Youth Conference, representing diverse student and community organizations, occupations, religions and racial groups, are determined to work unitedly for the following needs and rights for all:

I. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

The right of young people to grow up in a world free from the destruction of wars and fascism must be guaranteed through the ratification of the United Nations Charter and the co-operative work of the United Nations to secure and maintain peace and to provide security for all peoples.

P.T.O.

II. SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES

All nations must be guaranteed the right of self-determination and the peoples of subject nations given the opportunity to develop self-government and achieve independence. The right of all peoples to have a voice and representative in the Councils of the United Nations must be assured.

III. ECONOMIC WELFARE

The right to gainful and satisfying employment, with adequate wages and under good working conditions must be guaranteed to all.

Recognizing that jobs for young people are dependent on the economic welfare of the world, measures must be taken in each country and by the United Nations to develop an economy which guarantees full employment.

IV. SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL WELFARE

All young people, regardless of race, color, creed, sex, economic status or national origin, must be guaranteed educational training commensurate with their ability without discriminatory restrictions and which will provide adequate preparation for work and citizenship responsibilities.

Recognizing that our democracy is enriched by diverse cultural heritages, the rights of all people to preserve and extend their cultural traditions must be assured.

The conditions for healthy living, good housing, adequate nutrition, medical care, ample rest and recreation must be guaranteed to all.

V. CITIZENSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

Young people must be accorded their full rights of citizenship without any discriminatory restrictions on the basis of race, color, creed, sex,national origin, such as the limitation of franchise by poll taxes or property laws.

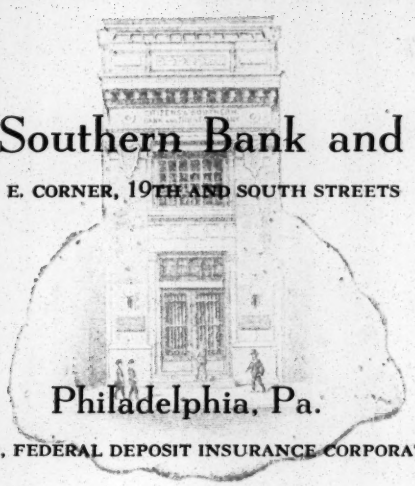
The right to form or join organizations of their own choosing and practise freedom of speech and assembly must be ensured to all; the elimination of all kinds of discrimination on the basis of race, color, faith, national origin or political belief must be assured.

VI. NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL YOUTH COOPERATION

In order that young people may assume their responsibilities and contribute their share of work and ideas in the building of a world community of nations, mutual understanding and cooperation must be strengthened and made effective through suitable channels of organization and cooperation at home and internationally.

R. R. WRIGHT, SR., PRESIDENT

PHONE, PENNYPACKER 9044



Citizens & Southern Bank and Trust Co.

N. E. CORNER, 19TH AND SOUTH STREETS

Philadelphia, Pa.

MEMBER, FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION

21-29-91

May 9, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
2302 Montebella Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Dr. Dubois:

We have received, in the absence of Major Wright, your very beautiful announcement of the celebration of your Golden Wedding Anniversary. I know that Major Wright would be happy to congratulate you on your fifty years of happy marriage, but he has been absent from the bank for the past three months, confined to the hospital and sanitarium. I am happy to announce, however, that he is very rapidly recovering from a very severe case of pneumonia contracted while he was holding the National Freedom Day celebration in Philadelphia.

Please permit me, as his son in his absence, to offer my own congratulations and that of my entire family. May you live many more years and continue the great work which has occuppied your attention and benefited mankind for so many years in the past.

With highest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Emanuel C. Wright

EMANUEL C. WRIGHT

ECW/idh

Congratulations
on your
Golden Wedding
Anniversary
50

Together down the Road of Life
You two have made your way.
Each year a stepping stone to this,
Your Golden Wedding Day.
What happy memories must be yours
As now you both review
The happiness these Golden years
Have brought to both of you.

Mrs Lelia Wright + Family

TEL. AUDUBON 3-3481 REG. NO. 12355

LOUIS T. WRIGHT, M. D.

218 WEST 139TH ST. NEW YORK

HOURS 1 TO 2 P. M. AND 6 TO 8 P. M.

DAILY EXCEPTING SUNDAYS AND WEDNESDAYS

℞ 2-17-46

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed is your blood chemistry report, which is very good —

Sincerely

Louis T. Wright

2-17

P.S. Hope you are feeling fine

ESTABLISHED 1843

BENDINER & SCHLESINGER INC.
ANALYTICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL LABORATORY
THIRD AVENUE & TENTH STREET
NEW YORK

Name Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

Doctor Louis T. Wright

Date Feb. 15, 1946 No. M 10

CHEMICAL ANALYSIS OF BLOOD

			Normal Range
Non-Protein Nitrogen	——	Milligrams per 100 c. c. of blood	25-35
Urea Nitrogen	—— 13.3	" " " " " "	12-15
Uric Acid	——	" " " " " "	1-3
Creatinine	—— 1.5	" " " " " "	1-2.5
Sugar	——119.0	" " " " " "	80-120
Chlorides	— 511.	" " " " " "	570-620
Cholesterol	——	" " " " " "	150-190
Calcium	——	" " " " " "	9-11
Phosphorous	——	" " " " " "	3-4
Carbon Dioxide	——		
Icteric Index	——		
Van den Bergh	——		

21-17

REMARKS:

BENDINER & SCHLESINGER LABORATORY

John Tennyson Myers, M.D.
DIRECTOR

BENDINER & SCHLESINGER, INC., REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

21-17-12

27 March 1946

My dear Dr. Wright:

Enclosed is the report of the Life Extension Examiners.

Also I am enclosing a memorandum which I sent Mr. White concerning my lectures in the West. I leave Saturday. I am also sending memorandum of my proposed report to the Board.

I trust you will see Mrs. Du Bois sometime soon. I plan to get her back home in May if that is advisable or in June.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Louis T. Wright
218 West 139th Street
New York City

LOUIS T. WRIGHT, M.D.
218 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK

May 10, 1946

21-29-81

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois,
2302 Montebello Terrace,
Baltimore 14, Md.

Dear Friends:

On behalf of my family and myself, I wish to extend our greetings and very best wishes, on the occasion of your Golden Anniversary

Very Sincerely yours,

Louis T. Wright

21-17-13

27 November 1946

Dear Dr. Wright:

The bearer John Baker is an elevator man at 20 West 40th Street. He has a slight paralysis of the right side of his face and has been to a public clinic. I think he ought to have careful attention. He seems to be a nice fellow. I am taking the liberty of sending him to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Louis T. Wright
218 West 139th Street
New York City

For Your Golden Wedding

You must be very happy
On your Golden Wedding Day,
As you look back on happy things
You've shared along life's way;
And as this day that means so much
Becomes a memory,
So may you find still sweeter joys
Through all the years to be.

Ada M. Young
"Toulouse"
"Kikik"

[P.B. YOUNG]

21-2-18

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201 (38)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
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NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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BRL113 DL PD=WUX NORFOLK VIR 10 1048A

DR AND MRS W E B DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE (HAM 9015)= 1946 MAY 10 PM 12 42

WE SEND YOU OUR WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS AND FELICITATIONS ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR GOLDEN WEDDING AND WISH FOR YOU MANY MORE HAPPY AND USEFUL YEARS OF FRUITFUL LIFE AND HAPPY COMPANIONSHIP=

P B YOUNG SR P BERNARD YOUNG JR THOMAS W YOUNG NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

21-24-19

8 November 1946

My dear Mr. Young:

Mr. Gardiner of Fourah Bay College, West Africa tells me that he entrusted you with a valuable paper on some conditions in Sierra Leone. I wonder if you would let me see a copy?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. F. B. Young, Jr.
c/o Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

20 August 1946

21-26-80

Dear Pauline:

Your little note found me on vacation in Maine and now I am just rushing through on the way to attend the Boule in Baltimore. Will get in touch with you when I return.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Pauline Young
948 St. Nicholas Avenue
New York City

4 September 1946

21-26-85

My dear Pauline:

I was so sorry not to be at home over the week-end so as to see you. I shall hope to come by Wilmington this fall, as I go back and forward to Baltimore. Greet yourself and my friends.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Pauline Young
1644 West 4th Street
Wilmington, Delaware

[Young]

Sounds mean

901 French St.
Wil., 30, Del.
Oct. 10, 1946

Dear, dear Dr. DuBois -

Thank you very much for considering coming to us this year. We need you badly and next year we will still need you. We should be better off then, financially, - - - I hope. It is a battle of democracy in this du Pont stronghold and we are making a dent.

Grace has reached you by now I hope. And she DID call you before but received no response by telephone several times she says. And she is truthful.

Do stop by on your return from the South!

Love,
Pauline

21-26-102

[YMCA - Detroit]

HOWARD A. COFFIN, PRESIDENT FRED P. TODD, TREASURER A. G. STUDER, M. D., GENERAL SECRETARY

DETROIT YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

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635 EAST ELIZABETH STREET
ZONE 1

PERCIVAL R. PIPER, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

21-27-23

January 2, 1946

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
20 West 40th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Your secretary informed me that you would be available for an address in March, at the St. Antoine Y.M.C.A. in Detroit. We are scheduling you for Sunday, March 31 at 4 o'clock.

Please let me have your approval, terms and mats for newspaper publicity. May I have this confirmation as soon as possible, as we are anxious to complete the printing of our schedule?

Sincerely yours,

Prather J. Hauser

PRATHER J. HAUSER
Executive Secretary

PJH:aw

********** 20 West 40th Street

21-22-24

4 January 1946

My dear Mr. Hauser:

I have just received your letter of January second. I am afraid March thirty-first would be too late. I want to take in Detroit on my way West and March third would suit me better. Can you make that arrangement? My fee would be one hundred dollars.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Prather J. Hauser
YMCA
635 East Elizabeth Street
Detroit 1, Michigan

HOWARD A. COFFIN, PRESIDENT FRED P. TODD, TREASURER A. G. STUDER, M. D., GENERAL SECRETARY

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ZONE 1

PERCIVAL R. PIPER, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

21-27-25

March 20, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Bubois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:-

When I last talked to you about our Forum schedule, you were not quite sure that you could come to Detroit on March 31. As we had no other date at the time we decided to leave it open hoping that you could arrange to come.

Will you please confirm this date if it is now O.K.?

Sincerely,

Prather J. Hauser

PRATHER J. HAUSER
Executive Secretary

PJH/mej

22 March 1946

21-27-26

My dear Mr. Hauser:

I am expecting to speak for you March thirty-first, the fee to be one hundred dollars.

I shall arrive in Detroit on the Empire State Express at 10:15 p. m., March thirtieth.

Will you please secure for me passage and parlor car seat from Detroit to Chicago on the train leaving at eight a. m., Monday, April first or any other train that will get me into Chicago before six p. m. on Monday. Please buy the ticket and parlor car seat and subtract it from my fee.

I am expecting that you will find me a stopping place as usual.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Prather J. Hauser
Detroit YMCA
635 East Elizabeth Street
Detroit 1

[MARCH 31, 1946

Timely Subjects *by* Men *of the* Times

2-27

1946 FORUM LECTURE SERIES

Public Invited

ST. ANTOINE BRANCH

Young Men's Christian Association

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January 6

"THE ECONOMIC CRISIS FACING BLACK AMERICA"

A. Phillip Randolph, President International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, New York City.

January 13

"COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING IN PEACE TIME"

Five leading High Schools in an Inter-racial Panel. Alvin Loving, director.

January 20

"UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING"

Truman K. Gibson, Jr., formerly civilian aide to Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

January 27

"WHERE ARE WE IN RACE RELATIONS IN DETROIT?

Mr. James K. Watkins, Chairman, City of Detroit Inter-racial Committee; Atty. Edward A. Simmons, Member of City of Detroit Inter-racial Committee; Mr. Joseph Moyne, Executive Secretary of Detroit Round Table of Catholics, Jews and Protestants; Miss Laurentine Collins, Director of school and community relationships of Detroit Public Schools.

February 3

Open

February 10

"THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NEGRO"

Dr. Herman G. Canady, Head Department of Psychology West Virginia State College, Charleston, West Virginia. Sponsored by Ellitorian Business Women's Club, Mrs. Jaunita Jackson, chairman.

...ary Through Easter Sunday

February 17

"OUR OPPORTUNITIES IN AMERICA"

George S. Schuyler, traveler, lecturer and columnist for the Pittsburgh Courier.

February 24

"THE POST-WAR OUTLOOK FOR THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH"

Dr. John Malcus Ellison, President Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia.

March 3

Edgar A. Guest, beloved poet and humorist of the Detroit Free Press. Mr. Guest will discuss his philosophy of life and read some of his poems.

March 10

"RACE RELATIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA"

Dr. James E. Shepherd, President of the North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, North Carolina. North Carolina is said to be the most progressive State in the South in its treatment of Negroes.

March 17

Michigan Underwriters Association will sponsor a prominent Insurance Executive as speaker on this occasion. F. R. Matlock is President of M.U.A.

March 24

"YOUTH'S PLACE IN THE POST-WAR WORLD"

Dr. Howard Y. McClusky, Department of Adult Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Sponsored by Youth Department N.A.A.C.P. Miss Roberta McQuire, director Educational Youth Activities of N.A.A.C.P.

March 31

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, World Traveler, author, lecturer and director, Department Research National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

April 7

Boy Scouts of America, local council will sponsor a program with a national scout executive as principle speaker. J. J. Gross, Field Scout Executive, in charge.

April 14

Booker T. Washington Trade Association will sponsor Dr. Frederic D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute, as speaker. L. C. Blount, President.

April 19

GOOD FRIDAY NOON SERVICES

Preacher, Dr. G. Lake Imes, Presbyterian Minister of National reputation, Field Representative for the Boards of National Missions and Christian Education of the Presbyterian church. New York, New York.

April 21

EASTER SUNDAY

Special Easter sermon. Preacher, Dr. G. Lake Imes, New York, New York. Sponsored by Tuskegee Club, R. Conrad Vaughn, President.

ST. ANTOINE BRANCH

Religious Work Committee:

L. C. Blount, *Chairman*
Harvey Hill, *Pianist*
Peter H. Craig
Rev. E. C. Simmons
Rev. C. L. Rountree
Walter J. Fields
Ethelbert Lowe
Edward B. Swintt
Rev. R. L. Bradby, Jr.

HOWARD A. COFFIN, PRESIDENT
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PRATHER J. HAUSER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

PERCIVAL R. PIPER, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

21-26-25

Lecture
1946

November 5th, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, 3, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

We are making up our Forum Series for 1947 and we are inviting you to speak for us on Sunday afternoon, March 30th, 1947 at 4 o'clock.

If you can arrange to be here on that day, please let me know as soon as possible. Please state the terms and give us the subject, for advertising purposes.

Sincerely yours,

Prather J. Hauser

PRATHER J. HAUSER
Executive Secretary

PJH:RF

3 December 1946

21-26-26

My dear Mr. Hauser:

I shall reserve for you Sunday, March 30, 1947. I am lecturing this year on the "United Nations and the Negro", "Africa", and "Russia". We can corresponde further later. My charge is $100.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Prather J. Hauser
Detroit Y.M.C.A
St. Antoine Branch
635 East Elizabeth Street
Detroit 1, Michigan

HOWARD A. COFFIN, PRESIDENT FRED P. TODD, TREASURER A. G. STUDER, M. D., GENERAL SECRETARY

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PRATHER J. HAUSER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

PERCIVAL R. PIPER, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

21-26-18

December 9th, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, 3, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

This will confirm your speaking engagement for Sunday, March 30th, 1947 at 4 o'clock, on our Forum Series. We shall want you to speak on the subject "The United Nations and the Negro". Your Terms will be satisfactory.

Sincerely yours,

Prather J. Hauser

PRATHER J. HAUSER
Executive Secretary

PJH:RF

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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WU A91 NL PD=DETROIT MICH DEC 26

DR W E B DUBOIS=CARE NAACP=

21-10-35

=PLEASE CONFIRM AT ONCE YOUR LECTURE DATE FOR FORUM AT STANTOINE YMCA IN DETROIT DATES PREFERRED JANUARY 20TH OR 27TH ALSO STATE TERMS AND SEND PHOTOGRAPHS=

DEC 27 1945 11:58AM

=P J HAUSER EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

YMCA 20 27.1158A.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

********** 20 West 40th Street

31 December 1945

21-27-22

My dear Mr. Hauser:

In answer to your telegram, please permit me to say that Dr. Du Bois is out of the city but he has informed me that he will not be able to make a lecture trip until March. Will you please let him know if a lecture date in March would be satisfactory?

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Mr. Prather J. Hauser
Young Men's Christian Association
635 East Elizabeth Street
Detroit 1, Michigan

Y.M.C.A. 1940

JOIN THE Y.M.C.A. TODAY FOR HEALTH'S SAKE

22nd Annual 'Y' Sunday Forum

-presents-

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH - President
International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Presiding	L. C. Blount, Chairman Religious Emphasis Committee
Congregational Singing	Rev. E. C. Simmons Director W. Harvey Hill, Pianist
Prayer	E. B. Swintt, Chairman Forum Committee
Solo	Edward C. Ervin Membership Secretary
Introduction of Speaker	

- address -

"THE ECONOMIC CRISIS FACING BLACK AMERICA"

A. Phillip Randolph

Announcements

Open Forum (Question and Answer - 15 minute period)

M I Z P A H

COMING LECTURES AND EVENTS

JANUARY 13	"Why Compulsory Military Training?" A panel representing five High Schools. Sponsored by Miller High School. Mr. Alvin Loving, director.
JANUARY 20	Truman K. Gibson, Jr. Formerly special assistant to Secretary of War. Prominent young lawyer.
JANUARY 27	"Where are we in Race Relations in Detroit?" Sponsored by Mayor's Inter-racial Commission. Mrs. Beulah T. Whitby in charge.
FEBRUARY 3	Booker T. Washington Trade Association(tentative) sponsors. Speaker will be announced later.
FEBRUARY 10	Dr. H. G. Canady, professor of Psychology and Philosophy, West Virginia State College. Sponsored by Elliottorian Business Women's Club. Miss Jaunita Jackson in charge.

FEBRUARY 17	George S. Schuyler, New York Editor of the Pittsburgh Courier. Subject: "Our Opportunities in America".
FEBRUARY 24	Dr. J. M. Ellison, president of Virginia Union University, Richmond Virginia. Subject: "Race Relations of the Negro in the South".
MARCH 3	Edgar A Guest. Detroit Free Press Poet.
MARCH 10	Dr. James E. Shepherd, president North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, North Carolina. Subject: "Race Relations in North Carolina"
MARCH 17	Michigan Underwriters Organization. F. R. Matlock president. Speaker to be announced.
MARCH 24	Dr. Howard McCluskey, professor of Sociology, University of Michigan. Sponsored by Youth Department of Detroit N.A.A.C.P. Miss Roberta McGuire in charge.
MARCH 31	Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, world traveler, writer and research director of the N.A.A.C.P. New York, New York.
APRIL 7	Boy Scouts of America Program. Joseph J. Gross, Field Scout Executive, in charge.
APRIL 14	Open
APRIL 19	Good Friday program. Dr. G. Lake Imes, formerly secretary to Booker T. Washington.
APRIL 21	Easter Sunday - Special. Dr. G. Lake Imes.

21 January 1946

Gentlemen:

I have been waiting to resume my massages but have not heard whether or not you have a person in charge. Kindly let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Physical Education Department
Young Men's Christian Association
180 West 135th Street
New York City

[YMCA]

21 March 1946

21-17-14

My dear Mr. Wortham:

I am very sorry not to be able to come out tonight and help celebrate the finish of the fine work which Henry Craft has done. Will you give him my congratulations and regrets.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. William H. Wortham
Harlem Branch YMCA
180 West 135th Street
New York City

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AT SEVEN O'CLOCK

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John L. Wilson
Mr. and Mrs. William H. Wortham
Dr. and Mrs. Max Yergan

The Century Club The Emblem Club Girls Service Organization

28 March 1946

My dear Sir: Attention of the masseur

I am sorry to have disappointed you yesterday but my engagements did not allow me to get there. I shall be out of town for a month. As soon as I return I will get in touch with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Physical Department
YMCA, Harlem Branch
180 West 135th Street
New York City

21-17

21 November 1946

Sir:

On October 1, I sent to your branch a check of fifteen dollars for membership. Since then I have had no acknowledgement, no membership card and no indication that the check was received or desired. I do have, however, the cancelled check from my bank. Will you permit me to say that this seems to me to be a rather extraordinary way todo business.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-17

Secretary of the Harlem Branch
Y.M.C.A
180 West 135th Street
New York City

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November 22, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

21-17

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I wrote you on October 8, 1946 indicating that we had received your check and calling your attention again that the membership in the Busy Men's Health Club had been increased to $25.00 from the previous $19.00. I raised a question in this letter as to whether you desired to continue your membership in the Health Club, since your check for $15.00 covered the regular physical membership only. I was certain, however, that you would want membership in the Health Club, and this payment has been credited towards the renewal of your membership in B.M.H.C.

I have enclosed your membership card with the $15.00 credited thereon. Would you kindly return this card to us with your check, so we may enter the balance payment. I was holding this card pending the receipt of your reply.

According to your letter of November 21, my letter was not received. I cannot understand this and will check to see if the error could have possibly been made on this end.

You have my every wish for another most helpful year as a member of the Y.M.C.A.

Cordially yours,

Wesley J. Marshall

WESLEY J. MARSHALL
Membership Secretary

WJM/lb
Encl.

[Y.M.C.A]

3December 1946

Dear sir:

I have had but one notice from you saying the Y.M.C.A. membership was $15. I have had no notice about the Business Men's Health Club until your letter of November 22. Enclosed is $10 and the card. The mistake or carelessness was in your office, not in mine.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

21-17

Mr. Wesley J. Marshall
Membership Secretary
Y.M.C.A Harlem Branch
180 West 135th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

Rept. quick letter

Mrs. Robert E. Speer
Honorary President

Mrs. Arthur Forrest Anderson
President

Mrs. Edward W. Macy
First Vice-President

Mrs. Bartlett B. Heard
Second Vice-Presidents

Mrs. William Walker Rockwell
Third Vice-President

Mrs. C. Douglas Mercer
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Mrs. Harrison S. Elliott
General Secretary

600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Telephone: PLaza 3-4700 Cable Address: Emissarius, New York

October 31,1946

21-19-118

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Doctor DuBois:

The report of our brief telephone conversation was received with enthusiasm by the members of the committee working on plans for a meeting on the Colonial Question.

The International and Race Relations Subcommittees of the National Board's Public Affairs Committee are eager to join together in presenting to our national leadership, board and staff, an analysis of major colonial situations. We are aware of the way in which our concerns are interrelated.

The Committees were unanimous in their decision that no one could better present the issues and lead us in our thinking than you. We think it essential to have our national leadership understand the kinds of interpretation you have set forth in "Color and Democracy" and other works.

We appreciate the many demands upon your schedule and therefore suggest four dates, with the hope that you find one of them convenient to come to us:

November 18 - 2 to 4 p.m.
November 20 - 2 to 4 p.m.
December 16 - 2 to 4 p.m.
December 18 - 2 to 4 p.m.

The meeting would be held here at our national headquarters. Should you deem it desirable, we should be pleased to have one or two of our committee members talk over with you further

details of the meeting.

I am sending you, under separate cover, a copy of our National Public Affairs Program as adopted in our 1946 Convention. One of our major purposes at this time is to implement this program and to give a sense of the direction in which we must lead, if we are to stimulate our national movement and local Associations to act in the light of the demands of the times.

We look forward to the opportunity to meet under your leadership.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Height

Dorothy I. Height
Sec. for Interracial Education
Program Subejct Department

DIH:rm

21-19-119

Lecture

21-26-42

4 November 1946

My dear Miss Height:

I think that November 20th would suit me as the time of the meeting which you suggest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Dorothy Height
The National Board of the Y.W.C.A. of the U.S.A.
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

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Second Assistant Treasurer
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General Secretary

600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Telephone: PLaza 3-4700 Cable Address: Emissarius, New York

November 12, 1946

21-19-120

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are very pleased to know that it will be possible for you to work with our joint committee meeting on Wednesday, November 20th, 1946 at 2 o'clock. The meeting will be held in the Assembly Room on the second floor. We shall arrange to meet you on your arrival to facilitate your finding the location.

It is our hope that you will be able to linger a few moments at the close of the meeting so that some members of our National Board and staff will have the opportunity of meeting you personally. We look forward to the opportunity of discussing with you this subject of vital concern.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Height
Dorothy Height
Secretary for Interracial Education

DH:nb

21-19-121

14 November 1946

My dear Miss Height:

In accordance with your letter of November 12, I shall be glad to speak Wednesday, November 20, at 2 o'clock on the problems of colonies.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Dorothy Height
National Board of the Y.W.C.A
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, N..Y.

OFFICE: 2316A MARKET ST.
CENTRAL 2270

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W. A. YOUNGE, M. D.

SPECIALIST IN INTERNAL MEDICINE

ST. LOUIS 3, MO.

October 19, 1946

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Department of Special Research,
N. A. A. C. P.,
20 W. 40th Street,
New York, New York.

42-8F-60

Dear Dr. Du Bois;

Dr. Robinson of Los Angeles has forward me your petition which I have signed. I am appointing Dr. Peter M. Murray, of New York to represent the N. M. A. and will write him to that effect.

I wish you much success in your work.

Very truly yours,

W. A. Younge, M. D.

WAY:rbb

[Zellman] (1)

February 10, 1946

Dr W. E. B. Du Bois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia.

21-19-65

Dear Dr Du Bois -

I shall begin my communication by telling you that on Monday Feb. 4th. 1946 I reviewed your book - "Color and Democracy - Colonies and Peace. The review was addressed to a book review group of women, 50-75 persons, which is held fortnightly on Monday afternoons at 2 p.m. at the main Public Library in Milwaukee.

Miss Medway, one of the Librarians has directed this review plan for 13 years. No frills, no refreshments, just two or three reviews plus the reading of poetry.

I was glad to recall the memory of my experience when living in N.Y.C. where I was also a member of the Civic Club - and present at the evening meeting when a Symposium had been arranged introducing outstanding Negro Leaders. You acted as chairman for your colleagues

and I have always remembered, Paul Green, especially - reading from his printed volume, poetry he had written.
His experience seemed a fitting introduction to the audience, ending with words of appreciation for the information and instruction I had received from reading your most scholarly book.
21-19-66
What a muddle - what a chaos what futility the world seems to present to us today. I find myself in agreement with the plan suggested of a new Mandates Commission, to be appointed at once - to investigate and to bring in the facts in all colonies in order to work out a plan for proper supervision for the well being and progress of all Colonists. No longer at the point of a gun shall men be governed, but "by consent and agreement." What reasoning human being could take exception to this? Will it be up to the General assembly and the Security Council now meeting in London to accomplish this? I have no way of knowing. I hope you are at the meeting!

Twice I visited Europe - in 1920, and in 1928 which journey included Russia.
When I left the U. S. in 1919, directly after the armistice, there was much talking and planning about proper housing at home and abroad. All the countries I visited had plans on paper - and in Hammersmith, a suburb of London, one of the large newspapers was sponsoring a Housing Conference with exhibits which was well attended.
21-10-62
Imagine several dozen persons coming with plans on paper, standing before a large patient audience, principally working women wives, talking each in his own foreign language, and finally giving over to an interpreter.
My formal education included both French and German - the latter I know as well as English often I was saddened because our American guests and European hosts could not meet - for we had not a common vehicle of expression.
In France, Paris, I was told the post-poned 15th. Conference for Esperanto was soon to meet - I asked, why do you go to all the trouble of

coining and learning a new International language when English is already so universally used and spoken. Never, said they, we do not want English domination.

There is no doubt in my mind that we need an entirely different system of education. History and geography might well be learned by going to the places where events happened. At 21, every boy and girl has been around the world! I am familiar with the writings of Leonard and Virginia Woolf of England. Bravely Virginia Woolf voiced my own deductions. Here comes a young couple who wish to be married - their fitness for parenthood established, yes, you may have two children. That's a big enough job for any set of parents in one life span to experience and enjoy all that is worthwhile for the welfare of the human family.

21-19-68

And now to close with an honest confession. Yes, American born, with a paternal grandmother born in Weimar, Saxony - a maternal grandfather from the Rhineland - who established here in the State of Wisconsin, a library in his own home, in a community that never had one before

[5]

nor since his death. I belong in the Pacifist group that countenanced 138 wars in 147 years to date. At the University of Wisconsin, my alma mater, I studied with Dr. E. A. Ross, Professor of Sociology, now Emeritus. I invoked the revised by quoting from his book, "Standing Room Only" written in 1920.
You no doubt are familiar with this work.
p. 199 - last par. in Ch. on "Population Optimism" - on Chinese famines.
p. 202 - "Problems of Pop. and Parenthood" an English Report - 1920. To quote, English population, 60,000,000 - room for all - But 15,000,000 can be spared - they are policing the greatest area of responsibility in the world.
p. 207 - last par. - "reduction of population pressure to zero".
Ignorance and poverty, remorse - which came first, the chicken or the egg.
Please forgive me Dr Du Bois for being sometimes personal - boringly lengthy - and again saying thank you sir. The Milwaukee Art Institute included your portrait in a recent exhibit - and

after Dr Jenkin Lloyd-Jones of Chicago.
Dr John Haynes Holmes - is the minister of my church in N.Y.C. where also Mr Augustus Zell belongs and used to play the organ during summer session services.

With greetings for the approaching birthday on February 23rd, I wish you continued good health and happiness, for many more birthdays.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Anna B. Zellmer

819 N. Marshall Str.
Milwaukee 2, Wis.

10 September 1946

My dear Miss Zellman:

21-19-69

I am very sorry to be so long in answering your letter of February 10, but my wife has been severely ill and I am far behind in my correspondence. It is pleasant to renew acquaintance with one who was a member of the Civic Club and who has had your interesting experience. It happened that I also was in Russia in 1928 and later in 1936; I was in England in the fall of 1945.

I did not get there early enough to attend the meetings of the Security Council and left too early for the Assembly, but I did attend and worked in a Pan-African Congress which met in Manchester. I am now preparing a petition to the Assembly which is about to meet in New York, to see if a consultant representing the colonial peoples of Africa cannot be appointed. The world is certainly in a mess but I presume that it is the size of the difficulty rather than the kind that differentiates it from earlier crisis through which the world has passed and yet continued in some respects.

I thank you very much for remembering me. I am back in New York with an office at 20 West 40th Street and still connected with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Anna B. Zellman
819-4 Marshall Street
Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin

Monday
September 16
1946.

David Graham

21-26-81

Dear Dr Du Bois.

Thank you for your kind and informative letter. First may I say that I sincerely hope, Mrs Nina Gomer Du Bois, is well on the way to good health once more. Next I am glad you have a headquarters in N.Y.C and wish you every success in finding a representative, able person to put the claims of colonial peoples before a responsible meeting with power to act.

I continue to quote your writings - Color and Democracy Colonies and Peace. The little book taught me so much, giving a comprehensive picture of facts gathered first hand by one who knows and understands. I shall ask the privelge of reading your letter when the book reviews resume in october - For I know it will be appreciated. New thots have come to me since I read your book, leading me to think earnestly about the solution of world problems. Meeting colored people

I have said as a well wishing friend, why do you not all claim your own country- Africa - for your own folk. Life would be more dignified for you in standing with all the world on the same footing, working out your own good life in your own way.
What a heven it would be if the educated colored men and women were to return to their native land and lead their brothers in the way of a larger and fuller life on this earth to make it a heaven rather than the "hell" it now is!
I enclose The Milwaukee Leader and close with greetings for good health and continued success in your undertakings.

Most sincerely yours,

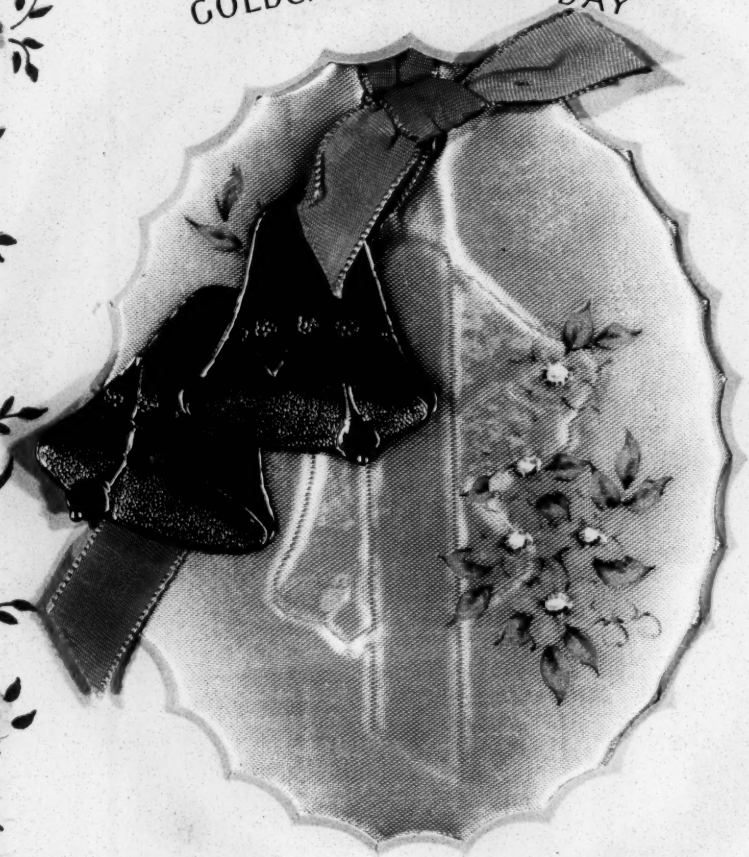
(Miss) Anna B. Zillman
819-N. Marshall St.
Milwaukee 2 Wis.

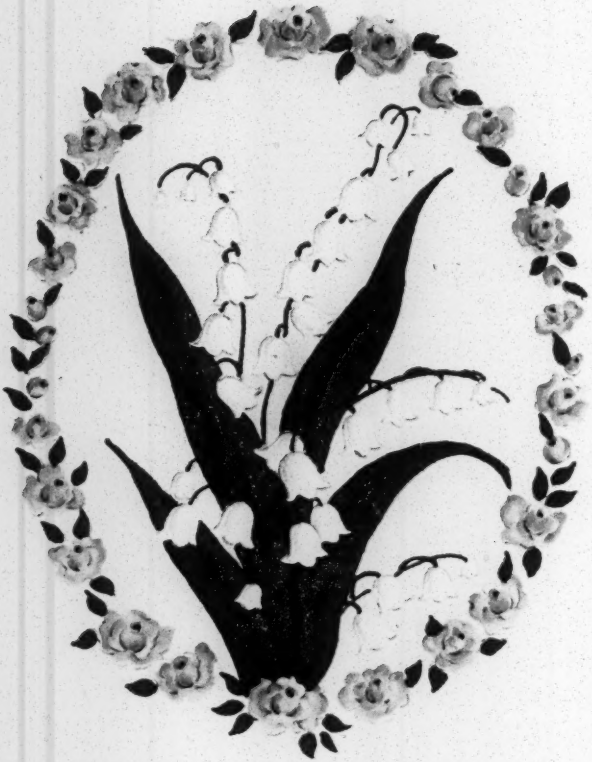
Your
Anniversary

Congratulations to you both
upon this happy day,
May each hour to you recall
joys you've known along the way;
May your life grow ever richer,
all your fondest hopes come true,
And every anniversary bring
more happiness to you!

"Tommy Tucker"

On Your
GOLDEN WEDDING DAY





Your Golden Anniversary..
What happiness for you!
This is the day you've dreamed of
And you've seen your dreams come true!
So here's a wish for happiness
And may you always find
Each year a little better-
Than the years you've left behind!

CONGRATULATIONS!

Noah and Dorothy

Dear Yolande.
Thanks for every
thing. Love to
Du Bois. Tell
her I am look-
ing forward to
her next visit
If you have
any more anni-
versary invitations
& you did not
include mine

2 sisters. Here are their names

Mrs. Eva D. Giles
375 Baird Road
Merion, Pa

Mrs Julia D. Baker
17 Dacia St
Roxbury Mass.

Sat Nov 1 Kirkville

Post Office Department

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, $300 (GPO)

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21-19

Return to W. E. B. Stubbs

(NAME OF SENDER)

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NEW YORK.

Chicago Defender

Form 3811
Rev. 1-4-43

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Date of delivery 12-31, 1946

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—12421

[Fragment? 1946]

Resolution proposed by M.Joseph-Mitchell, General Secretary to the League of Coloured Peoples, 19, Old Queen Street, Westminster, London, S.W. 1.

THIS MEETING of Colonials and British friends of subject peoples, held under the auspices of the Asiatic-African United Front Committee at the Holborn Hall, on Monday, December 2nd, 1946, having heard a report of the Sudanese delegation in respect of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty negotiations, pledges its wholehearted support to the Sudanese people in their struggle for complete independence. This meeting therefore calls upon the British Government to implement the following demands:-

(1) The immediate termination of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and the recognition of the Sudan for the Sudanese.

(2) The establishment of a Sudanese interim Government preparatory to the establishment of a free, democratic Sudanese Government in the shortest possible time. This Government, based on the will of the majority of the people, would determine the form of rule in the Sudan.

11. Resolution proposed by Mr Peter Abrahams:-

THIS MEETING also welcomes the report of Comrade Manley on the economic, political and social conditions in the West Indies in general and in Jamaica in particular, and pledges its full support to the West Indian Workers, peasants and intellectuals in their struggle for political advancement. It calls upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies to summon a Conference of the representatives of the West Indian people at an early date, for the purpose of formulating ways and means to bring about:-

(a) Federation of the West Indian territories, including Gritish Guiana and British Honduras, as a pre-condition to the extension of self-determination to the inhabitants of the Caribbean area.

[c. Sept, 1946]

Am willing cooperate in the enterprise as proposed by you.
You have our unlimited support and cooperation.

Nnamdi Azikiwe Acting President National
Council of Nigeria

At this late hour all I can do is to give you and your Committee an assurance of the wholehearted Co-operation of Membersof the above Committe, in the great EFFORT you are making to present the CASE of the Non-European Peoples of Africa in general and of Southern Africa in particular. Assuring you of our whole-hearted support in your efforts.

Z.R. Mahabane, Chairman
Non-European Unity Committee

copy send Prof. Hooker - 12/28/64

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

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NA110 INTL=CD LONDON VIA MACKAY RADIO 90 MAY 10 1/51

NLT DOCTOR DUBOIS=

2302 MONTEBELLOTERRACE BALTC

1946 MAY 11 AM 6 5

=WE REJOICE WITH YOU STOP ALLAH BE PRAISED ~~STOP~~ HE HAS REWARDED YOUR LABOURS ONBEHALF OF YOUR PEOPLE WITH GREATEST GIFTS A LOVING DEVOTED WIFE DAUGHTER GRANDAUGHTER AND HAS PRESERVED YOUR LIFE TO SEE YOUR OTHER BELOVED INTELLECTUAL CHILD PARAFRICANISM GROUP AND FLOURISH FAR AND=

:END 1

2302.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[1946]

21-24-39

George D. Cannon, M. D.
216 West 139th Street
New York 30, New York
Phone ED4-9725
Has been my physician for three years.

Rev. B. C. Robeson
Mother A.M.E.Zion Church
151 West 136th Street
Phone ED 4-3460
I am a mamber of this church.

I have been a student at the
George Washington Carver School.

I am interested in the method of
Adult Education of the Scandinavian
Countries. I want to locate near and
work with those who have studied that
system. Madison, Wisconsin --
San Jose, California -- or the
Highlander Folk School at Monteagle,
Tennessee.

Any advice or suggestion from you would
be greatly appreciated.

Please Post [Enc.] 15

Columbia University
in the City of New York

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

EVENING COURSES

THE SWEDISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

POPULAR MOVEMENTS AND ADULT EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

OPEN TO QUALIFIED STUDENTS WITHOUT EXAMINATION

21-24

I just finished this course

1945–1946

OUTLINE OF COURSES

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Swedish eA1–eA2—Elementary Swedish. 3 points each Session.

7–8:15 p.m., Monday and Thursday. Room 518 Hamilton Hall. Beginning September 27, 1945.

An introductory course including the essentials of grammar, with oral and written practice. The early reading of texts will aid in the development of a basic vocabulary. The Spring Session includes the reading of contemporary narrative and dramatic prose.

This course may be counted for credit toward one of the several degrees of the University only with the written approval of the appropriate Dean or Director or his authorized representative obtained in advance of registration.

Swedish eA3–eA4—Advanced Swedish. 3 points each Session.

8:25–9:40 p.m., Monday and Thursday. Room 518 Hamilton Hall. Beginning September 27, 1945.

Practice in the speaking and writing of Swedish, with a brief review of grammar. Material for reading will be selected to illustrate important literary and cultural aspects of Sweden.

This course may be counted for credit toward one of the several degrees of the University only with the written approval of the appropriate Dean or Director or his authorized representative obtained in advance of registration.

Swedish 201–202—Readings in modern Swedish literature. 3 points each Session.

7–8:50 p.m., Wednesday. Room 508 Philosophy Hall. Beginning October 3, 1945.

Lectures and illustrative readings in the Swedish language. Winter Session: Intellectual realism; the romantic revival; new realism and the social problem. Spring Session: The Labor poets; themes from every-day life; rise of new social literature; contemporary interpretations of democracy.

The following course will be given in Teachers College:

Education 253S–254S—Adult education and popular

movements in Sweden and America. 2 or 3 points each Session.

5:10–6:50 p.m., Tuesday. Beginning October 2, 1945. Classroom to be announced at Teachers College.

The origin, development and present status of popular movements in Sweden, such as the labor movement, coöperatives, farmers' organizations, the temperance movement, etc., will be discussed for their significance in modern democratic society. Special attention will be given to the rôle which adult education has played in this development in Sweden and other Scandinavian countries. Against this background of experience consideration will be given to problems of adult education in the United States.

GRANTS-IN-AID FOR THE STUDY OF SWEDISH

A certain number of grants-in-aid for the study of Swedish are awarded by the Director of University Extension and the Department of Germanic Languages to students who wish to pursue courses in Swedish. Applications for the awards, which are made on the basis of scholarship and financial need, should be addressed to the Director of University Extension.

INSTRUCTION AND LECTURES WILL BE GIVEN BY

PER G. STENSLAND, M.A.

Lecturer in Swedish

Under auspices of Riksförenigen för svenskhetens bevarande i utlandet

Students intending to take Education 253S–254S alone, or with one of the other courses in Swedish, should register and pay their fees at the office of the Registrar of Teachers College in Russell Hall, September 22, 9 a.m. to 2 p.m.; September 25 and 26, 9 a.m. to 12 m., and 5 to 8 p.m. For information regarding general regulations governing students in the School of Education, applicants should consult the Teachers College Bulletin which will be sent upon request.

For Swedish eA1–eA2, eA3–eA4, and 201–202, students should register in the office of the Registrar of the University in University Hall during the registration periods, September 20 to 26, 1945 and January 30 to February 2, 1946, 9 a.m.–9 p.m., daily, Saturdays 9 a.m.–12 m.

Students desiring credit for Swedish eA1–eA2 and eA3–eA4 toward a degree must obtain the approval of the Dean of the Faculty or School concerned in advance of registration. For further information consult the Announcement of University Extension.

In addition to the tuition fee which is charged at the rate of $12.50 per point, every student must pay a single University fee of $5 for each Session or any part thereof.

WINTER SESSION

September 27, 1945 to January 26, 1946

SPRING SESSION

February 4 to May 25, 1946

The American Scene by Henry James

Edited by W. H. Auden Auden James

N.Y. Scribners 1946

(1st ed. 1907, Harpers)

Section 3

p. 418 Ch. 13 Charleston §§ 2 §3

21-18-2

= How in at all complex, a "great polished" society can everything so have gone? — agis assuring indeed that, under this reign, very much ever had come. How can everything so have gone that the only "Southern" book of any distinction published for many a year is "The Souls of Black Folk" by that most accomplished of members of the Negro race, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois?

21-19 [Fragment 1946]

This is a new angle and perhaps explains the late meetings of the Board. "From the events that happened at the recent meeting of the Board of Trustees at Fisk, I am inclined to think that we are going to experience some great difficulties in having the Board of Trustees select the best man available for the President of Fisk University. It seems to me that it became quite obvious to the Trustees at the last meeting that the best available man was a Negro, and further, it is my opinion that the majority at the Board of Trustees voted to defer the selection because at that time they were not willing to vote for a colored man."

This letter has been sent recently to the executive heads of the organizations indicated. ~~It is distributed for your use and for immediate release.~~

W. L. Bullitt

4-7-44

wife unloaded home-[illegible] year then sold
Wilson, N. C., curb market. State Agent R. E.
Jones, center, looks on. The Ruffins, who live

Pol. Courier

Dos. 1945, 1946 & 47 No date

UN, Socialism Only Hope for World's Backward Races, Says Dr. DuBois

32-39-57

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — The only hope for the backward races of the world, in which the American Negro is by economic position closely allied, lies in the United Nations and socialism, according to Dr W. E. B. DuBois,

Dr. DuBois was speaking at an instruction meeting of the recent NAACP convention on his first public appearance since his return to the organization two years ago. He is one of the founders of NAACP.

Advising an understanding of socialism, the noted editor and educator declared that there was "no cause for alarm at charges of being a Communist if the aim was the abolition of world poverty."

He pointed out that poverty was "unnecessary," that the colonies "quasi-colonial regions" and the American south were the most poverty stricken portions on earth. He said that socialism constituted an attack on poverty and that the United Nations was the greatest hope of the world today.

Enjoining his audience to cease being "timid," to break their intelectual shackles and learn something about ecnomic forces and join the ranks of the great social thinkers of the past century, he said:

"Most intelligent people of the world today, even the civilized part of the earth, believe that poverty is normal and necessary and that because of this inevitable poverty most human beings must large extent criminal.
be ignorant, diseased and to a

"The persons who believe this are ignorant of the plain teachings of science and industrial technique, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries. They still think and act in accord with the beliefs of primitive ages when scarcity of food, difficulties of technique and ignorance of natural forces made the world a desperate fight between human beings for survival, in which murder, war, cheating and stealing were the only paths of survival for most of the human species."

Trends of government in most "civilized parts of the world," tend toward socialism, he asserted, and called the New Deal and social service merely other terms for socialism.

The United Nations was viewed as a move by mankind to end war, even though its work so far has only been preliminary.

Dr. DuBois exhorted Negroes to "stand back of democracy, in industry, and understand the need of better methods of production which would bring a more just distribution of wealth.

"We must not let ourselves be scared and intimidated by the fear of being called Communist, by the smearing of Henry Wallace, the widespread attempt of a monopolized press to keep the peoples of the world from knowing the truth about work and income."

The educator's name did not appear on the scheduled program, and while he took the meeting by surprise, he was warmly received.

Death To Owner of Alice's Newsstand

Isaac 'Ike' Price Dies at 41 Years

Isaac Price, 41, 2606 Waba[sh] well-known business man and o[wn]er of Alice's Newstand, 133[3] 18th St., died early Thursday [morn]ing, July 3, at the Wheatl[ey] pital following a prolon[ged] ness.

Ike, as he was general[ly] became seriously ill the [day] to his death and wa[s] Wheatley. He had be[en] health since last Cl[ose] ing which time he [was] days at the St. [Mary's] pital.

Hundreds of c[hild]ren will remember [him] sold them pop[corn] freshments w[hile] shop enrout[e] ter.

Funer[al] day, [July] Ba[ptist]

N.A.A.C.P. Confab to Meet at St. Ste[phens]

45 Death of Mr. Herbert Macaulay.

Mr. Herbert Macaulay, C.E., F.R.G.S., founder of the Nigerian National Democratic Party and President of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, died on the 7th of May, 1946, at the grand old age of 81 years. He was the grandson of Bishop Ajayi Crowther, first African Bishop and seventh son of Rev. Thomas Babington Macaulay, founder and first principal of the C.M.S. Grammar School, Lagos. His death has robbed West Africa in general and Nigeria in particular of a great patriot and matured politician. In spite of his advanced age, the late Mr. Macaulay insisted on accompanying the delegation of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons in its country-wide tour to explain its aims and objects, and to obtain the mandate of the people before the delegation leaves for London to place the grievances of the people before the Imperial Governmnt and the British public.

He was rushed back to Lagos from Kano only to die the next day. The Bishop of Lagos, the Right Rev. L. G. Vining, in his address on the life of the deceased, referred to his life of many facets—political leader, journalist, musician and historian—said he was a great fighter and thinker, and one "who did not spare himself, even in his last hours, in the service of others."

A mammoth crowd from Lagos and environs, variously estimated at between ~~100~~ and 200,000, turned out **en masse** to pay their last respects to the "Doyen of Nigerian Politics," the "Defender of Native Rights and Liberties." As the "West African Pilot" graphically put it: "Never, in the history of Lagos, has there been so great an honour done to the memory of only one individual by so large a crowd."

"As we lay this feeble and mortal frame in the bosom of Mother Earth," said Mr. Nnamdi Azikwe, Secretary of the N.C.N.C., in his stirring funeral oration, "let us realise that this place has now become a hallowed spot in our national history . . . . When he lived, he generated ideas which have inspired millions to look forward to a new life, conceived in the idealogy that man that is born of a woman is not destined to be in servitude for ever.

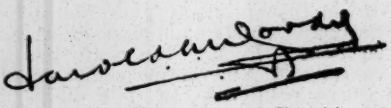
". . . . . Let us erect a monument on this hallowed spot, as a fitting climax to his glorious life, so that this chapter in our national history, which has now closed, will open a new page in our onward march towards the crystalization of the New Africa."

The delegates of the N.C.N.C. who hurried back to Lagos to pay their last respects to their dead leader, have resumed their tour (it was the late Mr. Macaulay's dying wish) led by Mr. Nnamdi Azikwe who has been elected Acting President.

scientific nor other evidence than sheer prejudice and a sense of race-superiority to support such a theory.

We express our warmest thanks to Dr. Malcolm Joseph-Mitchell for the time, thought and energy he has put into the work of the L.C.P. during the month of June, while acting as temporary General Secretary. He has done well and been of considerable assistance to the President.

Yours very truly



Founder and President.

L.C.P. Publications on Sale.

Race Relations and the Schools: A Report Edited by Dr. Kenneth Little, with foreword by Dr. G. P. Gooch. Price: 2s. 6d.

Colour Bar. By Dr. H. A. Moody. Price: 6d.

Freedom for All Men. By Dr. H. A. Moody. Price: 4d.

The Relations of White and Coloured People in Britain. By Dr. K. L. Little.

Bound Volumes of the News-Letter containing six issues and the Annual Report, 7s. 6d. per volume.

A Society known as "The Rainbow Children's Home" has been formed with the object of giving shelter to some of the more serious cases among destitute and unwanted war children and are now in a position to consider twenty urgent cases for which provision has been promised.

The address of the Secretaries is Atlantic Hotel, 9, Lord Nelson Street, Liverpool, 3.

Dr. Harold Moody's eldest son Harold recently left for India as M.O. on a Troopship; his second son, Arundel, left for Jamaica which is to be his future home.

£138,934 as grants and loans for development, welfare and research, were made to the Colonial Empire in May which included £68,864 to Sierra Leone for a technical training centre at Wilberforce, £22,550 as a supplementary grant to the West Indies for census-taking; £2,235 further interim grant to Seychelles for re-organisation of medical services, and £5,500 for re-organisation of sanitary services in St. Lucia.

British Guiana Secondary and Minor Industrial Board is to investigate the possibility of the production of the drug Curare, extensively used in medicine. The Colony is also to ask the Legislative Council to vote £10,000 to aid ex-service men in their resettlement in business.

"Laugh at all twaddle about fate. A man's fate is what he makes it, nothing else."—Anon.

42-8F-19

~~Special Econ. Council~~

UN Public

Oct 5, 1946

Notes:

Dr Yergan:

Full support of statement. Widest possible support. To present statement on behalf of organizations - Shabazz desired. No one could better presently anything contained in document. Give support to have Dr. DuBois serve as spokesman - Time is short -

2. Moved to present Petition to United Nations - By Dr. Yergan.
Seconded by S. Graham.

42-8F-20

African Organizations -

Send names -

Negro Organizations -

Send names -

42-8F-22

Mass Organizations -

CPD - Discriminate

World Congress -

Par

YCC

Personal representation -

Dr. Du Bois

with allies -

Permanent Organization -

Dr. Gregory:

Approached in light of purposes -

1. To carry on educational work - gather information and coordinate - make it available -
Available to those who are in position to get action.

2. To call for action on part of American citizens - Action calculated to get American representation -
To take position - On various commissions -

a Difficulty -

Council of African Affairs is more interested in political aspects - mobilized informed public opinion - Increased political the vote, etc. Industrial body strength -
not in position to serve this purpose.

12-28-24

Parties:
We recognize need for unity
and organization working -
a Federation of all the organizations
Maximum of united effort - Existing
organizations retain their own special
character -

42-8F-23

Committee — on Organization -
- appointed by Chairman -

-

Plan on

Dr. Yager
Council on African Affairs
to plan action which shall
make the people around
views of General Smuts &
his demand - Annexation
of West Africa to Union.

Immense many people in Cape Town to greet General Smuts.
Small Labour Conference on 16th of October -
Strike in South African Government still going on -
3,000 workers - wide spread support -

42-8-F-24

Hearings —

~~7/11~~

Suspended Sentence	7
Fines	17
Restricted Lic	10
1 – 2 years	16
3 – 5	21
6 – 10 years	
10 yrs & over	47
Undetermined	11
Withdrawn	6
	135

46-7-2

(Unitarians

Dr. Mellone
Essex Hall
Strand
W.C 2

Society of Friends
Devonshire House.
Bishopsgate Street.
E.C

1 18 04

The Ethical Society
Queen's Road - Bayswater
W.

The Sociological Society

Kenya sites include Njoro (with the first known calabash), Kanam, Kanjera, Rawi, and the Ono Valley. In Uganda, there is a site at Kaiso. In Tanganyika there is the famous Oldoway Gorge, and very ancient rock-paintings of Kisese, the first uncovered, although there must be "hundreds of other sites." Prehistory, in short, provides a remarkable opportunity to men and women whose working life is spent in Africa. "...

The "East African Standard" carried weekly articles on the progress of the Conference during its meetings in January, 1947, and the announcement that the next meeting, in 1951, would be held in South Africa, by invitation of General Smuts.

Since this memorable Conference, several other items of interest in the field of African prehistory have appeared. From Nigeria comes a note that Mr. B.E.B. Fagg, an officer from Jos, reported having excavated much microlithic industry; and that last year, 1946, in the Nok valley, he found two rock shelters and four alluvial sites filled with potters' figurines (African Affairs, Oct. 1947, p. 187).

In South Africa Dr. Broom has continued his investigations at Stefkfontein with remarkable success. On 18 April he discovered another skull, news of which appeared in the Cape Times next day, and more fully on 26 April, 1947, p. 1, cols., 3&4:

> "Dr. Broom...believes that the skull which he discovered at Sterkfontein last week will prove more definitely that man is closely related to ape man....it (is) the best preserved skull ever discovered....(it) was that of a woman and about the same age as the skull of the Sterkfontein man found at almost the same spot....It will be weeks before the whole skull can be satisfactorily examined,...Enough of the face can now be seen to say that it is remarkably human, apart from the small brain.
>
> The eyes are large and rounded and the eyebrows wide and much overhanging. The cheeks are wide and the front of the jaw projects, but not more than in some human races.
>
> The brain is probably not bigger than 400 cubic centimetres. There are a number of typical human and non-anthropoid characters.
>
> The bones at the top of the skull are relatively thick, the occipital bone being practically half an inch thick.....
>
> The Sterkfontein ape man skull and now this skull are definitely distinct from the Kromdraai ape man,.... At an anatomical congress being held in London...the affinities of our ape men are being discussed and Professor le Gros Clark, of Oxford University, ...is backing up our South African view"."

Two months later Dr. Broom had something quite different to report:

> "In 1906...Mr Schmidt and a partner, the late Mr. Ludovic Volskenk... (discovered) traces of lime at Sterkfontein (and) they began digging... in the process came upon a blocked-up cave which is now the entrance to the honeycomb of passages well-known throughout the world for the many archaeological discoveries which have been made there.
>
> 'We found the skeletons at the entrance of the cave, said Mr. Schmidt, some were fossilised while other had disintegrated owing to water. One was the complete skeleton of a female with a baby in her arms.'
>
> 'Thinking they were remains of large baboons or gorillas we attached no importance to our find and burned everything in our lime kiln'.
>
> Dr. Broom was then shown another cave by Mr. Schmidt about half a mile from the main caves, which may prove to be of great archaeological interest.....

Nov. 1946-47

42/90/35

Air Mail

British West Indies	13	@ 10¢	1.30
British Guiana	2	15	.30
England	2	30	.60
Union of South Africa	16	50	8.00
Gold Coast Nigeria	13	60	7.80
			$18.00

NEW YORK, N.Y.
SEP 19 1946
GRAND CENTRAL STA.

42/8F/28

C - Dr. Gene Wolfish
Dept of Anthropology
Columbia U.
N.Y.N.Y.

- Miss Muriel Draper
" Ythyra Edwards

42/8F/24

of Congress - American Women
55 W 42nd St
N.Y.C.

P.A. 6
WCSD

42/8F/27

Postage — $50
" # 75
Typist 10
Peter + C $135

Oct 15 to Nashville Tech.
Oct 18 to Atlanta
Oct 19 to Columbia
Oct 21 to Atlanta
Oct 24 to Durham

Women P.A. Exhibit

42/8F/26

42/8P/17

THE FOREIGN LANDLORDS OF AFRICA.

	Area (sq. miles)	Population
Under BRITISH Rule		
Colonies	2,603,253	45,000,000
Mandates	727,000	7,000,000
U. of South Africa	472,347	10,000,000
Total	3,802,600	62,000,000
United Kingdom itself has	94,274	46,000,000
Under FRENCH Rule		
Colonies	3,807,784	34,600,000
Mandates	195,000	3,400,000
Total	4,002,784	38,000,000
France itself has	212,659	42,000,000
Under BELGIAN Rule		
Belgian Congo	899,854	10,500,000
Mandate	20,000	3,500,000
Total	919,854	14,000,000
Belgium itself has	11,755	8,000,000
Under PORTUGESE Rule		
Colonies	799,983	8,700,000
Portugal itself has	34,254	6,000,000
Under SPANISH Rule		
Colonies	133,780	1,100,000
Spain itself has	195,000	24,000,000
Under ITALIAN Rule		
Colonies	889,112	2,600,000
Italy itself has	120,000	41,000,000

Total area under foreign rule.....10,568,112 sq. miles
Total area independent..... 776,000 sq. miles
(Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia)

Total population under foreign rule.... 126,400,000, White: 4,158,000
Total population independent ..... 27,300,000, White: 59,000

Issued May 1946
by the
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street, New York City.

Yergan presented Robeson

Robeson:

Just returned from tour giving out info
- win-the-peace
- Stop-Lynching

But this meeting is different
- General conditions intensifying
- Greater
  - Racial strife
    - against Negroes
      - News
      - Red Baiting

Roosevelt was just in extending Democracy
Same anti-R's are the anti-D's
Resists colonial claims
Hitler reassigned colonialism
- made colonists of
  - Dutch - French - Czech, Slav.

U.S. does as Hitler
- Filipine - Cuba -

The Pajas conference only a dress rehearsal for U.K.
- with the dollar imperialism
- U.S. goes in with dollar + guns

It will not be so easy to turn back the world -
- the rise of man

The colonials are many and they have fought
- They may be the solution of Democracy for all

Yergan -

A year ago a few people met to consider the hunger conditions of South Africa - we acted
Today it is Freedom - Food and Freedom are
Smuts will demand annexation of S.W. Africa
We must have U.S. representatives oppose
- I The agreement was that there should be no territorial aggrandizement
- II The Union of S. Africa is unfit, proven
  - We oppose not only annexation
  - but also continued mandate of the union
    - Horrible conditions

There are already many signs of this, among them being the oil concession in Ethiopia negotiated last year by Sinclair Oil, the new concessions to American firms for mineral prospecting in Liberia, and our government's present investments in that country including the establishment of a new permanent military base for the United States at Monrovia.

Also worthy of note is the reported arrangement for the United States to receive continued shipments of uranium from the large deposits in the Belgian Congo.

42/8F/12

An official of the South African government reported in 1944 the plans of several large American corporations to establish themselves in South Africa after the war. He said: "I was told by the Vice President of a large American bank that his reason for visiting the Union was because so many of his clients wished to invest capital here after the war."

The Question of the Mandate Territories

Apart from its economic investments in Africa, the United States has a vital relation to the future of that continent by reason of the decisive role which it plays today in the solution of such questions as the future of the African mandate colonies and the disposition of the African Italian colonies.

The mandate territories in Africa, Germany's former possessions transferred to the Allies after World War I, include the following:

Under British Rule	Area - Sq. Miles	Population
Tanganyika	360,000	5,300,000
Cameroon (Br.)	34,000	990,000
Under French Rule		
Cameroon (Fr.)	161,000	2,600,000
Togoland (Fr.)	34,000	800,000
Under Belgian Rule		
Ruanda-Urundi	20,000	3,500,000
Under South African Rule		
Southwest Africa	320,000	360,000

With the exception of South Africa, which is insisting on annexing its mandate, the mandate powers have indicated their intention of having their "trust territories" brought under the United Nations trusteeship system. But they have at the same time, made it clear that they intend to retain sole responsibility for the continued administration of these colonies.

Whether the new trusteeship supervision of the mandates will speed the progress of independence of these territories depends on the terms of the agreements whereby these mandates are transferred to the trusteeship council's jurisdiction. It is not yet settled as to what powers shall have a voice in approving these agreements, but it seems obvious that the Soviet Union as well as the other major powers should be parties to the agreements.

Included among the agreement terms should be a definite time limit, not to exceed ten years, after which trusteeship gives way to independence. The United States should support such a stipulation in order to guarantee that the trusteeship system does not become an instrument of permanent control over subject peoples, as the Mandates Commission of the League was.

Moreover the terms should provide for consideration of the views of the inhabitants in the areas concerned. The native inhabitants of Togoland and the Cameroons have petitioned the United Nations to remedy the cruel and arbitrary separation of these peoples which resulted from the division of these former German colonies between Britain and France. And the Africans, and most certainly the Indians, of Tanganyika might prefer India rather than Britain as guardian of that territory.

The Italian Colonies

After extended discussion and numerous proposals and counter-proposals, at their last conference (May 1946) the foreign ministers of the four major powers failed to reach agreement on the disposition of Libya (embracing Tripolitania

and Cyrenaica), Eritrea and Italian Somaliland (see table on end for total area and population).

Throughout the discussions, Secretary Brynes supported Britain on most points. The issues resolved themselves into the right of Britain to retain a dominant position in the Mediterranean area (which it calls its"Empire life line") as over against the Soviet Union's insistence upon having a position of equal responsibility with the other major powers in this area.

42/8F/13

Mr. Bevin openly revealed the British aim of using the Italian colonies as a means of expanding British Empire control over the entire northeastern corner of Africa, bordered by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. He proposed that Britain be granted sole trusteeship authority over the entire Somaliland area, including the French and Italian as well as British sections plus the large Ogaden Province of sovereign Ethiopia.

It should be noted that the Italian colonies and also the Ogaden Province of Ethiopia are still under British military administration. If it is agreed to postpone the settlement of the Italian colonies question for a year or more, as Secretary Byrnes has suggested, it will mean continued British rule in these areas, strengthening the British hold on them.

Under British military administration, especially in Eritrea, Italian fascists sent over during Mussolini's reign are maintained in positions of authority by the British (just as German Nazis are being given important posts in the British zone of Germany). In Eritrea the head of the police force, judges, tax collectors, other officials, and even the Mayor of Asmara are Italian. The Eritreans, who demand union of their territory with Ethiopia, have repeatedly protested and demonstrated against this continued Italian control under British auspices.

On the question of the Italian colonies as on the question of the mandates, United States policy, instead of being linked with that of Great Britain in pursuance of Churchill's Anglo-American formula, must adhere to the United Nations principle of self-determination and equality for all peoples.

Stop the Exploitation of African Labor

In the British House of Lords last year, Lord Ammon, speaking of the conditions of labor in the tin and iron mines of Sierra Leone, West Africa, said: "Women near childbirth work all day carrying up steep slopes great quantities of earth, as much as from 79 pounds to 90 pounds. Little children are brought in to work in and about the mines; the food is miserably poor; and the pay is disgustingly low . . . the manner in which employment is carried out breaks up the whole tribal system and makes people homeless wanderers." African miners of iron ore in Sierra Leone get wages of 1s. 3d. (26¢) a day.

This characterization of labor conditions in one British colony is applicable to the system of labor exploitation generally prevalent throughout Africa.

Employees of the United Africa Company in the town of Burutu, Nigeria, recently petitioned for an increase of pay. They complained of their long work week, 77 hours including 8 on Sunday, and their low wages of $7.00 a month for a 50-hour week with 5¢ an hour for overtime. The United Africa Company is one branch of the giant Lever Bros. monopoly which dominates most of West African trade. In 1944 the corporation had an aggregate profit of nearly $65,000,000.00.

Forced labor and the color bar further enslave the African worker. Under the forced labor system, which is still practiced in many of the colonies, workers are conscripted for a period of months at wages as low as $1.60 a month, and they are subject to imprisonment for quitting before the expiration of their contract term.

The British government has given official sanction to the color bar in employment in the Rhodesian colonies restricting Africans to unskilled jobs. Although in many cases Africans may do the same work as white labor, their pay is fixed at the unskilled rate. Thus in the Southern Rhodesia building trades, African workers get a little over 2¢ an hour, while white workers get 88¢ an hour.

Give Africans Full Trade Union Rights

Only in the British West African colonies are legal trade unions with bargaining rights found well established. In other territories the large companies have in many instances fostered company unions which hinder the advance

of genuine labor organization.

Organized or unorganized, however, African workers in every section of the continent have taken a militant stand for improvement of wages and working conditions. Their spontaneous strike action has often resulted in the calling out of troops with resultant death to the workers.

A strike in one of the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia in 1940 ended with 14 Africans killed and 20 injured. In Uganda last year, 8 Africans were killed in the government suppression of a strike there. Several deaths also occurred last year in the suppression of strikes in the Belgian Congo and French West Africa.

42/8/14

A general strike lasting six weeks tied up a large part of Nigeria's communications and transportations in the summer of 1945. And this year saw a well-organized strike of African railway workers in Southern Rhodesia. In the Union of South Africa, despite the wholesale arrests of strikers and the denial of collective bargaining rights, African workers there have made great gains in labor organization.

These strike demonstrations are all evidence of the desperate demand of African workers for freedom from imperialist exploitation, and evidence also of their growing organized power.

End The Theft of Africa's National Resources

Says Lord Halifax, "We are where we are, not for our own profit but for the good of the governed." The former Secretary of State for Colonies, Colonel Oliver Stanley, told a New York audience, "No colony makes any contribution to the British treasury."

Behind this mask of benevolent unselfish colonial rule is the reality of the $250,000,000.00 worth of minerals and many millions more of other products produced annually in the British African colonies and exported abroad. Not only are the profits of the companies dealing in these products distributed among shareholders in London, and other world capitols but where the companies are registered in London, the taxes are paid directly to the British treasury.

The honest truth is told by the British economist, Leonard Barnes, who writes: "Broadly speaking, we (the British) appropriate the natural resources, develop them in our own ways and for our own purposes, and of the wealth so produced, carry out of the country, £11 for every £1 we leave behind." The various tin, copper, iron and gold companies in Africa, engaged in extracting the wealth from Africa's soil, pay off dividends ranging from 20 per cent up to 80 per cent. During the war these dividends boomed.

There is a similar picture with respect to the export crops of cocoa, cotton, coffee, palm oil products, rubber, sisal etc., whether these are produced on the large European-owned plantations in East Africa or the Congo region, or by individual African peasant farms in West Africa.

In the former case the plantation owners have taken away the land of the native Africans and reduced them to the lowest form of farm labor, while the government provided subsidies to stabilize prices and encourage production.

In the case of the African peasant farmer, the export firms with the assistance of the colonial governments fix prices at the lowest possible level so that the peasant farmer is never able to make a clear profit on his produce. A clear example of this is seen in the instance of the large cocoa trade of Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

A year's labor and living costs make a ton of cocoa worth $96.00 to the peasant farmer who produces it. But $92.00 a ton was the 1945 figure fixed by the British Government's Cocoa Control Board, in which British cocoa-trading and manufacturing interests are well represented. And this was sold by the British exporters on the New York market, which buys the major part of the West African cocoa crop, at $320.00 a ton.

No wonder the Cocoa Control Board, during the years 1939-43 amassed a profit of $12,640,000.00--none of which the peasant producers got ! The Uganda government's control board likewise had nearly $20,000,000.00 on hand at the end of 1945 from the sale of coffee and cotton.

Industrialization Must Take The Place of Economic Dependence of Africa Upon Europe

To continue the analysis of the cocoa trade, the colonies have no

We must be ready to die.
" " create a revolt
Come out to Harlem —
we do not have to stay on side sides

Hon George A. Weston
The League of Oppressed peoples
"Did you (P.R.) have a conversation with
Mr Truman and what ~~did~~ was said?"

Robeson
Conditions of Blacks in America and Africa
is similar
On the floor of U.N. can be found the
talk of the independence of Africa
The empires have created confusion
As for freedom — time
Nigeria has done for years!
better than the people of Caucasius
Freedom in one group makes for freedom elsewhere
We must show that
overturning the rule of a few Britons

Truman denied Nuremburg had anything
to do with Georgia
I said the temper of the Negro is
changing — something must be done —

Congress of American Women
Women's International Organizations of the World

facilities for processing the raw cocoa, but must import cocoa butter and powdered cocoa.

Stores in the colonies, run by the same United Africa Company which handles the export of the raw cocoa, sell these imported manufactured items by the pound at a price which would amount to over $900.00 for the cocoa butter and powdered cocoa produced from one ton of raw cocoa (for which the African farmer received $92.00).

The economic dependence of the colonies maintained by the lack of industrialization is seen again in the fact that in 1938, the last pre-war year, Africa's largest single export item in value (next to gold) was raw cotton, while her largest single import item was cotton goods.

One African-edited newspaper in Nigeria states: "The West Africans are thinking fast and are not satisfied with the role of being just the producers of raw materials for the highly industrialized nations of the world. . . . agriculture and industry must be combined, otherwise our farmers will continue to be the economic slaves of those who dictate prices at both ends of the deal."

The African People Must Be Provided With Free and Adequate Education

The British Colonial Office boasts that "educational development in the the colonies has been progressing under British advice and help." But a British official in West Africa has this to say: "The rate of improvement was so slow, it worked out and was actually put into writing and presented to the Colonial Office that if the education program continued at the present rate of progress, before 80 per cent or 90 per cent of the Gold Coast people would be able to write, it would take about 3,500 years, and in Nigeria, it would take 25,000 years."

The British talk of plans for development of the colonies but remain vague as to the rate of development. It is perhaps embarrassing for the British to be reminded that illiteracy in the Soviet Union dropped from a figure of 60 per cent for male and 70 per cent for female in 1920 to only 9 per cent for both by 1932, a space of only 12 years.

Nowhere in Africa does the government or the mission, to which the government leaves most of the task of education, provide free public education. In eastern Nigeria it costs a boy in the sixth grade $100.00 a year to go to school today.

This factor, plus the lack of schools, the lack of trained teachers, and the lack of a practical scheme of mass education, accounts for the fact that the number of pupils per 100 of population, according to latest figures, amounted to only 1/2 a pupil in Sierra Leone, 1/3 in Tanganyika, 2½ in Nigeria, 1½ in Basutoland. In the United Kingdom there are 17 pupils per 100 of population.

In Nyasaland annual government expenditure on education per head of those in school amounted to 38¢ for Africans, but $73.60 for whites. In Northern Rhodesia the figures were 91¢ for Africans and $113.73 for whites. (Even in Mississippi, in 1940, the ratio was $7.36 for Negroes against $52.01 for whites.)

Adequate Health Service Must Be Made Available for the African People

Expenditures for health service in the African colonies are likewise negligible. In the Gold Coast there is one hospital bed or cot for every 2,950 people; in London, one for every 145. In Nigeria there is one medical practitioner for every 81,000 people and one dentist for every 2,750,000.

While research has found means for eliminating several of the tropic diseases which have ravaged human life in Africa, the benefits of this research have thus far been made available only in limited areas. Malnutrition is another cause of widespread disease, extraordinarily high infant mortality rates (50 per cent in many areas), and limited life expectancy.

The African Must Be Granted Full Civil Rights

The absolute authority in the hands of colonial governors has, for the African people, meant their subjection to manifold discrimination, arbitrary arrest, deportation and imprisonment.

Prominent leaders of the people such as Wallace-Johnson in Sierra Leone

Hunton — Educational Director
International labor meeting at Montreal
was asked by a white labor leader of
South africa — to appoint a commission
for investigation
Ideas — why doesn't that, We have black
Africans to speak on their own behalf.
African leaders of South Af. have tried to
come for this October meeting — permission
was denied —
we must speak.

we must not forget the Colonies of Spain & Portugal

we must raise the issue of a hearing for
the African people

Asapansa Johnson
To whom will S.W. Africa be mandated
It is a waste of time to send delegation
to Smuts
We should contact the Congress of U. africa

George Bauco, Pres. of Lodge, Brighton Beach I.U.O.
700 people
There is a chasm of indifference on Negro-Jewish
We must go to the Jewish people

24000

Ismael Johnson, League for the Oppressed People of the World —
We should muster some guts
all of us want to be the emancipator
Garvey
We must set the Black People on Fire
We cannot do it on 26th St

recently a representative to the World Federation of Trade Unions, and Imoudu, President of the Railway Workers Union in Nigeria, have undergone prolonged detention for no other reason than that of championing the cause of labor and democratic rights in the colonies.

A whole series of actions on the part of the government of Nigeria against African-owned-and-edited newspapers in that colony, representing suppression of press freedom, has been brought to light by Nnamdi Azikiwe only this year.

In Uganda last September, fourteen prominent Africans were one night taken under arrest by the police, imprisoned, and summarily deported from the country. No evidence was produced, no direct charges were made, and no public trial has yet been held, though the men are all still in exile.

The pass system and residential restrictions practiced in the Union of South Africa are also to be found in Rhodesia and other British East African colonies. The Fabian Colonial Bureau, which is associated with the British Labor Party, describes one bill introduced in the Southern Rhodesian parliament in January of this year as "a document introducing measures of such blatant racial discrimination as might have graced the statute-book of Nazi Germany."

Africans Must Be Accorded Democratic Political Rights and Self-Government

While there have been some minor concessions toward a greater degree of African participation in the political life of the French and British territories during the past two or three years, there is yet no evidence of any inclination on the part of the colonial rulers to grant general political rights and authority to the people in the colonies.

The evidence is all to the contrary. The London Economist, October 14, 1944, stated, "In Africa the question of universal suffrage has hardly yet arisen. ...For the majority of colonies, universal suffrage must still remain a distant goal. So, too, must the attainment of fully responsible government."

Likewise, the London Times near the same date, stated editorially, "No British possession in tropical Africa is yet ready to emerge from the colonial stage, and the colonies whose constitutions were under consideration (for revision) have taken only the first step toward representative government."

In the African colonies, the governors hold absolute powers. They have the right of veto and certification, and may issue ordinances, declare emergencies, and call upon the police and military to crush the people's struggle for a better existence. The colonial legislative councils are little more than advisory bodies, and are completely subordinate to the governor in authority.

The fostering of traditional tribal authority under the so-called system of indirect rule is one means used by colonial authorities to block the people's rising demand for more modern and democratic forms of political expression. The younger educated class among the Africans thus finds itself pitted against the tribal chiefs (frequently hand-picked by the colonial government), who seek to hold on to the limited authority granted them by the European overlord.

The demand for full responsible self-government within a definitely-stated time limit has been voiced by representative African leaders in the British West African colonies and elsewhere. In colonies such as Uganda a complete system of African government exists, but it is under the supervision of a British colonial regime.

The organization of Africans for increased political rights has lately developed at a rapid pace, spurred on by the concepts of freedom and self-determination so frequently expressed during the war.

The people of Africa look to America and the United Nations to fulfill the war-time promises of freedom and democracy for all peoples.

* * * * * * *

III S. F. Conference set a liberal policy of Trusteeship
envisaging ultimate liberation but
empires and S. African union
particularly object and

IV We support the plaint of India
in its complaint of discrimination
against its peoples in South Africa

V We must act on the Social and
Economic Committee

Specifically here and now we want to plan
action against Smuts —

Education We have been trying to make the facts known —
distribution of literature
holding of meetings

Send a delegation To confer with the American representatives
of the U. S. A.

Delegation To General Smuts

other — meetings, street meetings
Demonstrations, picket lines

As we oppose the vileness of South Africa we oppose the
vileness of Colonialism

SPECIAL DELIVERY

21-23.

NEW YORK N.Y. AUG 16 '46

U.S. POSTAGE 21

P.B. METER 11447

AIR MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

not under Not Here

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Cambridge Gun and Rod Club
RFD
Litchfield, Maine

NEW YORK N.Y. AUG 16 10 30 P.M. G.P.O. 1946

Return to Sender

The appended copy of Air Council letter, A63364 0/11 dated 4th. June, 1945, is forwarded for information and action as indicated therein.

1. I am commanded in the Air Council to refer to recent allegations made in the House of Commons and in the press to the effect that in certain R.A.F. Stations Racial Discrimination is commanded ~~countenanced~~ as between personnel of the W.A.A.F. and coloured airmen from Jamaica.

Investigation of these allegations has suggested that uncertainty may have arisen on this matter owing to the extent of two Air Ministry Confidential Orders ~~A167/42 and A88/44~~ dealing respectively with the attitude to be adopted towards (A) U.S. Negroes in the U.S., and (B) coloured troops as British subjects from the Colonies serving in this country with the R.A.F. The Air Council appreciates ~~that the~~ ~~seemingly~~ considerable delicacy and difficulty and aim to furnish the following observation to assist in their future implementation.

21-21-36

2) Although ~~Air Ma. A. 107/42 is~~ still in operation the orders are it is obviously undesirable, that any instructions to WAAF ~~is~~ or any advice which it is deemed necessary to give WAAF in conformity with this order should only be in the way of confidential talks, and that any offending notices on Notice Boards should be removed forthwith.

and

3. It should also be understood clearly, that the above was issued not to encourage racial discrimination which would be contrary to the established government, but in order to meet the difference in outlook between White Americans and British personnel, and should be explained in confidential talks to WAAF personnel, as to the relationship between Black and white people.

4. In case of British coloured personnel serving with the RAF similar considerations do not arise and it is the earnest wish of the Air Council that WAAF, equally with RAF personnel, should be encouraged to observe on stations towards these men the normal standard of service comradeship and otherwise to conform with the spirit of ~~Air Ma.~~ Confidential A88/44.

5. It is realised however that some airwomen, particularly the young and inexperienced, may perhaps regard the requirements of Para. 4 of the above as an encouragement to associate off the station with the coloured men.

I am therefore to request that all airwomen should be advised in a confidential talk, that they are not to infer from the requirements of the order the walking out or other intimate social contact off station with West Indians or other coloured RAF. personnel, although civility should always be observed.

I am to request that you will instruct Confidential Order accordingly.

I am,
Your Obedient Servant,
(Sgd.) F. H. Langford.

Segovia P.A. Pedelaborde UN

21 - 21

In Shakespeare's Othello there are ten allusions to his race and color: to his thick lips (ActI, Scene I, line66) to his "sooty bosom" (Act I, Scene II, line 70

21-21

Alpha Phi Alpha

In Shakespeare's Othello there are ten allusions to
this tree and color: to this thick lips (Act I
to his "sooty bosom" (Act I, Scene II, line 70

Phillips, Norman C

... Holland and the Canadians, with 150 photographs. Amsterdam, Holland, Contact publishing company [1946?]

28 p. illus. (maps) 72 pl. on 36 l. 34 x 25½cm.

At head of title: Major Norman Phillips ... J. Nikerk ...
Prepared by Norman Phillips and J. Nikerk for the Canadian-Netherlands committee as a commemorative gift to the Canadian army for its part in the liberation of Holland. *cf.* Introd.

1. World war, 1939–1945—Pictorial works. 2. World war, 1939–1945—Netherlands. 3. Canada. Army. First army. I. Nikerk, J. II. Canadian-Netherlands committee. III. Title.

46–6505

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[3] 940.542

[Rotheray, Geoffrey Neville] 1905–

Call me mister! A guide to civilian life for the newly demobilised. By Dennis Rooke [*pseud.*] and Alan d'Egville. London, Toronto, W. Heinemann ltd [1946]

x, 67, [1] p. illus. 19cm.

1. World war, 1939–1945—Humor, caricatures, etc. I. D'Egville, Alan Hervey, 1891– illus. II. Title.

46–6506

Library of Congress D745.2.R68
[3] 940.5496

RETAIN THIS

File Taxes

21-11

Owing to the number of assessments—Real and Personal—made each year, it is not possible for the Bureau of Assessment to give written notification, within the appeal period, of the final action of the Bureau. It is suggested that you examine the records of the Bureau immediately after October 1st, so that, if said final action is not satisfactory you may appeal to the Appeal Tax Court, 201 Municipal Building within thirty days from October 1st.

[1946]

W. E. B. Du Bois, Nina G. Du Bois, Yolande Du Bois Williams

$6,239 for house plus $800 for lot

$4,800

0

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nothing except repairs and $50 shrubbery

$7,039 minus five years' deterioration.

21-11-13

When did you acquire the property and at what price? $6,239 plus 800 for lot. mortgage at time of purchase $4,800

information sent to Bureau of assessment, M. Frank fitzpatrick, Manager

present assessment	Lot	$550	Buildings	$5,750	total	6,300
new assessemtn		980		6,600		7,580

[1946]

Sudanese Appeal
to the
United Nations

32,28 12

By

THE UMMA
(People's) Party

AFRICAN PRESS AGENCY
22. CRANLEIGH HOUSE,
CRANLEIGH ST.,
LONDON. N.W.1.

In light of the current negotiations between the Governments of Great Britain and Egypt, it seems opportune to review the relationship between these two Powers and Sudan, over whom they exercise joint administration under a Condominium. A delegation of the Umma (People's) Party, which represents the politically articulate section of the Sudanese people now visiting Britain, is taking this opportunity to put the claims of the Sudanese to Self-Determination before the UNITED NATIONS and to acquaint them with the circumstances which brought Sudan into relation with the Condominium Powers.

The Sudanese have a legal and moral right to independence. From the dawn of history up to the last century, we have been independent. Neither Egypt nor Great Britain had any claim to sovereignty over us.

In 1820, Mohammed Ali, the Turkish ruler of Egypt, acting in the Turkish interest, invaded us in order to exploit us by taking our natural riches, and by selling our youth into slavery and bondage.

In spite of the fact that Mohammed Ali, assisted by Islamic leaders who formed the pioneers to his invading army, maintained that the conquest was in the name of the Ottoman Kalifa with a view to join the Sudan with the rest of the Moslem world within the framework of the Turkish Empire, the Sudanese fought the invading army in many battles until they were defeated by weapons superior to their own.

From that time until our liberation by the Mahdi, the Turkish flag flew over the Sudan, and under its shadow flourished one of the most oppressive, inhuman, and corrupt regimes in the whole history of mankind. In 1885, we regained our freedom, and for fourteen years we were completely independent, acknowledging no master except our own rulers. These fourteen years of freedom erased any claims based on the sixty-five years of misrule that had gone before.

In 1898, the Sudan was invaded for a second time, but on this occasion the invading forces were not Turkish troops, but a joint force made up of British and Egyptians. The present existing administrative rights of the two powers in the Sudan are based on this conquest. Neither Britain nor Egypt had any rights prior to 1898. That Lord Cromer was the first to recognise this is shown by his statement in 1901, when in a speech at Khartoum he said (translated) "Both the Egyptians and the British are strangers . . . We aim at a true Sudanese Parliamentary Representation, and it is possible for such to be created." At no time since the conquest has Great Britain claimed the Sudan as part of the British Empire; neither has Egypt treated our country as though it were part of the Kingdom of Egypt. On the contrary, the British have consistently rejected the suggestion that the Sudan should be treated in the same way as her dependencies in the Colonial Empire, and the Egyptian Government, on their part, have gone so far as to plead before the Mixed Courts in Egypt that the Sudan Government was constitutionally an autonomous Government, absolutely separate from the Egyptian Government. The Court upheld this plea and found that by the 1899 agreements a new state was established in the Sudan distinct from and independent of Egypt. (Bencini et quistas contre le Gouvernement Egyptien et le Gouvernement du Soudan. Vide Macmichaels "Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.")

It is clear, therefore, that from the beginning of the Condominium Rule, the Sudan has been treated as a separate and detached territory over which the two condominium powers separately hold administrative rights as Trustees only, not prejudicing its sovereignty. (Vide Clause 1, Article 11 of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty which

reads, " Nothing in this Article prejudices the question of sovereignty over the Sudan.")

The part played by the Sudan during the recent World War represented the people's maximum possible contribution both militarily and economically. This was duly acknowledged by His Excellency the Governor-General in his message to the people of the Sudan on victory day, when His Excellency said :—

" The Sudan can look back with pride on the part she has played in this war. She has acted throughout with the courage, the orderliness and the obedience for which Sir Stewart Symes called in 1940. She has never doubted the path to victory. In 1940, her forces stood valiantly, with their British and Indian comrades, in the path of the invader and then pressed forward with them to share in the glorious victories in Abyssinia and in North Africa. Always they have brought honour to the Sudan by their valour and their discipline. At home, the Sudan assisted in the vital task of guarding the African lines of communication and gave unswerving support to the military forces who used her soil. Her citizens made many generous contributions to the effort of war, and endured steadfastly the restrictions and shortages which are the inevitable accompaniment of war. Her cultivators worked with faithful persistence. Her merchants have loyally obeyed the demands made upon them. Her officials have shouldered without complaint new and heavy burdens. Her wartime economy has won praise outside the borders of the Sudan. This is indeed a proud record and let us remember it with full hearts."

His Britannic Majesty, King George VI, also expressed his appreciation of the efforts by the people of the Sudan in his message which read :—

" Some years have passed since you swept the enemy from your frontiers in the early stages of the conflict, which has proved to disastrous for the aggressors. Now the seal has been set on African and European victory, and I am deeply conscious of the great contribution in the field and at home which has been made by your country throughout the whole period of the war."

It is unnecessary to mention that the contribution by the Sudan to the war effort for the cause of Democracy which resulted in complete victory over the Axis powers, is in fact a direct contribution to the United Nations, to Great Britain and to Eygpt. By stopping the forces of Italy on the East African front (Abyssinia and Eritrea) the Sudan Defence Force defended the rear of Egypt and the British lines of communication. The participation of our forces in the battle of Alamein is but another service rendered to both Egypt and Great Britain at the darkest phases of the war, when the Sudan Defence Force stood alone and checked the advance of the overwhelming Italian invading army before the arrival of reinforcements from the Middle East. Last and not least, the foodstuffs and livestock offered by the Sudan to help in easing the food situation in North Africa and Egypt. In rendering all these services we have not for a moment doubted the United Nations', particularly Great Britain's and Egypt's, appreciation for our efforts.

In view of the above and of the present state of advancement in the Sudan in the military, economic, cultural and social fields, a state which surpasses levels attained in a number of the Middle East Countries, the people of the Sudan feel it is high time for them to claim complete independence of their country.

Their claims are presented by the Umma Party, which was

formed in 1945, and now has a membership of 500,000, drawn from the popular masses, who have rallied to its appeal based upon a programme of "Sudan for the Sudanese." The Umma Party, democratically based, has about 90 regional committees, directed by a General Council of 60 elected members. Its supreme body is an Executive Council of 14, which carries out the broad policy agreed upon by the General Council. The Party has its own newspaper, entitled, "Umma," and also enjoys the support of another daily, "El Nile."

The Umma Party regard it as their solemn duty to ask for the cancellation of the present condominium rule, and the establishment of an independent Sudan enjoying complete sovereignty over the territories lying within its present geographical limits, which is the wish of the nation. This demand cannot but have the complete support of all democratic and peace-loving nations, as it coincides with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms, as well as the Charter of the UNITED NATIONS.

We therefore look to the UNITED NATIONS to endorse the just claims of the Sudanese people, among large sections of whom there is already growing distrust and suspicions because of their exclusion from the talks which have been taking place between representatives of the British and Egyptian Governments. The secrecy which, in particular, surrounded Mr. Bevin's conversations with the Egyptian Premier, and the announcement of Sidky Pasha which followed them, have only served to intensify Sudanese suspicions and their desired independence, as manifested in the recent demonstrations by over 10,000 supporters of Umma in Khartoum and Omdurman.

The intensity of Sudanese feeling impelled Sayed Sir Abdel Rahman El Mahdi Pasha, son of the Mahdi, to send the following message to Sidky Pasha: "It is the will of the people of the Sudan that the Condominium rule be terminated and the sovereignty of the Sudan be restored to the Sudanese to set up an independent democratic Government of their own, which will decide their future relations both with Egypt and Great Britain. The Sudanese reject all other solutions."

The Umma Party, chosen organ of the Sudanese people, whose desires it embodies in its programme, appeals to the UNITED NATIONS to see that the rights of the Sudanese to Independence are satisfied. Rather than support the continuation of the present Condominium rule, the Sudanese would be prepared to place their country under the INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP of the UNITED NATIONS, provided that such trusteeship will guarantee their complete Independence within a specified limited period, during which time the UNITED NATIONS will collectively assume the responsibility to establish and foster such political, economic and social institutions as will enable the Sudanese to create a democratic form of government which they themselves take over and administer within the specified period of time agreed upon.

The UMMA Party sincerely hope that this direct appeal to the UNITED NATIONS, especially its Trusteeship Committee, will find the desired response and that the UNITED NATIONS will grant the elected representatives of the Sudanese the right to present their case in person.

Submitted by the UMMA for and on behalf of the Sudanese.

ABDULLA BEY KHALIL, *Secretary-General*;
YAAGOUB OSMAN, *Executive Member*.
UMMA PARTY, Khartoum.

London—November 14th, 1946.

42/8f/43

Soviet Interest in Colonies Held Specific, Not General

Policy, as Privately Expressed, Is Believed Based on Areas of Special Concern

By JAMES RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., Dec. 10—The Soviet Union has contributed more to the success of the current meetings of the United Nations General Assembly and the Council of Foreign Ministers than it has to any other session of either of these two important bodies.

It is not only that the Russians have made positive concessions to the conclusion of the minor peace treaties and the creation of a disarmament system. In their personal contacts with the other delegates they have shown a new desire to understand the points of view of other countries. They have taken great pains to explain their policies instead of merely throwing them down on a take-it-or-leave-it basis; they have made concessions that, despite many loopholes, are encouraging; and for the first time in months they have sought private discussions, which in one or two cases have been extremely useful.

For example, Mr. Gromyko has had at least one hopeful private discussion with Bernard M. Baruch recently about atomic energy. Similarly, Nikolai V. Novikov has talked frankly with John Foster Dulles in private about the trusteeship problem. And, of course, Mr. Molotov and Secretary of State Byrnes have had two conferences that have contributed greatly to the conclusion of the peace treaties for Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

Nations Trusteeship Council, and this fear induced Mr. Byrnes, on the urging of Mr. Dulles, to take the question up with Mr. Molotov in private.

In this private meeting, the Soviet Foreign Minister clarified his policy. He is understood to have said to Mr. Byrnes that he really was not very interested in the trusteeship agreements for areas in Central Africa and in the islands of the Pacific south of the Equator, but that he did not want to give up his rights to be consulted about these areas lest he should then be prevented from having an active role in determining the future of other areas in which he really was interested.

For example, he is said to have told Mr. Byrnes, what he was really interested in was the fate of the Italian colonies, Palestine and any islands north of the Equator in the Pacific. He thought the Big Five should be considered "states directly concerned" in all areas; but in particular, the Soviet Union was really concerned in the Mediterranean and northern Pacific areas. That, he indicated, was the real motive behind his trusteeship policy at Lake Success, and on that basis, he concluded, perhaps certain aspects of a problem could be resolved between the United States and the Soviet Union through an exchange of letters.

Separate Accord Barred

The United States, of course, not only is not interested in making any such agreements on the side, but has assured at least one other British trusteeship agreements during the period when Ben Gerig of the State Department was negotiating with the British in London and Washington. As a result of these concessions to the United States point of view, many of the same concessions were written into the trusteeship agreements put forward by other countries.

Therefore, while the United States trusteeship proposals for the Japanese islands are somewhat less than revolutionary, and are widely criticized for that reason, it cannot be said that the United States is merely supporting the old British colonial system. That system itself has changed considerably without our intervention, and what we are now supporting is a series of trust agreements that we helped modify.

In short, true champions of the colonial peoples are still hard to find, but while we are waiting for them it is perhaps fair to report that everybody, including not only the United States but also the Soviet Union, is putting what is called "security" before the creation of an ideal and equal colonial system.

BRITON ASKS DELAY IN TRUSTEE STUDY

Balks at New Committee Now —Australia Is Assailed Over New Guinea Plan

1946

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., Nov. 21 —Great Britain placed before a United Nations Trusteeship Subcommittee today a proposal aimed at deferring any decision on the need for a new special committee to deal with informative reports on non-self-governing territories.

Ivor Thomas, United Kingdom representative on Subcommittee 2, touched off a two-hour debate on the question by stating his country's opposition to a Secretariat report. The report called for the early establishment of a committee of government-appointed experts—aided by advisers from the United Nations international organs on food, health, education and labor—to examine and recommend to the Assembly action on the submitted draft trusteeship agreements.

Mr. Thomas asked for delay until the next session of the General Assembly next September at least.

Only India's delegate, Sir Maharaj Singh, gave his approval to the Secretariat's proposal. All the other speakers rejected the idea of setting up new machinery.

Before another Trusteeship Subcommittee—devoted to appraisal of eight proposed draft agreements for mandated territories, the Soviet Union, India, Yugoslavia, China, Mexico and Iraq assailed a proposed Australian trusteeship agreement for administering New Guinea.

Some of the criticisms aimed at the Australian proposal—principally inadequate provisions for the protection of native peoples—were repetitions of arguments made a day earlier in connection with New Zealand's draft trusteeship for Western Samoa.

In line with the Samoan debate, Russia, the United States, Mexico and China circulated proposed revisions among the subcommittee members.

The Soviet amendment asked a revision of the Samoan fortifications provisions. It was understood to demand that the right of New Zealand to establish bases, fortifications or an army in Samoa must be authorized by a special agreement of the Security Council.

The British proposal for postponement of the new agency presented features of arguments offered by both Mr. Thomas and Dr. N. S. Blom of the Netherland delegation.

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Soviet Statement Differs

In the realm of trusteeship and world colonial policy, however, there has been a marked contrast between what the Russians have said in public at the United Nations and what they are reported to have said in private at the Waldorf-Astoria.

At Lake Success and Flushing the Soviet spokesmen have been the self-appointed champions of the non-self-governing peoples. Let someone bring up the colonial issue, and there was Mr. Novikov or Andrei Y. Vishinsky raising his hand and denouncing white supremacy with all the fervor, if not all the eloquence, of Mr. Gandhi himself.

British policy was denounced as if Joseph Chamberlain were still at the Colonial Office. The Dutch and the French and especially the South Africans were portrayed as the creators and inheritors of the white man's burden, and Uncle Sam characterized as a somewhat old-fashioned Johnny-come-lately who was preparing to put a new team of Colonel Blimps into the islands of the Pacific.

This is a popular theme with a great many nations at Lake Success—a little antiquated, perhaps, but an argument with just enough truth in it to produce sympathy and votes. What disturbs those who have followed Soviet colonial policy carefully, however, is not that the colonial peoples have found a powerful and persistent public advocate—most delegates think they need one—but that the Soviet Union seems to be more interested in the colonial peoples in the areas they are particularly interested in than they are in colonial peoples in general.

Opposition on Trusteeship

This point may be substantiated by comparing the public and private views expressed by Soviet officials on this problem. At Lake Success and Flushing, they have opposed for weeks the trusteeship agreements proposed by the British, French, Belgians, Australians and New Zealanders. This opposition was so strong that it appeared until today that it might even be impossible for the General Assembly to establish the United

state in writing, that it will not agree to any separate agreements about the future of the Italian colonies. Nevertheless, the United States is generally looked upon here as supporting a colonial policy more reactionary than the Soviet Union's.

There are two reasons for this, other than Soviet propaganda on the subject. The first and most important one is that most members of the Assembly believe that Washington has, in fact, come forward with an extremely illiberal proposal to turn the Japanese mandated islands into a strategic area. The Washington proposal is called "trusteeship," but actually it gives the United States almost every right of sovereignty except the privilege of running up the Stars and Stripes over these islands, and presumably this can also be arranged without much difficulty.

That is the first criticism of United States policy. We are being accused after this war, as we were after the last, of recommending to others principles we are extremely hesitant to accept for ourselves, and of tending to demand for ourselves privileges we hesitate to accord to others. In short, we are being charged with the same kind of hypocrisy that some of our officials think they detect in Soviet trusteeship policy.

The second criticism that is being made of our policy is that we are supporting the traditional colonial powers in their attempts to perpetuate the imperialistic colonial policy of the nineteenth century. This criticism, however, overlooks several little-known facts.

In the last six months, the United States has been negotiating with the British, the French, and the British Dominions on the trusteeship agreements these nations have now presented to the General Assembly for approval. It is true that in the committee hearings here the United States has, in general, supported these agreements. What is not generally known, however, is that these agreements are much more liberal as they now stand as a result of our negotiations before the General Assembly met.

Altogether, some twenty-nine amendments were made to the

Britain Cites London Decision

Mr. Thomas explained that Britain wished to abide by a resolution passed by the General Assembly in London in February, that all information concerning non-self-governing peoples, as specified in Article 73 of the charter, go to the Secretary General for summary and presentation to the Assembly at its next session.

Britain, he held that there was no need to set up an additional committee when the secretariat was ably equipped to handle this function.

Finally, Mr. Thomas contended, Britain, from her own colonial experience, feels that the present system should be tried experimentally for at least a year.

In arguing for the submission of information to the Trusteeship Council, instead of to any newly-created agency, Boris Stein, Soviet Union representative, again expressed his country's eagerness to see the early establishment of the council. The United Kingdom proposal, he charged, was based on the idea that nothing should be done and every discussion postponed until next year.

Until the establishment of the council, information on the territories should be sent to the Secretary General, he held.

Conflicting Opinions

Liu Chieh of China, who first suggested the council as the logical custodian of such information, held that it was the only body having the "continuity, impartiality and competence" necessary to handle the work.

France's representative, Stanislas Ostrorog, contended that it was too early to set up any new committee to deal with the trusteeship information and sided with the Danish and Netherland viewpoints that the secretariat was equipped for the job.

Sir Maharaj retorted to opponents of the proposal that he saw "nothing insidious in the creation of a new body" that could, after a comparison of reports, provide helpful suggestions to all the administering powers.

The brief, six-article New Guinea draft, which drew sharp criticisms from several delegations at the afternoon session of Subcommittee 1, was attacked principally for its failure to make specific provisions for native rights.

Prof. K. H. Bailey, Australian delegate, defended the general nature of the proposed draft on the ground that no specific rights had been noted because they were implied in the provision that bound Australia "categorically" to abide by the United Nations Charter.

Professor Stein remarked that in the twenty-six-year administration of the New Guinea mandate the natives had not progressed from the Stone Age. The backward condition of the people made the inclusion of specific guarantees for their welfare all-important, he said.

The Chinese, Indian and Iraqi delegations all urged elaboration of the Australian text—with stricter provisions—before the draft's second study, when it will be open for amendment.

The proposed Soviet amendment to the West Samoan draft was directed toward Article 10 of the New Zealand Trusteeship Agreement, which provides for military bases and armed forces in the territory. It proposes to add to this provision in the trusteeship agreement specifications that such action shall be undertaken by special agreement with the Security Council.

. You may now enlist in the Regular Navy for four or six years. You

42/8F/4

1946

8 LANDS BACK INDIA ON AFRICAN ISSUES

China and Soviet Bloc Lead Fight Against Race Laws—Smuts Bars Interference

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., Nov. 21—China and the Russian group stepped into a bitter British Empire "family fight" today to back India's charges of race discrimination against the Union of South Africa.

In the first public airing of the United Nations dispute, eight countries from Asia, Europe and Latin America indicated their belief that a series of restrictive laws passed by the Pretoria Government constituted a violation of the "human freedoms" sections of the Charter.

But despite the swelling support for India, the delegates to the General Assembly's Joint Political and Legal Committees listened gravely as Prime Minister Jan Christian Smuts warned that unless the United Nations stayed clear of domestic matters, many countries would find their position in the organization "impossible and intolerable."

"Every state has its internal conflicts and policies in which it cannot subordinate its own decision to that of an international organization," the premier declared.

The trouble between India and the Pretoria Government dates back to the 1860's, when Indians began streaming into the Union in search of new jobs and homes. The latest episode is based on a complaint submitted to the General Assembly in June of this year charging that South Africa had passed laws restricting the rights of Indians to trade and to own property.

The Case For India

The case for India was presented today by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, head of her delegation.

After recounting the history of the Indian-South African quarrel, Mrs. Pandit said the climax had been precipitated this year by the passage in Pretoria of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act—"the result of which is the total segregation of Asiatics, both for trade and residence."

"The immediate result of this hostile action of the union," she said, "has been that the Government of India has had to break off trade relations with the Union and to recall its High Commission."

As Mrs. Pandit finished her speech the Indian delegation moved its resolution directed against the Union of South Africa. It asked the General Assembly to declare that the treatment of Asiatics in general and Indians in particular by the Union Government constituted a denial of human rights and was contrary to the Charter. The resolution continued:

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...fore, considers that the Union Government should revise their general policy and their legislative and administrative measures affecting Asiatics in South Africa so as to bring them into conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter and requests the Union Government to report at the next session of the eneral Assembly the action taken by them in this behalf."

Smuts Denies Right

Premier Smuts challenged the right of the United Nations to consider the question at all, although he made it clear that his Government had no desire to stifle any debate "upon the factual aspect of the Indian protest."

Declaring that the issues raised by India were "purely domestic," Premier Smuts said his country's Indian problem was continually "exploited from India as a political weapon and a means to further India's political aims."

Foreign propaganda in alleged minority interests, he said, is one of the most potent weapons in the armory of international diplomacy and warfare.

After quoting the Charter to support his point that the United Nations had no right to intervene in internal affairs, Premier Smuts told the delegates that "every State has the right to live its own life in its own way, as long as it does not infringe the equal right of other States to do the same."

He denied that the treatment of Asiatics in his country was a violation of treaties between the Union and India. No treaties cover the subject, he said ,and the only international papers that exist are mere "agreements."

As for the complaint of India that the Union is violating the "human freedoms" sections of the Charter, the Premier replied:

"The difficulty here is that there is no internationally recognized formulation of the categories of these rights and freedoms.

Ukraine Leads Support

Support for India came quickly. Dmitri Z. Manuilsky, Foreign Minister of the Ukraine, said that a serious question of treaty-violation had been raised by India, that the principles of the Charter were at stake and that any move to shunt the issue off to a subcommittee would be fought.

Kuzma V. Kiselev of White Russia, said his country would cast its vote for the resolution proposed by India. The third member of the "Russian group" to back India was Dr. Milan Bartos of Yugoslavia, who told the committee that "every State is authorized to raise matters pertaining to violation of human rights by any other States."

Andrei A. Gromyko of Russia, although he did not speak on the kernel of the question, made it clear that he wanted full discussion and indicated that he would take the same stand as his colleagues in eastern Europe.

China, largest of the Asiatic nations, spoke through Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo. Dr. Koo said the restrictive laws passed by the Union Government affected all Asia.

In quick succession, delegates of Egypt, Guatemala and Iran backed the Indian resolution. Debate on the controversy will continue at the joint committee's next meeting.

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[New Republic]

(Continued from page 687)

over a period of 10 years. Of this sum, $94 million has been earmarked for central schemes, research, higher education, scholarships and the training of colonial officials; and $44 million has been set aside as a reserve against emergencies. The remaining $342 million will be divided among the 35 territories of the colonial empire. Nigeria, the most populous colony, will get $92 million. Assuming that the Labor Government makes the most of the opportunities provided by this Act, it is still evident that the sums involved are too small and spread too thin to effect fundamental changes in the conditions of colonial economy.

from the fact that the Bolsheviks in their own struggle to gain and hold power were obliged to ally themselves with all the elements in Czarist Russia which stood to gain from the liquidation of the *ancien régime*. It was inevitable that when this common struggle succeeded, new people should come to power with new values and new standards. Their interests were not in the sort of differential gain which gives rise to racial discrimination and the one-sided exploitation of undeveloped areas; on the contrary, their interests called for the strengthening of the new social order through coöperation among different races and through the maximum development of available productive re-

Remember
(Broadcast)
Jan 2, 1946

Municipal Station
on Pan African
Congress

E9-E-9th

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[1946]

ISSUES OF NEW AFRICA NOT AVAILABLE

1/1/39

1943 — [redacted], Sept., Oct., Nov.

1944 —Jan., Feb., March, [redacted]

1945 —Jan., [redacted], Dec.

1946 —Feb., March, Nov.

[1946] 4

ISSUES OF NEW AFRICA NOT AVAILABLE

1/1/51

[redacted] 1943 — Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov.

1944 — Jan., Feb., March, Oct., [redacted] Dec.

1945 — Jan., [redacted], Dec.

1946 — Feb., March, Nov.

From the Mississippi Code of 1930 of the Public Statute Laws of
the State of Mississippi
Published by authority of the Legislature by the Code Commission
With Supplement for 1933

Chapter 20, Section 1103

Races-- Social equality, marraiges between-- advocacy of punished.--

Any person, firm or corporation who shall be guilty of printing, publishing or circulating printed, typewritten or written matter urging or presenting for public acceptance, or general information, arguments or suggestions in favor of social equality, or of intermarriage, between whites and negroes, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars or imprisonment not exceeding six months or both fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

21-17

Chapter 20, Section 1115

Railroads-- not providing separate cars.--

If any person or corporation operating a railroad shall fail to provide two or more passenger cars for each passenger train, or to divide the passenger cars by a partition to secure separate accomodations for the white and colored races, as provided by law, or if any railroad passenger conductor shall fail to assign each passenger to the car or compartment of the car used for the race to which the passenger belongs, he or it shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction shall be fined not less than twenty dollars nor more than five hundred dollars.

Chapter 163, Schools, Article 6, Section 6586

Separate districts for the races-- description of the districts.--

Separate districts shall be made for the schools of the white and colored races, and the districts for each race shall embrace the whole territory of the county outside the separate school districts. A regular school district shall not contain less than forty-five educable children of the race for which the district is established, except where too great distance or impassable obstructions would debar children from school privileges. In such cases the board may, in its discretion, establish a regular district containing not less than fifteen educable children...

21-17

Chapter 163, Article 26, Enumeration of Educable Children;

Section 6748, County superintendent to make enumeration.--

During 1931 and every two years thereafter, the county superintendent of education shall require each principal teacher in his county to enumerate the educable children, in his or her school district. Said enumeration shall be taken by townships and shall show the school districts, the names, ages, and sex of the educable children therein. Separate lists shall be made for white, negro, and Indian races.....

Section 6747, Names, receiving.--

Each principal white teacher shall receive names of children having a living parent or guardian, and being in the care of such, only from the guardian.....

Section 6749, List to be submitted to trustees.--

It shall be the duty of said principal white teacher to submit lists of

Ch. 163, Art. 26, Sec. 6749 (continued)

educable children to the local board of trustees.....

Chapter 163, Schools, Article 29, Schools for Indians and other races,

Section 6789, Counties establishing-- licensing teachers.--

In a county where there are Indian children, or children of any race not otherwise provided for by law with educational advantages, sufficient to form a schoo, the county school board may locate one or more schools exclusively for Indians, or children of such other race, and pay salaries of teachers for same under rules and regulations prescribed by the state board of education. Special license may be provided by the state board of examiners for teachers of Indian schools and other schools mentioned in this section.

Section 6790, Municipal school districts, establishing.--

Trustees of municipal separate school districts are authorized and empowered to provide schools for Indian children living within the district in the same manner and under the same regulations as schools are provided for the children of other races.

Chapter 170, Supervision of Common Carriers, Section 7072, Regulations for passenger depots.--

The commission shall establish such rules and regulations for the arrangement and management of passenger depots as will secure the comfort of passengers, and it shall cause a copy thereof to be posted in each passenger depot or reception room. In cities of three thousand or more inhabitants,

21-17

Ch. 170, Sec. 7072 (continued)

it shall cause, to be constructed and maintained in connection with the reception room for whites, two closets or retiring rooms to be exclusively used by passengers arriving and departing; the following notice shall be painted in bold letters on the door of one, "closet, white; females only," and on the other, "closet, white; males only," and likewise closets shall be provided for the negroes with like signs painted on the doors, substituting "colored" for "white", and it shall see that the closets are kept clean and in good condition.

21-17

Section 7079, To inspect depots-- reception rooms.--

It is the duty of the commissioners to inspect the depots of all railroads from time to time, and of the the commission to require comfortable and suitable reception rooms for passengers, separate for the races, and, if it deem proper, for the sexes.....

Chapter 173, University-- Colleges-- State school,

Article 1, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Section 7187, Apportionment of students.--

The right belongs to each county to have a number of students admitted proportionate to its number of white educable males compared with the whole number in the state.

Article 2, Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College,

Section 7195, Recognized and continued.--

Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College of Mississippi, created by act approved February 28, 1878, for the education of the colored youth of the state, shall continue as a body-politic and corporate for that purpose.

Ch. 173, Art. 2 (continued)

Section 7196, Certain laws applicable.--

All the provisions in Article 1 of this chapter, being sections applicable to the Agricultural and Mechanicallege College, that can reasonably apply to Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, shall arply to the last named college, except those parts on the subject of the number of students entitled to free tuition therein, on the subject of apportioning students among the several counties of the state and dormitory privileges for them, and, on the subjedt of agricultural experimental stations.....

Article 4, Mississippi State College for Women,

Section 7205, Its purpose.--

The purpose and aim of the college is the moral and intellectual advancement of the white girls of the state.....

21-17

From the Constitution of the State of Mississippi
Adopted November 1, 1890, A.D.

Article 3, Bill of Rights, Section 8

All persons, resident in this state, citizens of the United States, are hereby declared citizens of the the state of Mississippi.

Article 8, Education, Section 207

Separate schools shall be maintained for children of the white and colored races.

Article 10, The Penitentiary and Prisons, Section 225

It (the legislature) may provide for .... the separation of the white and black convicts as far as practicable, and for religious worship for the convicts.

Article 14, General Provisions, Section 263

The marriage of a white person with a Negro or mulatto, or person who shall have one-eighth or more of Negro blood, shall be unlawful and void.

[1946]

★ *Nigeria's Bunker Hill is being fought with books instead of bullets.*

Nigeria's Made-in-America Revolution

By Prince Okechukwu Ikejiani

THE FIRST skirmishes in the struggle for political freedom of the 21 million people of Nigeria are being fought today—in the colleges of the United States.

When this freedom comes, as it inevitably must, it will be born of the strangest and most "modern" revolution in the long striving for liberty by the oppressed people of the world: a revolt won by books instead of bullets, by words instead of battles.

The "plotting" of this revolution is also unique. *There is nothing secret about it!* The Nigerian nationalist movement has simply laid down a policy: "When we have a nucleus of highly-trained technicians in every branch of government and administration, and when the masses of our people are freed from illiteracy and disease, Nigeria will belong to us. Britain will not be able to say to us, as to so many other colonial peoples: 'We will give you independence when you know how to use it'."

To achieve this aim the Nigerians are sending scores of their young men to America to study the sciences of government, of education, of public health, and of agriculture, and bringing them back to teach, heal, and administrate.

PRINCE IKEJIANI, M.D., of Nigeria, a disciple of Zik's, is a medical scientist who has studied in Cambridge, New Brunswick, Chicago, Ann Arbor, and Toronto.

Not even the extreme nationalists demand a separation from the British Commonwealth—as long as their country is "owned and operated" by Nigerians. Most Nigerian intellectuals believe, in fact, that the British Commonwealth could be the best system of grouping nations—but not on the basis of racial inequality.

The Nigerian students in America, of course, do not appreciate the discrimination against Negroes, which does not exist in Britain.

"But," one said, "racial intolerance in America is child's play compared with the more subtle British variety. The British say, in effect: 'We do not make you ride in special sections in trains, or require you to step off the sidewalk as we come by. But we rule you, so obviously we are superior to you.'

"Besides, Nigerian students are in America not to teach racial tolerance, but to learn."

The "Nigerian revolution" started without fanfare. A few years ago a high-school graduate named Nnamdi Azikiwe, who had a great lust for learning, ran away from home to Sierra Leone to stow away on a boat for Britain. His father, a pensioned railway clerk, went after him and brought him back. Twice more he "ran away towards England," and twice more was brought back before his father agreed to let him attend Oxford.

32.29.35

He stayed a year and didn't like it. He wanted to go to America.

At Howard University, Washington, D.C., he met a group of young Negro radicals. Among these were Dr. George Padmore, a Jamaican who was later deported by the United States, Prince Nyabongo of Uganda, and Langston Hughes.

Azikiwe went to on Lincoln University, Philadelphia, and stayed there to lecture. Next he took postgraduate work at Pennsylvania and Columbia Universities in journalism, political science, and anthropology.

Gradually his interest in political freedom for his people grew to encompass all other Africans as well. But he felt it was no use trying to work for Africa while living in a British protectorate.

Boldly, he wrote to the League of Nations and demanded a post as secretary so that he could represent the people of Africa. The League replied courteously that Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy were looking after the interests of the African people.

Azikiwe tried the independent nations of Africa; if he could get into the foreign office of Ethiopia or Liberia, he thought, he could "start something" with immunity from Africa's European "owners." But neither had a place for him.

As a last resort, he decided to try for a government job in his native Nigeria. He was offered a clerkship at $50 a month, despite the string of degrees after his name.

Although he went back to Nigeria, he never took the job. Instead, he heard of a native chief on the Gold Coast with some money to invest. He persuaded the chief to put the money into a newspaper.

With the *African Morning Post* was born Nigeria's bloodless revolution. One morning Accra, on the Gold Coast, was startled by the appearance of an "American type" newspaper with glaring headlines and race-conscious editorials. In a week the *Morning Post* had outstripped the circulation of the staid, English-owned opposition paper. In a few more weeks the English paper went out of business—hardly anyone would buy a copy when they could get the alert *Post*.

"Actually, it wasn't those headlines that put the *Post* over," says Azikiwe with a smile. "It was something that would be considered very dull journalism in America—I printed little factual stories about Africa's history. The point is that every West African schoolboy, who could recite the Kings of England from Ethelred the Unready down to George VI, was surprised that Africa possessed such a thing as a history."

Partly because the high illiteracy of West Africa was limiting his circulation—no district is less than 90 per cent illiterate—and partly because he realized that Africans would never be free unless they were educated, he offered scholarships so that the best students could study in America. Also he urged parents who could afford it to send their sons to America instead of England "to learn about democracy."

Azikiwe moved into Lagos, Nigeria, and started his own paper,

the *West African Pilot*. Soon he was operating a chain of four newspapers.

The youth of the country began to look to him for leadership. He was paying $150 a month to employes who, with the same qualifications, would receive $50 a month in government posts.

One of the students to come to America under Azikiwe's guidance was Prince Orizu. He studied political science at Ohio State University and Columbia, then stayed in America to organize the American Council on African Education.

Prince Orizu is a colorful figure. A tough democrat, he is also tribal ruler of the Nnewi tribe, and uses his royal title, robes, and attendants to gain his democratic ends in celebrity-loving New York.

The Prince has built up a remarkable organization. Patrons include the presidents of Ohio State, Western Reserve, Fordham, Howard, Detroit, Yale, Wilberforce, and Lincoln universities. A number of big colleges, including Harvard, have been persuaded to offer scholarships to Nigerian students. There are more than 100 so far.

Prominent American Negroes have backed the Council with cash. Katherine Dunham, famed dancer, has established a four-year scholarship for a Nigerian girl. Lena Horne, Hollywood star, and Joe Louis' wife, Marva, are among the subscribers.

The Prince is now in Nigeria to superintend the transportation of the first batch of Nigerian scholarship winners, who will register in February at a dozen of the best-known American universities.

This educational exodus is not exactly encouraged by British officialdom in Nigeria. In fact, the nationalists charge that the official attitude is that higher education in general, and the American brand in particular, "makes Nigerians dangerously progressive."

It is claimed that the protectorate's government works through diplomatic channels to have American colleges turn down Nigerian students and through currency control makes it difficult for Nigerians studying in America to receive funds.

Another of Azikiwe's protégés is Ozumba Mbadiwe, whose father—the wealthiest native Nigerian—is a banker and gold-mine owner.

Ozumba Mbadiwe came to America to study business and finance. Finding that Americans were poorly informed about the Dark Continent, he organized in New York the African Academy of Arts and Research.

The functions of the Academy are many: distribution of African news without English "slant," staging exhibitions of African crafts and culture, and encouraging African trade.

The Academy's director is Mbonu Ojike, graduate of Ohio State and Chicago universities, who is soon to return to Nigeria to be general manager of Azikiwe's publications.

One Nigerian tribe, the Ibibios, was persuaded by the publisher to send several members to American universities. They have returned to educate their own people.

Professor Nshima, an M.A. and B.Sc., now heads the native national college at Kalibala.

When another Ibibio, Ibanga Akatbio, returned to Nigeria, he appealed to his tribe for money and within a month had collected enough to build an Ibibio State College, of which he is principal.

B. Attah, a brilliant student of agriculture at Ohio State University, is now in Trinidad, B.W.I., doing postgraduate work at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture. He is slated to be Nigerian director of agriculture on his return home.

Back in Nigeria, Azikiwe, who is known to everyone as Zik, has been growing in power and prestige. He now openly prints a "national platform," demanding a socialist government, with the big industries and natural resources nationalized; and mass education paid for by the government.

At present elementary schools charge a fee of $2.00 a year. But, it is pointed out, thousands of heads of familes "live off the land" and have no cash income whatsoever, which means that their children will never learn to read or write. High schools charge $200 a year, which is beyond the means of the large majority.

Azikiwe's opponents are not only the British administrators but also local "kings" who have been well used by the British, and occupy a position similar to that of the Indian princes. The older generation of middle class people, too, are not wholly sympathetic.

But Zik's answer to them is the Nigerian National Council, of which he is general secretary. It has 7,000,000 members who take their gospel—and the newspapers—from Zik.

When Nigerian workers called a general strike last fall demanding a 60-cent-a-day basic wage (some labor has been paid as little as 10 cents a day), Zik's papers were sympathetic towards them. The government warned him that he might be arrested if he published editorials which "aroused the people."

He countered by leaving his editorial columns blank except for the captions the text would have carried:

FREEDOM OF THE NIGERIAN WORKER
THE LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE
FREEDOM OF THE NIGERIAN PRESS
FREEDOM FROM INSECURITY

Under each caption he published quite uncensorable quotations from John Milton, John Ruskin, and the American Declaration of Rights.

That annoyed the government more than the editorials would have. They suspended publication of all of Zik's papers.

Zik cabled his friends in England, America, and the British West Indies. He said his own life, and the freedom of thought in Nigeria, were endangered.

The torrent of protest which followed from labor unions, educational organizations, and scores of others forced the ban to be lifted.

Zik's first editions after the ban declared: "We resume the forward march, determined to carry on the struggle relentlessly until we safely pilot West Africans into that port which destiny has willed for them as an heritage."

3 copies

Le Chant de la Vague au Carrefour Raymond Journel

Dédié à la mémoire de Raymond Journel

A monavis, la beauté du rivage de la mer de Torbeck est tout simplement enchanteresse : aussi, malgré l'état de lassitude suscité par mon voyage, ai-je chanté le flux et le reflux de ses vagues écumantes. — . . .

Je l'ai pathétiquement, en glorifiant le divin Créateur. — Mais aujourd'hui, à la suite des tournées touristiques entreprises par Théophile Salnave, alias "XO", je me trouve encore plus émerveillé à entendre, sous de nouveaux aspects, la mélodie des vagues de la Mer du "Carrefour Raymond, à Journel".

En effet, en ce dernier dimanche vu se sont bousculés, ce jour-là, des touristes fort au-près de mes fronts lesquels je me trouvais, il m'a été, selon l'impression que j'en ai reçue, des attraits beaucoup plus saisissants en une musique émulsionnant suave : cris des baigneurs joints à la symphonie des flots.

A mes pieds, c'est la vague murmurante venant caresser amoureusement le sable

fait

Il a perdu son tendre père le 11 février 1955

Mr Do Bois
Bizoton S. En

fin, argenté. Plus loin, ce sont des flots tantôt gris-bleu, tantôt blanc-bleu, le chant de deux baigneurs. Et plus loin encore, ce sont des vagues, et toujours des vagues, se déferlant avec des bonds de plus de trois mètres, sous forme d'éventails...

Vraiment, je voudrais toujours entendre et pouvoir comprendre leurs chants si beaux. Ces chants si rapides et persistants, ne disent-ils pas, peut-être, les derniers accents des Mariins qui, jouant sur du velours de leurs familles, ont, hélas! trouvé la mort dans les eaux de la fontaine.

Et devant la fraîcheur de cette légende j'oublie, et je rends gloire au Créateur.

***

Mer de Carrefour - Raymond, salut! J'exalte ton plus haut point de splendeur radieuse! Mon âme se redresse altière pour chanter tes aspects si éblouissants.

Mes chants ce sont comme des flèches qui s'éparpillent lentement dans la clarté qui les enfouissent, préparant l'heure de demain du Poète.

Carrefour Raymond Jacmel

5 Janvier 1946

world over, such as sit with the Government at the round table conference.

PARTITION PLAN

The partition plan proposed to the Jewish Agency as a basis for negotiations has but one meaning. Nominated quislings for the Jews and the Arabs, but practical power for the British. Imaginary independence for Jews and Arabs, increased export of goods made England. Economic crisis for Jews and Arabs, but increased control for foreign monopolies. Wars for living space between Jews and Arabs, but the triumph of the British divide and rule policy.

The only way to wrest Palestine from the grip of British rule is to appeal to U.N.O. Only the immediate intervention of the Security Council can ensure the free development of the Yishuv and the advance towards democracy and independence.

The Communist Party has decided that its newspaper Kolhaam, now a weekly, shall be published as a daily from January 1, 1947. The steady increase in the circulation of this paper has put before the Party the necessity to rise to a higher stage of organisation.

The Party, aware of the difficulties in carrying out this project, has launched a Kolhaam daily press fund, and already £5,800 has been received.

PAN-AFRICAN RE

The Guardian
Oct 31, 1946

By IAN MACLEAN

As a result of the publicity Britain has been giving to her plans for self-government in the African colonies at some undetermined date in the future, several other colonial powers have been giving themselves hearty pats on the back for their own policies.

Proudest claim of all comes from the Portuguese, and in a recent statement the Governor-General of Angola, Commander Lopes, pointed out that for hundreds of years Portugal has been applying the doctrine of self-government which is only now beginning to be spread among what he called "the theoreticians of some other countries."

He stressed that Portugal's policy excluded any idea of domination of one race by another, and said Portugal's policy was as humane as any other. (This compared strangely with the news from India that Indians in Portuguese Goa were being grossly ill-treated.)

The Belgian Congo has been sounding a similar note, and the former editor of one of the Leopoldville papers, M. G. Caprasse, recently wrote that the next step in the Congo's development would be its proclamation as an independent State within the Belgian Union, in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

RHODESIAN REACTION

In contrast to these progressive—in theory—views comes news from Northern Rhodesia. No sooner had the British Government announced its plan providing for two Africans to sit in the Lusaka Legislative Assembly than opposition to the move came from Europeans. This opposition took organised form at a meeting in Luanshya, where the local M.L.C. was instructed to oppose the move.

The meeting passed resolutions long familiar in South Africa such as: "The African is not really able to take his place in the Government of the country," "The time is not yet ripe . . ." and that the two members were not fully representative of the African community.

ANXIETY IN TANGANYIKA

Tanganyika's Europeans have two subjects worrying them at the moment. To the East they see the terrible ogre of Indian immigration, while far off in Whitehall they discern a horrible plot to betray them to U.N.O. They will thus be satisfied with nothing but colonial status for Tanganyika.

To an African member of the Legislative Assembly the Government Secretary timidly replied that "he was aware of a certain amount of opposition among Africans towards the plan for colonial status." What he and the authorities must also be aware of now is that both Indians and Africans are uniting in this opposition and that, in turn, many Africans are supporting the Indians' plea to relax the rigid A laws.

INDIANS' STA

The Press has arguments for a immigration—it more space in than in the local telling argument in the "Manch from a correspon out that Indian East Africa cent Europeans, that ministrators had British would not for the Indians; been no Nairobi railway.

He added that recent panic th 100,000 Indians to Delagoa Bay. Africa is waiting see what the Ne ment does once i port from Sir delegation now b gations on the sp

MARINE

LONDON. — A want to get out o illusioned with Government and "privately sympa Communists," acc patch by Benjam New York Times.

After a three from Tientsin Welles wrote: "T foreign policy is by the American upon daily to bac lives. The Marin disgusted with th political situatio the choice they their hands of th "Almost to

Unity Movement Condemns Police Raids

KIMBERLEY.—At a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the non-European Unity Movement held in Kimberley on October 4 and 5, a motion was passed congratulating the African mineworkers on their heroic struggle in the strike and supporting their demands for a living wage and better conditions. The brutal methods adopted by the Government to smash the strike were strongly condemned.

Another motion passed states that the Unity Movement rejects the Native Representative Council as a sham council which perpetuates the political helotry of the non-Europeans and calls for the abolition of such segregationist councils. The meeting felt that the N.R.C. members, instead of merely adjourning their last session, should have resigned en bloc.

The incorporation of South West Africa was opposed on the grounds that it would be detrimental both to the people in the protectorates and the non-Europeans in the Union. "There can be no worse fate than falling under the domination of the South African Herrenvolk," reads one portion of the resolution adopted on this point.

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★ Zam-Buk the chest, etc

Article On Late Poet Inspires Student

Several weeks ago, I read a feature about the late Countee Cullen on the same page as the columns of W. E. B. DuBois, Walter White, etc.

Words in people's hearts are those they commonly use to express themselves. The words are in my heart to tell you how much I enjoyed the feature about Mr. Cullen.

Since I was recently assigned to do some research on Countee Cullen in my creative writing class at Proviso Township High School, I feel that I would be doing an injustice to my fellow classmates and to myself if I did not include a copy of those words which so beautifully expressed in so few words what so many people of our race would have liked to say.—Evangeline Jackson, Maywood, Ill.

32745

The Golden Age of West African Civilisation.

By Dr. R. E. G. ARMATTOE, F.S.A.

With a Foreword by Prof. Dr. E. Schroedinger,
Nobel Laureate,
Director of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

In this work Dr. Armattoe traces the civilisation of the inhabitants of West Africa before the arrival of Islam in the XIth century and of the whiteman in the XVth. In a series of well documented essays the author shows the development of native culture to our own times.

The book is profusely illustrated with masterpieces which, by universal consent, rank among the world's greatest.

This is an extraordinary book, which all, European and Negro alike, should read.

Probable Price: Four Shillings and Sixpence.

The Book may be purchased at the Publishers:

Londonderry Sentinel,
Pump Street, Londonderry,
Northern Ireland;

or from any Bookseller.

Resolution proposed by M.Joseph-Mitchell, General Secretary to the League of Coloured Peoples, 19, Old Queen Street, Westminster, London, S.W. 1.

THIS MEETING of Colonials and British friends of subject peoples, held under the auspices of the Asiatic-African United Front Committee at the Holborn Hall, on Monday, December 2nd, 1946, having heard a report of the Sudanese delegation in respect of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty negotiations, pledges its wholehearted support to the Sudanese people in their struggle for complete independence. This meeting therefore calls upon the British Government to implement the following demands:-

(1) The immediate termination of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and the recognition of [redacted] the Sudan for the Sudanese.

(2) The establishment of a Sudanese interim Government preparatory to the establishment of a free, democratic Sudanese Government in the shortest possible time. This Government, based on the will of the majority of the people, would determine the form of rule in the Sudan.

11. Resolution proposed by Mr Peter Abrahams:-

THIS MEETING also welcomes the report of Comrade Manley on the economic, political and social conditions in the West Indies in general and in Jamaica in particular, and pledges its full support to the West Indian Workers, peasants and intellectuals in their struggle for political advancement. It calls upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies to summon a Conference of the [redacted] representatives of the West Indian people at an early date, for the purpose of formulating ways and means to bring about:-

(a) Federation of the West Indian territories, including British Guiana and British Honduras, as a pre-condition to the extension of self-determination to the inhabitants of the Caribbean area.

ACADEMY
OF

DRAMATICS
AND
CLASSICAL DANCING

ANNA BOBITT-GARDNER, MUS. B. S., DIRECTOR
3 CLAREMONT PARK, BOSTON 18, MASS.
PHONE KENMORE 9254

Lecture

22-26-16

Mr. W.E.Burghardt Dubois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York.

November 27th, 1947

Dear Sir:

Would it be possible for you to be guest speaker at our seventh annual presentations of Finer Arts, in February, the actual day a date being Sunday afternoon , Feb; 15th ?, also your fee for speaking.

Our theme this year is "THE MISSING PAGES IN AMERICA'S HISTORY", this will be depicted in tableau and drama, of the part the Colored Americans have played in the development of this Country.....would appreciate an early reply.

Very truly

Anna Bobitt-Gardner

Anna Bobitt-Gardner

(1947)

December 1, 1947

Mrs. Anna Bobitt Gardner
3 Claremont Park
Boston 18, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Gardner:

Your letter of November 27 has come during Dr. DuBois' absence from the city on a lecture tour of the Middle West. He will not return to his desk until the middle of December, but your letter shall be brought to his attention at that time and he will contact you in regard to your request for him to speak for you during February.

Thanking you for your interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Arr. Sail Mon Feb 14
address c/o Groves, 30 Boulevard
phone Geneva 5675

Mrs. Bobbit-Gardner c/o Groves

[Academy of Dramatics...]

December 8, 1947

Mrs. Anna Bobbitt-Gardner
3 Claremont Park
Boston 18, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Gardner:

Since I assumed you were anxious to know whether Dr. DuBois could speak for you in February, I contacted him in the field and he has written me as follows. That he can be your guest speaker at your seventh annual presentations of Finer Arts on February 15, 1948. His fee for this appearance would be $75.00.

I hope that this information will enable you to proceed with your arrangements and that we may hear from you within the near future, since Dr. DuBois is fast filling out his winter-spring itinerary.

Thanking you for writing, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

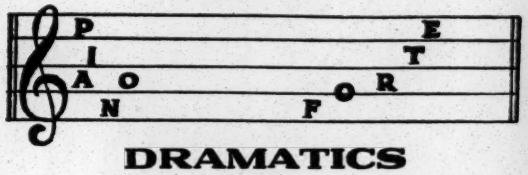
HHS:lm

22-26

Lecture

22-26-15

ACADEMY
OF



DRAMATICS
AND
CLASSICAL DANCING

ANNA BOBITT-GARDNER, MUS. B. S., DIRECTOR
3 CLAREMONT PARK, BOSTON 18, MASS.
PHONE KENMORE 9354

Hugh H. Smythe
for Dr. DuBois
20 West 40th St;
New York 16, N. Y;

December 14, 1947

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your prompt reply in regards to Dr. DuBois speaking here on the Sunday afternoon of February 15th, at 3:30 o'clock.

The subject that I wish him to speak on will be the same as our theme subject this year "THE MISSING PAGES IN AMERICA'S HISTORY", there will be no question period.

Kindly mail immediately several pictures and publicity material to my publicity office, who takes care of the white press for me ....Perry & Krause Publicity Office, ONE PARK ST; BOSTON, MASS;,....on second thought you had better divide up the material and send to me a picture and clippings and some to the office, as I take care of the two weekly Colored papers.

Please inform me also if Dr. DuBois is arriving Saturday evening or Sunday morning as he will be met at the station, also if he will be able to remain after his speaking for a reception in his honor, as it has been several years since he has been to Boston and there are many who would want to chat with him. I will arrange room accomodations and meals. Would appreciate it greatly if you will send me all necessary information that will lead toward his comfort while in our midst.

Very truly
Anna Bobitt-Gardner
Anna Bobitt-Gardner
Program Director

[Academy of Dramatics...]

December 17, 1947

Mrs. Anna Bobbitt-Gardner
3 Claremont Park
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Gardner:

In reply to your recent letter, I am having Dr. DuBois' secretary send you some material for publicity, including a biographical sketch, a photograph, and some excerpts from letters of appreciation concerning his recent speeches. Also, she shall send off to your publicity agents today similar data.

Dr. DuBois is writing you under separate cover about the other matters you spoke about. If there is anything else about which you might want information, please feel free to write this office.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
Research Specialist

HHS:lm

Lecture

[Academy of Dramatics]

December 18, 1947

Mrs. Anna Bobbitt- Gardner
3 Claremont Park
Boston 18, Massachusetts

22-11-63

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of December 14, I beg to say that I shall be glad to speak February 15, at 3.30 p. m. My subject will be "SOME MISSING PAGES IN AMERICAN HISTORY." I am mailing you one photograph, and biographical data as well as statements as to my lectures.

It will be unnecessary for you to meet me at the station, and I cannot remain more than a few minutes after the lecture. Thank you for your courtesy and interest, but I will arrange for my own stopping place and meals.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

LOUIS ADAMIC • MILFORD • NEW JERSEY

July 7, 1947

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I wonder if you could have your secretary send me a copy of your speech at the last convention of NAACP, which was scantily reported in the press and characterized as "uncheduled" and "surprising" -- surprising, it seems, in that that it pointed out that the racial problem can be solved only through Socialism. I'm most eager to read the whole speech. Needless to say, if you were correctly reported, I agree with you.

We haven't met for a long time. May I give you a ring sometime when I am in New York?

Sincerely,

Louis Adamic

22-9-137

9 July 1947

My dear Mr. Adamic:

Dr. Du Bois wishes me to say that his speech at the NAACP conference in Washington is being published in the NEW MASSES. Also he will be glad to see you sometime when you are in New York.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Mr. Louis Adamic
Milford, New Jersey

Louis Adamic (LOUIS ADAMIC FROM LOUIS ADAMIC?)

Release date of this issue: October 20, 1947

Owing to the volume of other urgent material, the rather long paper "America and Yugoslavia, and the Larger World Crisis," previously announced for this T&T, has been postponed for an issue in 1948.

The next number will be out in mid-Dec., and will go only to paid subscribers.

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POLITICS IN THE PENTAGON AND WORLD WAR III

The Significant Case of General H. C. Holdridge. . . . A First-Hand Picture of the Goings-on Inside the War Dept. . . . Glimpses of Men Who Help to Make the Policies Leading to a New War and to Military-Fascist Control of the American People. . . The Special Role of General Joseph L. Collins.

Early in 1947 I began to hear of General H. C. Holdridge, a retired Army officer coming into prominence as an opponent to Universal Military Training. The March 19, '47 issue of The Christian Century featured a hard-hitting article by him on "American Militarism" (*reprinted in this T&T, page 9*).

Information about General Holdridge was coming to me in fragments from a number of sources I can't name, and also from Miss Helen Wallace Kelley, a young woman living in Washington and a friend of T&T: an honest, level-headed, public-spirited person long known to me as one who was increasingly worried about the reactionary-fascist trends and tides in our national life.

One day last spring I was in Washington, lunching with a journalist friend who told me that the day before he had covered the hearings of the House Military Affairs Committee and had heard General Holdridge testify against UMT. "I wrote a story about it," he said, "but only a few lines got in. Most papers had nothing at all on it. There's an energetic rumor-mongering effort in this town to brand Holdridge a crackpot. There was a general from the War Department right in the hearing-room, whispering to reporters, 'He's a nut, ignore him.' For my part, if he's a nut or crackpot, I wish there were a few more of them." (*See editorial "On Being a Crackpot," page* 8.)

Gradually, talking about him with people who knew him more or less well, I gathered that in various respects and degrees General Holdridge was a sort of kin to these generals, now dead: Billy Mitchell and Smedley Butler of the era just before World War II, and Joseph ("Vinegar Joe" Stillwell and Evans F. ("Raider") Carlson. In fact, when Holdridge was a very young officer Stillwell was his instructor.*

Last summer, without being clear or definite in my mind what I wanted it for, I requested Helen Kelley to give me a memorandum on General Holdridge; but instead of writing to me about him herself, she suggested to the General that he communicate with me directly. Result: Under the date of Sept. 8 he wrote me a long letter, obviously with no thought that it might be published. He had understood Miss Kelley to say that I was interested in his experiences only for myself and not to publish anything about him at this time.

After I read and re-read the General's letter, however, I mobilized those of his friends known to me and—aided by the acceleration of developments in mid-Sept., such as the sudden advance in the date of the swearing-in of the new Secretary of Defense on the day that General Marshall spoke before the UN Assembly—we succeeded in inducing him to let me now use in T&T sections of his letter with only slight changes. Some of the paragraphs he would not allow me to publish at present, reserving that material for a later purpose.

Giving me permission to publish his letter as follows, General Holdridge stressed that he wished to take full responsibility for all his statements, and that he would welcome the widest discussion of the points he makes and the most complete investigation of his personal case. — *L. A.*

* * *

Another Dreyfus Case

Dear Mr. Adamic: In response to Miss Kelley's suggestion, I am jotting down for you a few of the highlights of my military experiences in recent years so that you may have a record available for reference and as an aid to your thinking about the current situation. I am a bit reluctant to speak of myself, and hardly know where to draw the line. I was for many years, and particularly during World War II, at the very center of a major political institution which is not generally regarded as such but which has great influence on national affairs, and I think I am able to present a point of view not available otherwise.

*General Stillwell's personal motto was put on the masthead of the first 1947 issue of T&T — "Illegitimati non carborundum . . . Don't let the bastards grind you down." — *L. A.*

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URGENT: Distribute extra copies of this issue! They are available: 3 for $1, 8 for $2, 20 for $5.

The most significant episode of my military career and the most revealing of the Army is the story of my own feud with the War Dept. It has been referred to as another Dreyfus Case because I got caught in the same brand of bureaucratic politics which resulted in the undoing of Dreyfus.

I was a member of what might be called the "inner circle" — almost, but not quite, a "fair-haired boy" — since I was a West Point graduate, had returned to the Academy as an instructor and assistant professor of History which was considered a compliment, belonged to the élite branch of the Army, the Adjutant General's Dept., and had an efficiency rating of high "superior" for services at major headquarters under top general officers.

At the outbreak of World War II, I was Plans and Training Officer of the Adjutant General's Office in the War Dept., where I developed modern methods of business and personnel management for the Army, overcoming 20 years of neglect and inertia of my own office in the process of which I won high praise. In 1943 I received two honorary doctor of laws degrees for this work: one from Grinnell College, Iowa, and the other from American University in Washington, D. C. The latter was the annual award to the individual who contributed most to sound public administration during the preceding year. Under-Secretary of State Stettinius received the award the following year. I had founded the Adjutant General's School at Fort Washington, Maryland, was assigned as Commandant, and thereafter organized 19 branches at colleges and universities, which turned out a total of 35,000 trained administrators — officer, officer candidate, WAC, and enlisted — during my command.

But He Had Written a Book!

I was "sitting pretty." Unfortunately, I had written a book! Back in 1932 when the Depression was at its deepest I started on a manuscript designed to explain the causes of the slump and to provide a remedy. I rewrote the manuscript a dozen times to the point of exhaustion, submitted it to military authorities from whom I received congratulatory memos, had it reviewed in the Army Industrial College, discussed it with interested civilian economists and administrators, and in general began to feel that I had accomplished something significant.

In 1943 I received informal permission to publish — although none was necessary. Then after I had redrafted it in a few minor particulars I again (being a good soldier who couldn't make a move without asking permission) submitted it for formal approval. But by this time the attitude of the War Dept. had changed. A drive was on to purge liberals from the Army. Two of my students who had completed their work in a highly satisfactory manner were denied commissions because they were "too liberal." The offense of one consisted of passing out circulars outside a theatre advertising a meeting in favor of the Spanish Loyalists at the very time Roosevelt had come out in favor of giving them moral support. Drew Pearson played up this new attitude of the War Dept. on several occasions in his column. I do not know who in the War Dept. determined these policies, but unquestionably they were enforced vigorously.

Tightening of the Screws

My case seemed to be no exception. General Alexander D. Surles, head of the Public Relations Bureau of the War Dept., and an old friend of mine, ruled that I might not publish on the ground that the manuscript was "controversial." After my protest he promised that he would send it to Vice President Wallace or to a governmental planning agency if I resubmitted it for that purpose. Again trying to be a "good soldier" according to Army conformist standards, I resubmitted it for that purose, but Surles once more denied me permission to publish and passed the buck to General James Ulio, the then Adjutant General. Ulio returned the manuscript to me, through his assistant and my immediate superior, General Ralph B. Lovett, with blunt disapproval of my right either to publish or to turn it over to Mr. Wallace or to anyone else. I immediately protested this infringement of my Constitutional rights to General Lovett, pointing out that there was a law against such action, but my protests were ignored. I then telephoned Surles, informing him of the action of my immediate superiors, but he urged that I not make an issue of the matter because of "certain imponderables" in the situation. He did not elucidate as to what those imponderables were.

A couple of weeks later Vice President Wallace, at the suggestion made to him some months before by President Samuel N. Stevens of Grinnell College, invited me to luncheon, and we discussed my economic theories. Senator Pepper was called in, and among the three of us it was agreed that Senator Pepper would make a request upon the Adjutant General for a copy of my manuscript (I had informed them of the embarrassing situation in which I found myself in having received un-Constitutional orders), and that the manuscript would be referred to Mordecai Ezekiel, Mr. Wallace's economic adviser, for review. About two weeks later that letter was transmitted to me, through Ulio, with instructions to furnish the manuscript, which I did. I have reason to believe that it was never delivered to Senator Pepper. I never heard from either Mr. Wallace or Senator Pepper on the matter again.

Now For the Kill

Then the bottom dropped out of everything. First, two top inspectors reputed as being "killers" for their power and ruthlessness, arrived at Fort Washington with orders to make a complete inspection of everything under my command. They spent 3 days on the job, seemed mystified over what they were supposed to be doing, reported everything in good order, and congratulated me on the efficiency of my command. They were then called off, and another group, headed by Major General James L. Collins, *brother*

Honesty is the greatest luxury in the world, and the American looks with awe on the man who can afford it, or insists upon having it. — *John J. Chapman in his book "Causes and Consequences" (1899).*

The Gist of General Holdridge's Ideas

The U. S. is approaching the hour of crisis. Decisions are being made from day to day which will determine the course of history. At the present moment those decisions are in the direction of disintegration at home and war abroad.

The task before us is psychological, to understand the problem and the one correct solution: the abolition of the private profit motive and the substitution of public welfare as the motivation for industry.

The U. S. has been organized on the principle of competition—of friction—between individuals, groups, and nations, under an economy of need. The keynote of the new era must be *cooperation,* good will, unity, and directed toward abundance.

The above is quoted from a leaflet issued by The People's Party, 726—11th St., N.W., Washington, D. C., of which General Holdridge is chairman, and which for the time being is chiefly an educational organization stressing current political, social and economic realities.

of the present Deputy Chief of Staff, Lieutenant General Joseph Lawton Collins, and including Major General John T. Lewis, Brigadier General Ralph B. Lovett, and several colonels, descended upon me.

For two days I and the entire post of Fort Washington were torn apart by General Collins. That inspection constitutes one of the most disgraceful episodes in the history of the United States Army. The whole post suffered from shellshock long afterward, and the Adjutant General's School never recovered, due to the intemperate manner in which the inspection was conducted. Then, without any accusations being made, and even before the report of the inspection was typed, I was summarily relieved of my command and ordered off the post immediately. When, at this critical moment, my wife broke her ankle, I was given a week's extension of time to move. Yet I was given an efficiency report of "superior" for the period in question.

My successor at Fort Washington was ordered to get the "Holdridge influence" (*i.e.*, democratic relations between students and instructors) out of the school.

I called for a Court of Inquiry to investigate the inspector, General Collins, as prescribed by law, but my request was denied. A year later General Joseph T. McNarney alibied the denial of my rights at that time by stating that the War Dept. had decided not to authorize any courts of inquiry during the war. When I referred this statement to the then Judge Advocate General, General Cramer, he informed me that no such decision had been taken according to his information, and that the War Dept. could not set aside, by administrative action, an act of Congress.

The "Iron Curtain" in the Pentagon

The request for a court of inquiry resulted in my being reduced, as punishment for daring to demand my Constitutional rights, from the temporary rank of brigadier general to my permanent rank of lieutenant colonel, after which I was immediately repromoted to the rank of temporary colonel. I applied for service in a combat area, but was denied. I was informed by competent witnesses who are still ready to testify, that General Collins cursed my name openly in the War Dept. when the matter of my application was brought to his attention.

All summer long I attempted to break through the "Iron Curtain" of the Pentagon to learn what was behind the attack on me, but all doors were closed. General Brehon B. Somervell sent an officer messenger to my home demanding that I turn over to him at once a copy of my manuscript. Although he had no right to the manuscript, I did so turn it over, and after several days it was returned to me without comment. I appealed from one echelon of the War Dept. to the other, demanding my legal rights, insisting the matter be brought into the open and settled on its merits, laying myself completely open for an investigation as to my official or personal record, but my appeals were ignored. I again requested permission to publish my manuscript but did not receive a final reply until the next year. I am still denied this right except "as a civilian."

The attack on me — coming at the end of 4 years of preparation for war and war services, when I had scraped the bottom of the barrel on my physical energies, with overseas service denied, and with the fact admitted by all of my friends that my military career was at an end — so affected my health that I was forced, in self-preservation, to apply for retirement to save myself from a nervous breakdown. My retirement with the rank of brigadier general was approved, effective on February 29, 1944.

After 6 months' recuperation, however, I felt fit again and returned to Washington from my home in Carmel, Cal., to resume the campaign for clearing my record, and hoping perhaps for restoration to duty. I was notified then, and again as late as last year, that there was no place in the Army for me.

"I Was a Racketeer . . ."

By Major General Smedley D. Butler, U.S.M.C., Ret. (now dead); from an article published in the Nov. 1935 Common Sense magazine:

There isn't a trick in the racketeering bag that the military gang is blind to. It has its "finger men" (to point out enemies), its "muscle men" (to destroy enemies), its "brain guys" (to plan war preparations), and a "Big Boss" (supernationalistic capitalism).

It may seem odd for me, a military man to adopt such a comparison. Truthfulness compels me to. I spent 33 years and 4 months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force—the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from a second lieutenant to Major-General. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer, a gangster for capitalism.

I suspected I was just part of a racket at the time. Now I am sure of it. Like all members of the military profession I never had an original thought until I left the service. My mental faculties remained in suspended animation while I obeyed the orders of the higher-ups. This is typical of everyone in the military service.

Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street. The record of racketeering is long. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. In China in 1927 I helped see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.

During those years, I had, as the boys in the back room would say, a swell racket. I was rewarded with honors, medals, promotion. Looking back on it, I feel I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best *he* could do was operate his racket in three city districts. I operated on three *continents.*

Truman, Marshall, Eisenhower Know the Facts

Since then [mid-1944] I have maintained constant pressure on the War Dept., so that the insiders will realize that sooner or later this matter will be out in the open where all may see. Everyone from President Truman on down is familiar with the facts. General Marshall, when he was Chief of Staff, knew the story. I tried to obtain an interview with him, but he refused to see me, turning me over to a young captain who was not yet dry behind the ears, and by whom I was humiliated over the telephone as I never thought it possible for any officer to be. Major General "Pa" Watson, the President's military aide (who was one of the closest friends of General Ulio) barred any approach to F.D.R. in my behalf. General Eisenhower knows about my case. I have sent him copies of some of my correspondence. I consider him an accessory after the fact. Former Secretary of War Patterson has personally denied me appeal after appeal. I have brought the case to the attention of the Association of Graduates of West Point in order that they might interest themselves in the honor of a grad-

uate just as they do in the honor of a cadet. The reply of one of the officers of the Association was that I must be a "trouble maker."

Another member of the Association, a classmate of mine, has been talking around — and he told me half-humorously to my face — that he would be happy to organize a firing-squad of my classmates for my execution.

I retain the friendship of several of my classmates who are still in the Army, but they see me only privately, almost secretly. Not long ago, one of these friends warned me to be careful lest some "accident" befall me. He had heard talk to the effect that I was in for sudden death. . . .

More Than His Career and Honor Is at Stake

An American's—any American's—constitutional rights must be defended, no matter what the cost. I have given my oath to defend the Constitution. I consider that these politicians in the War Dept. and out, one by one, violated their oath of office to defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. I now regard them, these military and civilian politicians, as domestic enemies of the Constitution whom I must fight until this issue of the violation of the right of freedom of expression and curbing my civil liberties is adjusted. But, as I feel right now, I am in no hurry so far as my honor and career are concerned. I must find the best way to open the attack, then decide on the time.

At this moment I have no desire to have the matter adjusted. I am happier in my new work than I have ever been in my life. I do not wish to be on friendly terms with the War Dept. as it is, for that might tie my hands and prevent me from fighting freely against parts of the present Army program which I consider evil. Much more than my military career and my personal honor is at stake. I feel that perhaps I can serve the American people better outside the Army, but with full knowledge of what goes on in the Army, than I could on the inside where I would be muzzled and bound.

The Army leadership undoubtedly feels that my attack on its scheme of compulsory military training arises from personal animosity. That is not true. I was drawn into the campaign inadvertently by Raymond Wilson of the Friends' Service Committee, and once having grasped the enormity of what the Army was trying to force on the American people I have found it imperative to keep up the fight.

My liberalism was unquestionably the cause of the War Dept. attack on me. This is admitted by those on the inside who have expressed themselves freely. Many other men were purged for being too liberal according to the standards of the high command — and this during a war fought to preserve human liberty!

Other Factors in the Case

But there were other angles which cannot be overlooked. I had been recommended by many to succeed General Ulio as the Adjutant General at the time he was slated to accompany General Marshall to Europe as his assistant, when Marshall was under consideration for the job later given to Eisenhower. This was an offense for which I could not be forgiven. Then, too, I had been promoted to brigadier general largely through the efforts of my juniors in the War Dept. and at Fort Washington, rather than through the initiative of my superiors.

The assignment as Commandant at Fort Washington called for a brigadier general. I was on the job as a colonel, my record justified my promotion, and a formal recommendation for it had been prepared, but was gathering dust in the files. Some of the younger officers became convinced that the work of the personnel at the Adjutant General's School deserved recognition by having me promoted, so they got busy. One of the young officers knew the right man who knew President Roosevelt. Contacts were arranged, with the result that on Dec. 2, 1942, President Roosevelt telephoned to the War Dept. for the list of officers to be recommended for promotion which had just been prepared, and directed that the name of one H. C. Holdridge (whom he did not know personally) be on that list. He delayed his lunch hour until the list arrived, signed and transmitted it to the Senate for immediate approval rather than for the routine approval normally provided several days later. That same evening, while I was on a train in South Dakota to inspect a branch school, a Western Union messenger brought me official notification of my promotion. Decidedly, I was becoming entirely too well known to suit the taste of the inner Pentagon crowd. . . . In 1943, when I was relieved from command at Fort Washington, the men who had been instrumental in getting me promoted were too frightened to come to my defense. . . .

The Strange Expert in Administration

Another incident which aroused antagonism against me: General Ulio had been ordered by General Somervell, Chief of the Army Service Forces, to employ a firm of civilian experts in administration to stream-line Army administration. In compliance, a representative of such a firm named Xxxxxxxxxxxx* was engaged to make a survey of the entire Army system. Mr. Xxxxxxx spent 6 months in the various echelons—the Air Forces, the Ground Forces, the Service Forces, Staging Areas, Service Command, Ports of Embarkation, Service Schools, etc. At the end of that time he submitted his recommendations to the Adjutant General's Board, of which I was a member.

General Edward F. Witsell, the present Adjutant General, was President of the Board. The members of the Board, knowing of General Somervell's insistence, and being pressed by General Clinton F. Robinson, known as head of what was humorously called "Somervell's Gestapo," were inclined to accept the report. I objected, and after careful analysis of the report was able to show that the proposal would sabotage administration in the entire Army. The Board members literally drew a sigh of relief as they recognized that they had been saved from a fatal error.

At the instigation of General Robinson, however, Mr. Xxxxxx was required to submit an alternate recommendation. This he did, almost overnight, but this time he adopted a recommendation diametrically opposed to the first, and again its effect would have been to sabotage army administration. Again I objected.

Mr. Xxxxxx, realizing that I seemed to be the obstacle in his path, came to Fort Washington and remained until late into the night trying to induce me to agree with his recommendations, and at last I had to intimate to him that I considered his recommendations dangerous, for reasons stated below. After many days of dispute, this second report was also rejected by the Board, which again realized that it had been saved from serious error.

Who Was Mr. Xxxxxx?

An interesting situation now arose. It had been made known to us at the first meeting of the Board that Mr. Xxxxxx was an enemy alien, that he was a native of Germany who had taken out his first papers but had never become a citizen, and that General Robinson had been aware of that fact from the start, as had been also the Military Intelligence of the War Department. The Board controversy became noised about the War Dept., and a civilian of importance in the international business world pro-

*General Holdridge spelled out this man's name in his letter to me. The name is deleted here on the advice of T&T's attorney. As it appears later in the text of the letter, the man was a German alien and a pro-Nazi; but the most damaging part of his record is on file in the War Dept., and since some of the important U. S. officials now favor former Nazis and pro-Nazis, especially in Germany, it was felt that the War Dept. might not want to release its information on the man if he should sue T&T. If General Holdridge's case gets an official hearing, he will give the man's name. It is known to hundreds of people, military and civilian.—*L. A.*

tested to me that he knew Mr. Xxxxxx unfavorably, that his firm had discharged him in China, and that he proposed to report the facts to Drew Pearson.

I urged this man, for the sake of security, not to be too hasty, and said that I'd try to clear the situation. I immediately sent my Intelligence Officer to the War Dept. to report the facts. No sooner had he made his report than my telephone began to ring, with officers in high positions demanding what sort of a mess was I trying to cook up, etc., etc. Instead of being congratulated for coming to their rescue in a dangerous situation, I was made to feel that I had committed some offense. Nevertheless, Mr. Xxxxxx's record was checked, and it was found that negative information about him did exist in another office of the War Dept. (It often happens in the Army that one hand doesn't know what the other is doing.) He was then barred from all Army installations—but 6 months too late.

One may conjecture what information he was in a position to gather in the heart of the War Dept.—and this at a time when we were all warned to "button up" our lips. It always seemed a bit ironical to me that I, who was crusading for freedom of expression under our Constitution, should be "blitzed" by the War Dept. while a proven enemy alien was given free access to all Army installations.

Was Congressman May Busy With the Garssons?

In 1944, in one of my numerous attempts to smoke out the Army, I reported my case to Mr. H. Ralph Burton, general counsel for the Investigating Committee of the House Military Affairs Committee, who worked under its chairman, Congressman Andrew Jackson May of Kentucky. I also reported the incident of the enemy alien. Mr. May was too busy—presumably with the Garssons—to see me. Mr. Burton confirmed the facts I had given him about Xxxxxx. A few days later the newspapers reported that Burton had been counsel for Father Coughlin. Thereafter I was not surprised that I got no assistance from Mr. Burton, who warned me in a fatherly manner that if I persisted in my efforts to open up the War Dept. case I would suffer "retribution." About a year later when I checked through the Dept. of Labor I discovered that Xxxxxx was still at large and had never been deported.

Xxxxxx's crowning insult was to have distributed to us, through one of the generals on duty in the War Dept., carbon copies of a little jingle, thumbing his nose at us:

The Lord gave us two ends to use,
One to think with, one to sit on,
It all depends on which you choose,
Heads you win, tails you lose.

General Somervell's "Control Division"

A further word on General Somervell's "Gestapo." That term, as I say, was used humorously, but it became quite current in the War Dept. where Somervell acquired a reputation for being hard-boiled. His so-called "Gestapo" consisted of his "Control Division" under General Robinson, which had authority to act through corresponding "control divisions" of subordinate offices, thus permitting Robinson to sit in the center and pull the strings and exercise tight control over all activities under Somervell.* The subordinates in the "Control Division" were termed Somervell's "hatchet men." They wielded the hatchet with efficiency and dispatch. General James L. Collins, who was given the assignment to "blitz" me, was a member of this inner staff in Somervell's office.

The terms "Gestapo" and "hatchet men" were supposed to be funny. To me they were never very funny, considering that we were fighting to make the world a place of freedom. After I felt Collins' stiletto between my shoulder blades I was more than ever convinced that there was nothing funny about them.

*General Clinton F. Robinson now is assigned to the Office of the Secretary of War.

Do We Want Universal Military Training?

Give careful thought to the material in this T&T dealing with the War Dept.'s scheme for Universal Military Training. Don't be swayed by the fact that the President's Commission on UMT unanimously recommended it as the only means to national security.

The commission consisted of Dr. Karl T. Compton, chairman; *Rev. Edmund A. Walsh;* Charles E. Wilson (General Electric); Anna Rosenberg; Joseph E. Davies; Dr. Daniel Poling; Samuel I. Rosenman; Harold W. Dodds, and Truman K. Gibson. In other words, it included a few pretty good people.

I am reliably informed, however — not by General Holdridge — that before deciding on that recommendation the Commission was confronted by several high-ranking Army Intelligence officers who laid before it a mass of "top secret" information which—*if true*—amounted to an appearance of the U. S. being in imminent danger of destruction by the forces of the USSR and Communism, *but which information the Commission was in no position to verify.*

At that time Lieut. General Joseph Lawton Collins was still War Dept's chief of information. And note that Rev. Edmund J. Walsh was a member of the Commission.

I agree with General Holdridge's statement that one of the chief reasons—perhaps *the* chief reason—for the tremendous propaganda drive for UMT, which reached a climax at the last American Legion Convention, is the fear of our military and the Wall Streeters that unless they get control of the American people body and soul, and especially of the youth of America, there are apt to be drastic political upheavals in the U. S. during the next decade.

The UMT issue is bound soon to come up in Congress. T&T readers are urged to write and get others to write to members of Congress, demanding that the doings of "Lightning Joe" Collins be looked into—that General Holdridge be given full hearing.—*L. A.*

The Plot Is About to Boil Over

But the most important point here, which bears only indirectly on the foregoing, is this: The political pot in the Pentagon is about to boil over. The decision must be made in the near future, if it has not already been made, as to who is to succeed General Eisenhower as Chief of Staff. General Omar Bradley has been most prominently mentioned, but according to the "grapevine" Bradley may either be by-passed, or may be given the honor temporarily (perhaps for a year) and then moved on to some other assignment, to be followed by a permanent Chief of Staff. The name of Lieutenant General Joseph Lawton ("Lightning Joe") Collins has been mentioned as a possible dark horse for this all-important assignment.

I find no joy in the necessity which confronts me of presenting a critical character analysis of General Joe Collins. He is a classmate with whom I associated on terms of friendship at West Point, and from time to time thereafter over the years of my service. I have no desire to injure him personally even in so limited a way as by writing about him in this letter. My justification in writing

to you frankly is that I am seeking a way for opening up this matter, so that the people may get to know about it; and perhaps you, an experienced publicist, may be able to advise me on how I might find the right way. Joe Collins' possible, if not probable, assignment to the high position of Chief of Staff, or to some other corresponding position under the newly merged armed forces organization, is of such tremendous consequence to the American people that I must place national welfare above personal considerations.

One of the "Fair-Haired Boys"

Joe Collins is the youngest member of my class (1917). He is serious, humorless, persistent, greatly ambitious, reasonably competent. His lack of a sense of humor is a serious weakness in a man in high position who must be under constant stress and strain. He smiles with his lips, not with his heart. His ambition blinds him to many human factors. At West Point as cadets we used to say jokingly that Joe had already made up his mind to become Chief of Staff. Even his moral rectitude is carried to extreme. At West Point he was a member of the Honor (Vigilance) Committee of our class, which imposed standards of honor upon all cadets. His standards in this respect are such as to tolerate no deviation from his own pre-established sense of values.

As a military leader he is one of the last remnants of the foot-soldier leadership. He is a "dough-boy" first, last and all the time. This will make him view all strategy from the standpoint of the obsolete mass army with which he is most familiar. He was one of the "fair-haired boys," one of the second-string team, of which General Marshall was one of the first-string leaders, which purged General Mitchell, emasculated air power, and shackled our new revolutionary weapons to the speed of marching men for an entire generation. His foot-soldier indoctrination contributed materially to one of the most serious blunders of the war—Bataan.

The Blunders of Bataan and Normandy

General MacArthur is credited with having developed the initial plan for the retreat into Bataan. In 1936, while I was on duty in the Philippines, Joe resurrected this plan which was practiced during the maneuvers that year which became known as "Collins' maneuvers," because they seemed directed toward the one purpose of giving him prestige and experience. Everyone in the Philippines knew of the plan, as did undoubtedly the Japanese. (Incidentally, during the maneuvers, Joe got lost from his command, appeared at Fort Stotsenburg some 40 miles away, and we were placed at the necessity of transporting him back to his command post). MacArthur again took up the strategy at the outbreak of the war and followed it to the fall of Corregidor.

The plan was based on a "Maginot Line complex," or better, a "Corregidor complex," which considered the island of Corregidor as a point of strength and protection, rather than of weakness as it actually was. Instead of retreating into the trap of Bataan, where it was destroyed, our Army should have scattered to prearranged positions in the hills and jungles from which it could have fought a guerrilla war indefinitely as did the Filipino guerrillas later.

Wars have cost the United States $414,000,000,000, more than all the wealth piled up since the Declaration of Independence. All the farms, homes, factories, stores and other property of the U. S. is valued at $300,000,000,000. For what the country has spent on wars, every family in the U. S. could have an $8,000 home, a $1,200 car, and $2,000 in the bank.

Joe Collins must also share in the criticisms which will eventually fall upon Eisenhower for his European campaign, in which Eisenhower found himself a general in search of a battlefield. He had helped build up massive armies, and then had to find a way to use them. As a result he hauled them to England, to Africa, to Italy, back to England and finally to Normandy. By this time MacArthur had developed his famous brilliant maxim covering his new strategy: "The only purpose of the ground forces is to advance the bomber line." Eisenhower reversed that maxim and used the bomber line to advance the ground forces. I believe that History will show that the whole Normandy campaign was a blunder, for when our civilian investigating committee went into Germany immediately after cessation of hostilities, they reported that—so far as our contribution to victory is concerned—Germany had received her mortal blow at home from the air before the Normandy jump-off. Eisenhower at all times was closer to Germany by bomber than MacArthur ever was to Japan, yet MacArthur walked in standing up, while Eisenhower elected to do it the hard way. Joe Collins is an exponent of this same strategy, which places reliance on the foot soldier rather than on new weapons.

One Source of the UMT Scheme

Joe Collins' indoctrination in the strategy of ground forces has been responsible for his relentless propaganda campaign to foist Universal Military Training upon the American people. Until last summer, when he became Deputy Chief of Staff, he held the office of Director of the Bureau of Public Relations, as successor to General Surles. His appointment to that high position, for which he had no previous training, could hardly be considered as accidental. Such high appointments simply are not made by chance. I should imagine that Father Edmund Walsh, the Jesuit professor of political science at Georgetown University, who serves informally as Minister Without Portfolio in the War Dept., may have had a hand in that one. The efficiency with which the War Dept. propaganda campaign in favor of universal military service has been carried on can be attributed to Joe. While he was Director of the Bureau of Public Relations, every known agency was used—lecturers, reactionary veteran organizations, radio programs, motion pictures, newspapers, magazines, etc., etc. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of the taxpayers' money were expended. Much of this was of dubious legality.* There was little regard for truth, the same misstatements and false implications being repeated over and over again until the public, frightened into desperation, started to swallow the UMT scheme. (*See box on page 5.*)

We must give credit to Joe's efficiency in this campaign. No wonder he was rewarded by promotion to the office of Deputy Chief of Staff. I don't doubt that a large part of the hoopla for UMT at the last American Legion Convention was directed by Joe. He also appeared on the program in person.

Holdridge's Opposition to UMT

I seemed to become a thorn in the side of the War Dept. from the day I testified before Congress in opposition to the program. A few days before, I had spoken to Major General Willard Paul, War Dept. Director of Personnel, in the hall outside Congressman May's office, and protested that the UMT program was premature, that the War Dept. had made no "estimate of the situation" to determine the need for it, that it did not know how many men were needed, nor how they were to be trained. General

*Says the Sept. 24 Pathfinder magazine (published in Washington; page 10): "Universal Military Training sponsors will try to get action on their bill during the special session of Congress if it is called. Meanwhile, the Justice Dept. is investigating complaints that ex-Secretary of War Patterson illegally hired press agents to beat the drums for UMT."

T&T readers are urged to join in the demand for an investigation of these complaints.—*L. A.*

Paul answered excitedly, "I know, I know, but we've got to get this through *now*."

After I had testified a reporter, apparently impressed with my analysis, asked General Paul, "What do you think of this story of Holdridge's anyway?" Paul's answer was, "Pay no attention to him, he is nothing but a crackpot." This attitude seems to have become one of the minor elements of the Pentagon party line. Long before, I had concluded that any man who expected to get justice out of the War Dept. must of necessity be a "crack-pot." And I believe that tens of thousands of GI's will say "Amen" to this one.

A Polite Bow to "Lightning Joe"

As far as I was able to determine, Joe Collins took the same plan of whittling me down, although we've had no direct personal contact recently. War Dept. interest in my activities, opposing conscription, in which he had primary concern, dogged my footsteps. Arrangements would be made by civilians in some city to have me debate an Army officer, and then at the last minute when a replacement could not be obtained, the officer would suddenly withdraw because of important business elsewhere. The dictum went forth from the War Dept. that no officer would be permitted to debate me, but offers were made to send civilians from a civilian front organization to follow me at a later date. When I checked in Joe's office for information of this civilian agency, knowledge of such was denied, which was obviously false, since their names were well known. Local veterans' organizations began to gang up on me, with distorted stories, with rumors of my being a crackpot, which could only have been inspired from the Pentagon. Some individual American Legion men admitted later that they had come to scoff and heckle but had remained to pray. The one time an officer officially representing the War Dept. was forced to debate me on the radio, he spent his time attacking me personally and impugning my motives, obviously with the full knowledge of his superiors, notably of Joe Collins, who at that time was still in charge of the Army's public relations. In Toledo, the Legion succeeded in preventing me from speaking at Toledo University, because—so I was informed—the University was trying to obtain an R.O.T.C. unit and did not wish to lose this rich patronage, since my presence might react badly in the War Dept. A local furore ensued, which boomeranged on the War Dept. Knowing that Joe was in on every major decision affecting my campaign against UMT, and feeling the full effects of the unprincipled War Department tactics, I take off my hat to him and bow politely.

Collins—a Devout Roman Catholic

The above characteristics of Joe Collins are cited as examples of his importance on the national scene, and the course of action he may be expected to follow. My primary reason for opposing his assignment to the office of Chief of Staff or to any other high position, for objecting to his present assignment to the office of Deputy Chief of Staff in a transitional situation in which the Deputy may exercise unusual influence on the course of War Department politics, and for his earlier assignment as Director of Public Relations is that he is a devout Roman Catholic.

This statement is likely to shock people, but I believe that it is founded on sound logic and on observation and experience of which I have no monopoly. To be perfectly clear: I do not question Joe Collins' patriotism—conventional patriotism, which usually means attachment to things as they are in one's country. I mean to say that Joe is a special kind of American, the kind that right now is of dubious values in a strategic position in the War Department. Let me repeat that, to my personal knowledge, he is a devout Catholic. And it is not merely my opinion that being a devout follower of the Roman Catholic Church implies double loyalty—or at least susceptibility to the Vatican's political influence—in a great majority of cases.

Over 3,000 people and organizations that are not in T&T's regular mailing list are receiving this issue. Some will see the paper for the first time. All are invited to subscribe for 1948.

Please see the statement on p. 24.

Slogan: "Hit Russia Now"

Joe has been indoctrinated by the Church in its own philosophies for all of the years of his life. It would be extremely difficult for one to differentiate between the religious teachings of Catholicism (with which I have no quarrel) and its political philosophies. The Catholic hierarchy deals at all times and in all ages with top level politics, national and international. It makes no bones about it, nor do we as a government. We send our political representatives to the Vatican to represent us there. We know that the Vatican has been carrying on a "cold war" against Russia since long before World War II. In Washington, Monsignor Sheen conducted a Sunday radio program, much of which was designed to emphasize opposition to Russia as part of a holy war. The sting was removed by a bit by prayers for the souls of the "benighted" Russians. My Catholic friends have no hesitation in joining in on the Army's early slogan, "Hit Russia now." I know no devout Catholic who does not more or less follow the Vatican party line on Russia; and let's bear in mind that a few days ago, right after the outrageous exchange of correspondence between President Truman and the Pope, the Pope in a public address called for immediate "action"—which could only mean war against the Soviet Union.

The decisions of war or peace between the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. will be hair-line decisions, which may be influenced one way or another by very slight considerations. The decision to use atom bombs or germs will be made by the President, but he is so foolishly enamoured of brass that he will make no resistance to decisions of his military advisers, any more than he did when he gave the word to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki when such bombings were not militarily necessary. It will make a whale of a difference whether the senior Army officer at his elbow is a devout Catholic, indoctrinated over long years with hatred of an enemy of his Church, or a non-Catholic who has no such inbred hatreds and is not on intimate terms with top leaders of the Catholic hierarchy, of which Father Walsh is an outstanding operator, ever alert, enormously experienced, never missing a trick.

I do not believe it possible for any Catholic, no matter how honest, or how liberal he may be as far as internal policies are concerned, to dissociate himself from his life-long indoctrination.

The Future Is Now in the Works

Every decision we as a state make hereafter must be judged as to its effects on World War III and the annihilation of civilization. A decision to make Joe Collins Chief of Staff—either immediately, to replace Eisenhower, or a year hence, after the inside crowd will have forced out Bradley, who is not of the crowd—would in my opinion, be a step toward war and annihilation. I consider that Joe has already done enough damage as head of the War Department propaganda bureau, which has issued story after story about B-29's flying around the world, that General Eaker predicts World War III and only the time remains to be decided, that General Kenny says that our bombers are loaded with atomic bombs and ready to take

off—all in a war of nerves leading only to suicide. It is a reasonable assumption that if Joe Collins is designated as Chief of Staff it will be for the major purpose of putting him in a position to head the fight against Russia.

I have a personal stake in this decision. World War III will see the bombing of Washington, which means that I shall be exterminated. I'm not willing, knowing Joe's good as well as his bad points, and even though he is a classmate, to entrust my own security and that of my family into his hands in such a critical situation. He is dangerous even as Deputy Chief of Staff where he is in a position to load the scales, especially since the Eisenhower boom has put a strain between the Chief of Staff and the President.

The future is now in the works.

Toward a "Holy War"

I shall do everything in my power to prevent Joe Collins from achieving any permanent policy-making position which would tend to place authority in his hands, for I believe that that would be a step toward war. The same objection exists to any other military leader, Catholic or Protestant, who has made too willing obeisance to the Vatican. This has nothing to do with his religion. I respect any man's right to worship his God in any way he sees fit, and expect the same tolerance for my own views. I do not respect the politics of the Catholic hierarchy, which I believe are being directed toward a "holy war." I remember too much of the history of the Spanish Civil War, of Ethiopia, of Italy and Germany prior to and during World War II.

UMT—the Scheme to Suppress the People

One further note of warning: and this may exceed in importance all other considerations. Mass armies trained under UMT are useless for foreign wars but are ideal for *suppressing our own population.* Our danger is the emergence of a fascist military state. The pattern of fascism does not change too much from country to country. The Catholic hierarchy has been in the middle of all of it. Its philosophy is totalitarian. Joe Collins, a devout Catholic, determined to force UMT down the throats of the American people, has equal potentialities for danger on the home front as abroad. He may be thinking of using mass armies on the continents of Europe and Asia; he will wind up using them here, unless of course they mutiny. I have no doubt that even now one of the foremost thoughts of the inner group in the War Dept. is that, if nothing else, UMT is going to be a wonderful scheme whereby to control the American people.*

Almost at the Point of Crisis

This letter has run on much longer than I had intended. I should very much like to obtain your views on all this and on other issues confronting us, and on how we might deal with them. You have been at this job of fighting for liberty a long time and I am a raw recruit. I am all for a good, clean, honest fight on basic issues. We are dealing with top level politics and should neither give quarter nor expect it. Our opponents are ruthless fighters who prefer the brass knuckle technique to gentlemanly boxing for points. When we step into the ring with them we must be prepared for a knock-down-drag-out-fight. I prefer it that way, and the sooner the better. We are almost at the point of crisis, and this is no time for weakness or sentiment. Those who are not for us, are against us. . . . Sincerely, H. C. HOLDRIDGE.

Giving me written permission to publish most of his Sept. 8 letter, General Holdridge wrote me on Sept. 18: "You have started something. . . . Now that I have decided to let you publish most of my long letter to you, and have told you so on the telephone when we spoke yesterday, I am eager that your next issue should come out as soon as possible. My friends and advisers here in Washington and I agree that with the situation moving so rapidly, as illustrated by the Forrestal swearing-in and the speeches in the UN General Assembly, there is need for action at an early date if we are not to be left at the post.

"I make one condition as to publication which I want to emphasize. I must assume full responsibility, personally. I am spoiling for a fight on each of the issues presented. I shall be most happy to have you and the rest standing in a corner, giving me only a word of cheer now and then.

"Thank you very much for your interest and support. Many of my friends, including one of the representatives of a leading Mid-Western newspaper, have urged me for months that I arrange to have some paper—PM perhaps—publish the story and its implications. I am glad now that I delayed, as I believe that you and T&T have presented the answer and the medium. It is my fervent hope that it may result in good for the people of our country. . . . Very sincerely, H. C. HOLDRIDGE."

On Being a Crackpot

Late in Sept., I spent two days in Washington, mostly to see how effective had been the whispering campaign to brand General Holdridge a crackpot. I must report that it has been quite effective, and I expect that now it will be intensified in order to keep organizations from engaging him as lecturer and publications from using his articles and letters-to-editors.

I read the script of his book (referred to early in his letter and still being revised) and talked with him in his home. I was able to verify most of the strictly factual statements in his letter pertaining to his military career. From various sources I gathered additional information about him. One of 8 children born of poor parents in Wyandotte, Mich., about 55 years ago, he has supported himself since his 13th year. He never graduated from high school, but he was determined to get an education. After 12 months in a prep school he passed the West Point entrance examination with a high standing. An old Regular Army non-com, now retired, who served under him in the '30s, spoke of him most highly as an officer and a man. He is a leading authority on the principles involved in successful administration. In '43 he published three manuals: *Army Administration, Organization of the Army,* and *Leadership.*

General Holdridge strikes me as an unusual man whom circumstances have pushed into a most unusual position. He has a lively sense of humor about it, and a tendency toward self-criticism. He doesn't resent one's smile when, speaking in a staccato military manner, he uses phrases like "brotherhood of man" (he is a religious man in an informal, undoctrinaire way). He is the first to say that as a West Pointer with nearly 30 years of Army service under his belt he has a lot to overcome. There are incongruities between his present function and his background which are implicit of his manner and thinking, in the style of his writing. He seems aware of this.

He is a man of deep convictions which he makes no effort to conceal. Democracy is a very serious matter to him: he really believes in it, he tried to practice it even in the Army, and he is

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*On Sept. 25 the N. Y. Herald Tribune published a UP dispatch from Grand Rapids, Mich., as follows:

"Warning that new techniques in 'push-button warfare' have not eliminated the armed forces' need for ample manpower, John Nicholas Brown, Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air, said here tonight that the next war might well begin with street-fighting in American cities."

And it is widely known that National Guard units in various industrial centers are concentrating on "riot duty" drills. In one of the armories in New York City, as soldiers "attack the mob" (usually of "strikers"), platoon commanders cry out, "Come on, let's get those 'Commies!' "—*L. A.*

groping for ways to help develop it from its present embryonic status. His Americanism has an almost mystic quality including an optimism for the future of this country that I fear is not wholly justified by the realities facing us. In general I go along with the gist of his central ideas (*see box on page 2*), but I don't agree with some of his emphases and contemplated political tactics. However, I think that many of his ideas, and analyses and plans are still in flux, and no one can say just where they will lead him.

Some of his friends consider him a potential political leader. However, what interests me is his personal story, his experiences since '43 which qualify him as an expert on the men behind the UMT scheme.

The campaign to brand him a crackpot doesn't worry him apart from the fact that it limits his immediate effectiveness. He knows that it is not anything new, not anything specially invented to frustrate him only. Generals Mitchell, Butler, Stillwell and Carlson were dubbed crackpots, screwballs, nuts, pinkos, and traitors to their caste and profession. He knows that anyone who departs from the pattern of his background or group is subject to this sort of thing. He laughed when I reminded him of what the Quaker said to his wife: "All the world is queer but me and thee, dear, and sometimes I think that thee is a little queer."

I think that he went through quite a struggle before he decided to let me publish his letter. As he says, he regrets that it has become necessary for him to come out against the purposes of some of his former fellow officers, including classmates, but at the same time he rather enjoys the feeling that he has entered the tradition established by such crackpots and screwballs as Mitchell, Butler, Stillwell, Carlson and other, less well-known, officers.—*L. A.*

American Militarism

By H. C. Holdridge, Brig. Gen. U.S.A. (Ret.); reprinted from the March 19, '47 Christian Century:

The pattern of militarism is already revealing itself in the U. S. The situation dreaded by our Founding Fathers—military domination of the civilian population—is rapidly developing. This is a word of warning before it is too late. The armed forces are instruments of power at home and abroad. Let us examine the sources of their power.

The major strength of the armed forces lies in their assumption of a monopoly over national security. Although modern warfare concerns the entire population, they insist that they alone can speak with authority on military matters. Consequently, in time of war the representatives of the people abdicate their authority to the military. All paths lead to the Pentagon, in strategy, national resources, national economics, industry, manpower, education, religion, morals. In time of peace the same influences persist, especially now that we have become, in effect, an armed camp and sleep on our weapons.

I

This monopoly is strengthened by two psychological weapons. First, if the armed forces are checked in any of their demands they raise a cry of "national disaster." Congress and the people, alarmed by these dire predictions and concerned over national security, yield to their demands. Second, through propaganda extending over many years the military have instilled in the minds of Congress and of the people a sense of guilt because we were not prepared in the past. As a matter of fact, our lack of preparedness in the past was largely the fault of the armed forces themselves, as will be explained presently.

Money is power. Never in the history of the world has any group wielded so much financial power as our armed forces wield today. During the war they exercised a government monopoly over the entire national economy, and had the spending of several hundred billion dollars. Even in times of peace the eleven billion they have at their disposal is no small sum. Here is a form of patronage which places the military at the very center of national power politics. Small wonder that an occasional industrialist or politician is seduced by the smell of big money.

The armed forces are becoming past masters in the art of propaganda. They control one of the most powerful lobbies in Washington. Men in uniform have access to every important congressional office and committee. They carry with them the magic power of "national security." At critical times they can call for executive sessions which are barred to those who may oppose their views, and continue their pressure in secrecy. It would take a brave congressman to isolate himself as an opponent of the plans of the armed forces; he would probably be branded as un-American.

II

The public relations bureaus of the Pentagon were set up at the beginning of World War II with a few officers and a handful of clerks. Now they are headed by officers of top rank—in the War Dept. by a three-star general—who are backed by subordinates of all grades and by great staffs of employees. These agencies of propaganda are reproduced in every major subordinate echelon. By means of newspapers, magazines, radio, motion pictures, lecturers, professional public relations personnel employed for the specific purpose, and other established techniques of high-pressure salesmanship, the armed forces are being "sold" to the American people. These lobbyists and propagandists are all financed by the American taxpaper to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars annually. Groups of citizens attempting to combat this organized propaganda must solicit small change from their membership, and then frequently find that publicity channels are closed to them in a controlled press which is in sympathy with the armed forces program.

One of the most sinister developments in our history is the infiltration of military men into key positions formerly reserved to civilians. The process is too general to be accidental. Its extent is not fully known. Some of it we do know: a chief executive who has believed in military training since the time he served in the National Guard; a Secretary of War as military minded as the army itself; a Secretary of State who formerly headed the Army; military men formally assigned as members of the State Dept.; other military men, assigned to the War Dept. but holding desks in the State, coordinating the Army infiltration program into Latin America; military men as ambassadors operating under a military dominated State Dept.; military attachés operating under the ambassadors; military men in other bureaus and departments of government, backed by military-minded men who are members of old-line veterans' organizations which subscribe to the same philosophy; military men operating seized private industries so that a strike against the industry constitutes a strike against the military; similar infiltration into state and local agencies of government. *The picture is one of a mushrooming military absolutism.*

III

Institutions must be judged by their leadership. What is the philosophy of these military leaders? Reaction is stamped on them as clearly as the indelible inspection marks on a quarter of beef. It is an aristocratic leadership oriented toward the most reactionary minorities of the country and having little understanding of the American people. It is separated by a system of caste from the

mass of the enlisted personnel which is oriented toward the people as a whole. Herein lies the danger of the system of military caste, for it drives a wedge between two segments of our population. It is undemocratic and unAmerican, and dangerous to national security.

The military aristocracy is further bolstered in its position by a system of justice which places authority in the hierarchy of command, and finally in the Pentagon bureaucracy, instead of in the courts of the land.

The armed forces program for a compulsory military training demonstrates the full power of the military steam-roller in action. *These leaders know what they want. They believe in the offensive. They have tremendous power supporting them. They bring every influence within their control to bear upon the campaign, which is in every sense a military campaign directed against the desires of the American people. Fear and intimidation are the major weapons.*

IV

There is one fatal flaw in their position. They have made the issue of compulsory military training one of "national security," with threats of "disaster" to follow if they are checked in their efforts. As a matter of hard fact there is no security in the armies they propose to train by compulsion. Our Army has always been behind in its thinking. Cavalry was obsolete for modern warfare in 1918, yet it was not abolished until 1946. Meanwhile it absorbed vast sums in order to permit officers to indulge in horse shows and polo. Congressman Ross Collins of Mississippi labored fruitlessly to convert the Army to concepts of modern warfare.

The greatest blunder of World War II was committed when the Army leaders, many of them the same individuals who opposed modernization of our army, purged General Mitchell and his concepts of air power, and committed us to action, in advance, with the old mass armies of World War I. That blunder cost thousands of lives. In spite of the ground-minded leaders, air power won the war in both Asia and Europe. These leaders are now committing a like blunder for World War III by reverting to the techniques of World War I. The atom bomb and other weapons of terror render obsolete all previous military techniques, yet Army leaders plead for the preservation of training facilities that have been proved outmoded. The reserves they propose to train by compulsion could not be mobilized in less than 6 months to a year, and would have to be retrained for another 6 months in the new techniques. The war would be over in as many hours or days. These proposed mass armies have already been by-passed by the new weapons, just as three million of the best Japanese foot soldiers were by-passed by MacArthur in China.

Now the army boasts of its new "triphibious" division which can fight by air, sea and land, at the North Pole or in the jungles. Unfortunately, World War III will not be fought at the North Pole or in the jungles, but in Washington, D. C., and New York and Chicago and San Francisco and other centers of population. *These divisions are already obsolete.*

V

If we are concerned about Russia we should face the fact that we could not haul to Russia enough men organized into mass armies to defeat her on her own soil. Napoleon and Hitler both tried it and failed, though they started on the same continent. On the other hand, we dare not use the new weapons of terror; to do that would certainly bring sudden and devastating retaliation. The State Dept. and the armed forces know this to be true. There is no longer any security in armaments. The British high command has informed its government that the British Isles are indefensible. Our own high command can do no less, for the United States too is indefensible. *The only line of national security is the diplomatic line, leading to world understanding.*

Our military leaders know this to be true. Why then do they persist in foisting compulsory training in obsolete weapons upon the American people? Here their program becomes logical. You cannot use the atom bomb on the home front, but you can use the .30 caliber rifle. We must ask ourselves whether the war of nerves against Russia is not largely a smoke-screen to frighten the people into giving the armed forces what they want for use on the home front. During the last depression the Army dusted off its plans to suppress domestic insurrection, and as an added security took over the supervision of thousands of our boys scattered in the forests under the CCC, where they could be controlled. Perhaps this time the program is designed to place them in military organizations, where they can be controlled, and where they can also be used to control other segments of our population. *Instead of solving our economic problems with reason and understanding, perhaps we are preparing to solve them with bayonets.*

We are being sold a bill of goods of "national security" by our armed forces. *When delivery is made and we open the package we shall not find security but militarism.* We shall find that we have traded our birthright of freedom and democracy and morality for a mess of militaristic pottage. We shall find that we have bought not security, but annihilation.

Troubled days lie ahead which will demand a spirit of unity and cooperation and a revived faith in democracy. Other countries have walked the plank blindfolded and landed in militarism, bankruptcy and totalitarianism. Now we are caught in the same current. The people of the U. S. must take positive and immediate action to check our drift toward complete militarization before it is too late.

—By Walt Partymiller; from the York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily

The spirit of this country is totally adverse to a large military force. — *Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Chandler Price,* 1807.

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has even been fatal to free institutions. — *Democratic National Platform,* 1900.

Does "X" Mark the Spot?

By Shaemas O'Sheel — specially written for T&T:

The July, 1947, Foreign Affairs magazine published an article, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," which the weekly magazine Life reprinted almost in full and which has been quoted extensively in Newsweek, Time, and thousands of newspapers.

The modesty of the author of this article in signing it "X" was, alas, of no avail; for, as The New Republic of Sept. 22 says, "the secret was so well kept that, outside of a few thousand officials and reporters in Washington, the millions of readers of Life and practically every American newspaper reader, no one guessed that it was written by George F. Kennan."

Who is George F. Kennan? In the first place he is not George Kennan, earlier-day authority on Czarist Russia; but George F. is a nephew of George Kennan, and is a "Russian expert" in his own right. A career diplomat since 1926, he became vice-consul at Tallinn, Estonia, in '28. "For five years, in the Baltic states and Berlin," says the weekly World Report for Sept. 23, "he studied the Russian language and delved into Russian literature, history, philosophy and Soviet law and economics. When the U. S. recognized the Soviet Union in '33, Kennan went to Moscow with Ambassador Bullitt. He returned . . . in 1935-37 and 1944-46, spending a total of 5 years in Russia." In Prague when World War II began, he was transferred to Berlin, where he spent 3 years, 6 months as an internee after Pearl Harbor.

An Early Advocate of a Stern Policy

Since his first tour in Moscow, Kennan has been an unfriendly critic of the Soviets; even, says World Report, during the war when U. S.-Soviet collaboration was closest; and "he urged a stern policy toward Moscow as early as 1944." William Walton, in the Sept. 22 New Republic, also names Kennan as one of the original "get tough" boys. It was, however, the "intellectuality" of Kennan's memoranda, says Mr. Walton, that led Secretary of State Marshall to set up a Policy Planning Committee in the State Dept. with Kennan at its head. The other members are Carlton Savage, Jacques Joseph Rheinstein, Henry Serrano Villard, George Howland Butler and Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes; career diplomats or veteran officials all. Meeting daily in a room next to General Marshall's office, and relieved of all operational duties, these devoted public servants often confer far into the night.

But just how important are "the Kennan group" and Kennan himself in shaping American foreign policy? At least a dozen other men are in positions to influence those decisions which will either let the world live awhile longer or dedicate it to atomic-fission destruction.

Top-Level Personnel

Well-intentioned George C. Marshall himself, out of his depth though he may be, is no man's fool. The fact that Under-secretary of State Robert A. Lovett is a partner in Brown Brothers, Harriman & Co., testifies the same for him. The New Republic's Walton includes in his list of top policy-makers Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman himself; Defense Secretary James V. Forrestal, head of Dillon, Read & Co., Wall Street bankers who are said to have contributed money to the support of developments in Germany between the two wars; Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder; Charles Saltzman, former vice-president of the N. Y. Stock Exchange, now Assist. Secretary of State in Charge of Occupied Territories; Lewis Douglas, chairman of the Mutual Life Insurance Company and now Ambassador to England; General Lucius D. Clay, chief of U. S. occupation forces in Germany, whose inclusion seems superfluous since his former nominal deputy, General William H. Draper, a former Dillon, Read executive, now Undersecretary of the Army, is also included; Norman Armour, who was given Spruille Braden's State Dept. post because of his greater tolerance of Argentine fascism; Charles Bohlen, new counselor of the State Dept., said to be a determined Russophobe and the only man in the set-up who understands Russian. Kennan's knowledge of the language is uncertain.

In the background are General "Mikado" MacArthur; Admiral Leahy, Presidential chief-of-staff, the shadowiest, but with his ties to the Catholic hierarchy by no means the least influential of top-level personalities; *and Bernard M. Baruch,* who is overlooked by Mr. Walton, but is disclosed by the magazine Newsweek to be behind the Marshall Plan, and who since 1913 has never been far from the driver's seat in the government.

(Mr. Walton also overlooked President Truman, whose importance in the present touch-and-go state of international relations is that in some moment when none of the above-named is at his elbow, or when one of them is at his elbow, he might do something which would set the world afire.) *

There are thus two levels of foreign policy-makers; Mr. Walton boils it down to Harriman, Forrestal, Marshall and Lovett on the top level, Kennan and Bohlen on the secondary. Put it another way: Harriman, Forrestal and Lovett are Money, actual Power; Marshall is the necessary "statesmanship" front; Kennan and Bohlen are the skilled hired men, the systematizers, the "word-fellows."

Viewed thus, the author of "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" is not so awesome a person but that a plain ordinary American may dare to examine his theses and propositions with a critical eye.

A Genius Indulges in Analysis

Beginning with a reasonably fair summary of the Socialist theory of the class struggle, Kennan proceeds to picture "Stalin . . . and the men in the Kremlin" as motivated not by devotion to that creed but by a mad lust for power; this requires that their dictatorship shall be justified, and since they have crushed all opposition within the Soviet Union, they must "stress the menace of capitalism abroad." Therefore (the logic is tenuous) Soviet leaders are never sincere in saying there can be any "community of aims" between the USSR and the capitalist world. Thus arise the "secretiveness, lack of frankness, duplicity, suspiciousness and unfriendliness" of Soviet foreign policy; any contrary appearance is a "tactical maneuver" by which we must not "be misled."

But, says Kennan, Soviet ideologists, secure in Marxist faith in the inevitable fall of Capitalism, are in "no hurry about it." For years we must face Soviet pressure to "fill every nook and cranny available to it in the basin of world power." Fortunately "the Kremlin has no compunction about retreating in the face of superior force . . . unassailable barriers."

The Kremlin, however, X regards as sensitive to "considerations of prestige," so we must not by "blustering or superfluous gestures

When you have finished with this issue, why not pass it on to someone else?

Most writers on U. S. foreign policy also fail to mention that General MacArthur, referred to in the preceding paragraph, is strongly critical of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan as the State and War departments have tried to apply them in Europe, which, along with many Republican and other isolationists, he considers a "rathole." He feels that, no matter how many billions the U. S. pours into it, it is bound to go Communist; and that Europe naturally belongs in the Soviet orbit anyway. He is for concentrating on Latin America and Asia. — L. A.

of outward 'toughness' . . . by tactless and threatening gestures" back the Soviets into a spot where prestige could only be saved by war. Rather, "U. S. policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies . .. to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and a stable world."

This statement is seen by all commentators as one of Kennan's two principal theses.

The other is this: the ruthless men in the Kremlin have built their power "at a terrible cost in human life . . . in human hopes and energies." They have used forced labor to build military potential, but have neglected "agriculture, consumers' goods production, housing and transportation." So the Soviet people are "physically and spiritually tired . . . disillusioned, skeptical." Meanwhile there "hangs over the political life of the Soviet Union" a "great uncertainty" because there must be a "transfer of power" as Stalin and other present leaders age and die. In short, "Soviet power . . . bears within itself the seeds of its own decay, and . . . the sprouting of these seeds is well advanced." The U. S. can "increase enormously the strains under which Soviet policy must operate"; that policy cannot "face frustration indefinitely"; so if we only practise "firm but vigorous containment" for 10 or 15 years, the result must be "either the breakup or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power."

"Leaking" Is Now a Fine Art

Now our State Dept. has perhaps the world's most subtle publicity service. As shown by the career of the Alsops, it has developed the "leak" to a fine art. It "leaked" the authorship of "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" and instigated the ensuing discussion. Every daily, every weekly, every columnist, has featured it; and Walter Lippmann calls it "an event, announcing that the State Dept. has made up its mind and was prepared to disclose to the American people, to the world at large and . . . to the Kremlin, the estimates, the calculations and the conclusions on which the department was basing its plans."

If Lippmann is speaking by the book, the Kennan article is a small ray of sunshine through the clouds: there will be no World War III, and we will only have to endure 15 years of skirmishes and alarms, advances and retreats, crises, worries and mounting expense; after which, *if* our nerves hold out, we can enjoy peace when the Soviets recant Socialism and return to the True Faith — provided Kennan has really outguessed Marx. But, while I would be the last man to countenance that other favorite Marxist theory of inevitable contradictions in the capitalist camp, one cannot ignore certain contradictions clustering around Mr. X's essay.

General Marshall created the Policy Planning Staff and put Kennan at its head. Kennan says our policy must have no "outward histrionics . . . threats of blustering or superfluous gestures of outward 'toughness' . . . tactless and threatening gestures." But has not General Marshall taken over from a reputedly reluctant Mr. Byrnes, and vastly developed, precisely the technique which Kennan deplores? It seems so to many people, including on the evidence of his Sept. 23 N. Y. Herald Tribune article, Sumner Welles. It would be hard not to find histrionics, bluster, toughness, tactless and threatening gestures in General Marshall's UN Assembly speech of Sept. 17.

Lippmann Analyzes the Kennan Analysis

Question crowds upon question: is the Kennan article a "trial balloon" rather than a statement of settled policy; or is Kennan, with the backing of some faction strong enough to stand up to Marshall, trying to constrain the latter to a less histrionic, blustering and tactless course?

The most striking evidence of a possible major struggle of contradictions is found in "The Cold War" series of articles in which Walter Lippmann does not differ with Kennan in any basic premise: the USSR is the sole aggressor, from whose expansionism the USA must save liberty, democracy and the world. The only novel thought he advances is that Stalin & Co. are not so much the custodians of Marxism as the heirs of Peter the Great, bent on expanding the Russian Empire.

Lippmann is skeptical of Kennan's reverse-Marxist theory of the inevitable decay of Socialism; but he is vehemently scornful of Kennan's prescription for "containing Communism" by applying American power at "constantly shifting geographical and political points corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy." This, says Lippmann, is a "strategic monstrosity" which leaves the initiative always to the Soviets, and is unworkable under our Constitution. It would require that the State Dept. have always available money, military might and power to allocate or withhold exports to apply "counterforce" at any point of Soviet encroachment; but Congress will give no blank check for this, and if Congressional sanction must be sought for each operation, we will always arrive at the point of encroachment "with too little . . . too late."

Lippmann comes up with his own idea of correct strategy, which is nothing more startling than that all effort must be bent on concluding a definite treaty of peace which will ensure the "evacuation of Europe" by the Soviet army and the British and American armies. No less starry-eyed than Kennan, Lippmann is sure that when this happens, Europe's nations one and all will abjure the various degrees of Socialism into which they have been cowed by the Red Army in their proximity.

Throughout 1946 Lippmann urged that we confront the USSR with our might concentrated in *one* area — Greece, Turkey and the Straits. Before laying money on Kennan's ideas to prevail, we must note that Lippmann's strategy *did* prevail in the Truman Doctrine. Not a member of the State Dept. nor head of any staff or committee, Lippmann is obviously a policy planner to be reckoned with.

An Old Anti-Soviet Hand

What does he represent? Whom do his views and ideas favor? His Greece-Turkey-Straits program served the oil interests and the British. His present anxiety to speed the "evacuation of Europe" may not at all accord with the plans of the Wall Streeters now busily acquiring control of German heavy industry; they may desire a long stay for American troops there. Is there a hidden struggle between these neo-cartellists and the oil crowd, who in the name of our national security may wish American power concentrated to advance their exploitation of Arabia and points East?

Lippmann's policy is "tougher" than Kennan's; it aims not merely to "contain" Communism but to push it back; Lippmann, betraying a certain relish in the thought, has intimated that once our might is concentrated, if the Red Army doesn't back away from it, we will naturally use force.

The shape of American foreign policy, with all its implications of peace or war, is being forged in the conflict of strategic concepts but even more in the hidden struggle and the concealed aims of financially powerful interests driven of necessity to find, around the world, fields for the exploitative investment of astronomical profits wrung from war and from high prices in the U. S.

Pending the collapse of Soviet power, which would open Europe and Asia to exploitation by American capital on its own terms, U. S. economy urgently needs bolstering lest it collapse first. Our reaction-ruled Congress will not enact full employment, large-scale housing, adequate social security; there remains only one way to give free enterprise the support it needs: government sub-

sidies to the tune of many billions yearly, for military preparedness, the purchase of guns and ships and planes, stock-piling of materiel, government-controlled exports against credits granted "good" nations, such as Turkey and Holland. Mr. X's plan of constantly applying counterforce at every point where the spectre of a Communist threat can be conjured up, is admirably suited to justify such a spending program, and perhaps that is its chief aim.

A Policy Dangerous to the U. S.

Whether "X" or someone else marks the spot where American foreign policy becomes fixed, that policy will be a dangerous one — dangerous *to this country,* dangerous all around — as long as it rests on the notion that Soviet intentions are "expansionist" and "imperialistic" and must be combatted by a show of force in various quarters plus endless ganging-up in the various sections of UN, and on the notion that every country where a newly-liberated people turns toward some degree of Socialism is only a Soviet puppet and must be bullied and harassed and insulted at least once a week.

I am as ready as any man to deplore subversion of liberty anywhere, and to resent any threat to the safety of this Republic. But for a year I have waited for even one bit of proof that Soviet policy is "expansionist," and it has not yet appeared.

The nearest approach to such proof appears in the document "Trends In Russian Foreign Policy," lately prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress; but what it sums up to is merely that *the USSR is trying to make friends and influence people in neighboring countries* — an approved American practice. This document was prepared under the direction of Dr. Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, and Dr. Ernest S. Griffith, director of the Legislative Reference Service, who also prepared "Communism in Action," the Congressional document which has been circulated, gratis, by the hundred thousand.

At the request of Representative Patman, Drs. Evans and Griffith later directed the preparation of the study of "Fascism in Action" which Congress, after months of delay, authorized to be printed in a very small edition only, which costs 40c a copy. It is known that "Fascism in Action" had to be considerably toned down before consent could be had to its printing. Drs. Evans and Griffith nevertheless, and the whole Library of Congress staff, were smeared by the Un-American Committee and grilled by a sub-committee in an atmosphere of innuendo of disloyalty. It is widely rumored that this experience pre-disposed Drs. Evans and Griffith to give "Trends in Russian Foreign Policy" a tone which would please its sponsor, Senator Tom Connally, that great lover of liberty who, as a member of the House during World War I, aggressively opposed every expression of Congressional sympathy with the cause of freedom in Ireland.

The Kennan thesis that the Soviet peoples may be expected to revolt against the men in the Kremlin, appears in "Trends in Russian Foreign Policy," and Washington observers believe that this is not accidental. The pamphlet contains many provocative anti-Soviet statements based on wishful thinking, which anyone has a right to believe but which are not conducive to international goodwill when embodied in an official document.

An Honest Conservative Objects

Liberals have long protested that current American foreign policy is unwise, unfair and dangerous; and, not altogether surprisingly, some conservatives are coming to the same view. No one would call David Lawrence, editor of the conservative United States News, a fellow-traveller; he has not even been accused of liberalism for 25 years. Yet suddenly he writes as if he wanted to be published in T&T. I quote from Mr. Lawrence in United States News for Sept. 26:

"We are today making in diplomacy the mistakes that can lead up to World War III. The American people are entitled to a national debate on our relations with Russia . . . Have there recently been any comprehensive conversations between Russia and the U. S. at the top level? . . . Our Secretary of State went . . . to Moscow . . . and was there six weeks and never called on Stalin . . . until after the conference had failed. Why?"

"America can afford," says Mr. Lawrence, "to make concessions on those points on which Russia is right and to ask in exchange certain concessions to our viewpoint . . . We must be ready to debunk our own course whenever it is palpably wrong." Scathingly Lawrence rebukes our hypocrisy in blaming the USSR for actions in the Balkans, Iran and China which at worst only parallel what we and the British are doing. "If Russia has a point here and there and we have refused to concede it, we have not been wise or fair diplomats . . . Will the record show that we have done everything we could have done or can now do to insure peaceful relations between Russia and America? *We should not be surprised at Russia's hostile behavior since the day we proclaimed the Truman Doctrine. That Doctrine was accepted in Russia as a declaration of a kind of war on the Soviets by America . . . We have made no secret of the fact that Russia is our adversary.*" (Emphasis mine, S.O'S.)

There are men of intelligence and men of goodwill a-plenty in the American business community. Perhaps Lawrence's editorial (which should be read in full) means that some of them have taken alarm at the madly provocative course of our diplomats and the mounting fury of our war-mongers. Some of them see that if instead of threats and shows of force we employ normal give-and-take in dealing with the USSR, we can have peace and a *highly useful volume of trade,* as shown by Commerce Dept. expert E. C. Ropes in the May issue of Dun's Review*; and that if we will cease to bully the Eastern European nations, conceding their right to such forms of government and economy as they choose, we can do a nice business with them too.

*See the article "Trade or War—Alternatives in American-Soviet Affairs" in the July-Sept. '47 T&T.—*L. A.*

Trends & Tides Really Spots Current Trends and Tides

Looking through the back issues of T&T, we note — with no special satisfaction — that the present super-crisis between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. was foreseen and predicted in detail in the March-May 1946 number.

The June-July 1946 T&T laid out the process whereby the Truman Administration was reducing the U.S. as a great power.

The Oct.-Dec. 1946 issue X-rayed the character and personality of Harry Truman which are near the core of our present failure in foreign relations.

The first 1947 number gave the world situation in a nutshell. The second 1947 T&T showed in detail why the Truman Doctrine was a crime against the American tradition and why it would fail.

T&T seems to be anywhere from 6 months to a year ahead of developments.

Why not subscribe for your friends and others in your community or elsewhere — for Christmas or otherwise?

See page 24 of this issue.

Trade has its sins to confess at the bar of History, but it has been the mother of peace and prosperity as well as of war. Trade is what all countries need today, but none so much as this country. It may not be idle to hope that American businessmen will presently constrain State Dept. and Administration to a new policy toward the Soviet Union and the hopeful new states of Eastern Europe: Not bitter words and war, but trade and peace!

The winds do not blow forever the same. Not even the wind of passion. Not even the wind of panic.

Is the "Get Tough" Hurricane Dying Down?

The "get tough" hurricane whipped up by Baruch and Churchill and Byrnes in the early months of '46 still blows blusteringly at the gutter level of Hearst, Luce, the Alsops, etc., and on the plane of "intellectuality" inhabited by Kennan, Lippmann — and Marshall; but a growing number of American businessmen are beginning to see that it is getting us exactly nowhere — unless nearer the rocks. It has not scared the Soviets. It has not deterred a single Eastern-European country from turning to nationalization of banks and industry. It has not weakened the Communist parties in France, Italy, China; nor even broken the spirit of Greek guerrillas. And it has not solved our export problem; it has not given us markets. It has split a potential One World into two, leaving us only half a world — not to trade with, but to send goods to for free.

American businessmen note that in all Europe only Communist-led Czechoslovakia has since VE-day achieved a favorable balance of trade. They learn from journals of the export-import trade that the supposedly pitiable "Soviet satellite" lands are getting back on their feet faster than the "good countries" of Western Europe. They contemplate the fact that the USSR is buying more and more of American goods and *paying cash.* And they are beginning to get a bit fed up with the planners, the brain-boys, who sit in the State Dept. and devise ways of keeping the world divided and belligerent and jittery — principally, says United States News, "through planted stories in newspapers."

The Marshall Plan doesn't look so rosy as it did a month ago. The Truman Doctrine has lost its charm like a bugle-call blown too often. Some American businessmen are beginning to say, "Let's stop insulting and bullying half the world; let's try give-and-take; let's trade with the 'other half,' and who knows, maybe we'll find the going good."

Who Was Behind the "Black Maquis" Plot?

By Shaemas O'Sheel — a T&T Special:

In the June 16, '47 N. Y. Herald Tribune, ranting as usual about the imminent peril of Soviet seizure of all Europe, the columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop said that one of the results of any attempt at such seizure would be the "appearance in France and other western European countries of *anti-Communist Maquis which would demand and no doubt get support from this country.*" (My italics. — S. O'S.)

Two weeks later the first news of the "Black Maquis" plot hit front pages in the U. S. On July 1 the N. Y. Herald Tribune published a dispatch from Paris dated June 30: "Agents of the Surete Nationale have smashed a fantastic plot . . . Edouard Depreux, minister of the interior, said *today.*" (Again my italic).

I wrote to Attorney-General Clark and Secretary of State Marshall, charging the Alsops with foreknowledge of a plot against the security of a friendly nation; pointing out that the Alsops notoriously have confidential State Dept. connections and are widely recognized as unofficial spokesmen for that Department; and raising the question whether anyone in the State Dept. also had such foreknowledge.

A subordinate replied for Mr. Clark that the Justice Dept. had no information on the matter. On Aug. 11 Michael J. McDermott, special assistant to the Secretary of State for Press Relations, wrote me:

"I wish to acknowledge your letter of July 23 to the Secretary of State, commenting upon the writings of Joseph and Stewart Alsop. *The Department has no comment to make.*" (Once more the emphasis is mine.)

No comment is no denial. The State Dept. does not deny that the Alsops had foreknowledge of a plot against the French Republic, that the Alsops have confidential sources of information in the State Dept. and that some member of that department may have shared such foreknowledge.

Moscow is supposed to be the place where plots are hatched against other countries. Could it be that such things go on in Washington too?

The matter is not ignored in France. Early in July, Paris newspapers published items to the effect that "the hooded plotters . . . had the support of certain American financial circles." The conservative paper France Soir said that Count Andre du Vulpian, one of the Black Maquis ringleaders, had sought contact with ex-ambassador Bullitt when he was in Paris the previous spring.

Since State and Justice will not investigate, will the Senate or the House?

The Roots of Russia's Distrust

By Bertha Strong Cooley of South Deerfield, Mass.; in a letter to the Progressive (Madison, Wis., May 26), disagreeing with that paper's attitude toward the USSR:

The difference between the Russian people and ourselves can be explained simply: It is easier to pass from feudalism to collectivism than to go through the process we are going through before we are ready to become part of One World.

It is proverbial that the hopelessly poor are more generous with each other than are people who have hope of advancing themselves. No outward compulsion could ever make people do what the Russians did in their successive 5-year plans.

It has been said that we cannot change human nature. I believe that human nature does change slowly according to pressure put upon it. The pressure we have received was for thrift, enterprise. Some even came to believe that nobody needed to be poor, they became so through shiftlessness.

But the wrong side of thrift is selfishness and separateness. This is what makes it so hard for nations to come together and arrange for the common good.

It should not be considered strange that Russia distrusts us. When I first knew that the way of living I believe in was to begin in Russia, it seemed divinely planned that it should be in the largest country of the world—for in a world bent on exploitation the new way would be so quickly crushed in a small nation.

I could never see the invasion of Russia by the Allies at the end of the first World War as anything but an attempt to crush the new Russian system. I know that there was much disapproval in this country. Yet Americans seem to have forgotten it and the rising generation knows nothing about it. *But Russia has not forgotten.* [*How could she forget?*]

Now the Russians are pointing to the fact that President Truman is appointing so many military men to serve as diplomats. It would seem that the military way of looking at things should be considered a disqualification for such service. Another thing is the working for conscription. Still another, the failure to set free our CO's.

We Americans are too sure, some of us, that our government will do things right, so sure that we do not take time to be truly good citizens. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

A Man and His Garters

During one of his early-morning walks through the capital's deserted streets last summer, Harry S. Truman (as reported by Washington columnists) spied an $84 pair of black silk men's garters with gold buckles in the display window of Grape & Co., a Connecticut Avenue jewelry store, which doesn't open till 9:30. Later that morning, back in the White House, the President of the United States of America apparently could not get those garters out of his mind. Soon after 9:30 the store received an order to put his monogram on the gold buckles.

According to one report, Mr. Truman bought and paid for the garters; according to another, the store's management, on learning of his desire for them, fell victim to unbusinesslike excitement and begged him to accept them with their compliments. I instructed T&T's special agent No. 1273-X, who operates in Washington, to step into Grape & Co.'s jewelry store and pretend to be interested in buying a pair of garters like the President had. He learned from the salesman that Mr. Truman's garters had been bought and paid for; that, thanks to the columnists, they had sold several pair since then; and that the $84 kind is the only kind of garters they sell.

Now . . . what in hell makes a man, any man, want an $84 pair of garters from a jewelry store when even in these inflation times one can pick up perfectly serviceable garters in any haberdashery for a buck, more or less? Does the fact that his socks are held up under his pants legs by garters with gold buckles help to hold down some uneasiness, some secret inferiority feeling, inside him?

This particular man — does it do something for him to get a pair of garters from a swank Washington jewelry shop, priced at a figure for which he might once, in his own haberdashery store, have sold seven dozen pair? There are no bootstraps today, but may not a man lift himself up by his garters? Do these extraordinary garters help to nourish his self-esteem, steady his self-confidence?

But what may have been upsetting or disorienting him, mentally or emotionally, on the morning he first saw the garters? Was the Truman Doctrine folding up? Did the Marshall Plan, with its tendency to supplant the Truman Doctrine, lie heavy on the Presidential ego? Was the feud in the White House between the President's military aide, Major General Harry Vaughn, and the President's speech-writer, Clark Clifford, annoying the neat, gray little man who likes his friends to be friends among themselves? Or was he thinking of the Henry Wallace episode of the year before, or of Wallace's doings since then? Or of some Republicans' efforts to boom up Eisenhower?

How else explain those $84 garters? Do they give Harry Truman the illusion of equality with the numerous multi-millionaires and Wall Street investment brokers in the Administration whose official or political superior he is only nominally, only in title?

Seeking an explanation of the $84 pair of garters, I keep thinking of a man of lowly beginnings, now doing very well within the legitimate perimeters of New York gangsterdom, who blows himself to a couple of $15 or $20 Sulka neckties whenever some dame or some other instrument of ill fate hurls him in the dumps. The first time he did this, years ago, he had less than $20 to his name as he walked out of the Sulka store on Fifth Avenue; "but, oh boy," he told me years later, "those ties sure did somethin' for me. Felt like a million dollars."

He now has dozens and dozens of Sulkas and other expensive ties, many hand-painted. In a way, those neckties symbolize his "success"; they are his offerings to the bitch goddess. My research hasn't yet penetrated under his pants legs, but the hardware on his suspenders is gold, and he had his monogram engraved on the buckles. Those suspenders probably cost him upward of $100. They and the Sulka ties, and the $30 shirts, $12 socks, $60 shoes, $50 hats, $100 sport jackets and $300 tailored suits are props to his ego, a fence against insecurity, a source of his morale.

Is the explanation of Mr. Truman's $84 garters to be sought in the above aspect of human psychology? If so, what was pressing on the Chief Executive's spirit that morning? Did the previous day's confidential dispatches from the U. S. mission in Athens report reverses for the Greek government forces at the hands of those nasty Leftist guerrillas? Wasn't he able to figure out why Greek regular army soldiers, now getting U. S. Army rations, were deserting to the guerrillas? Was the President angry at Harry Vaughn's and his own old-time pal, John Maragon, the Greek ex-bootblack of Kansas City, now a millionaire, who is partly responsible for the U. S. going into Greece (and who probably wears garters and suspenders worth more than $84 each)? Or was the President feeling blue over the failure of his "moral suasion" to keep prices from skyrocketing? Or over the fact that Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers lost little time in seeing to it that the arms supplied by the U. S. to the Kuomintang forces found their way to the Chinese Communists? Was the word from the American embassy in Belgrade to the effect that Yugoslavia's 5-year plan had got off to a good start? . . . I don't know; I am suggesting a line of speculation on this matter.

Or did Mr. Truman's sudden pre-breakfast idea have a touch of humor—that if anybody was entitled to wear $84 garters the President of the U. S. was? Or was the acquisition of those garters a grim gesture of defiance at Stalin's Marxian and the Wall Street Journal's non-Marxian expectations of an eventual collapse of the "free private enterprise" system in the U. S.?

To attempt another approach: Do those $84 garters, perhaps worn daily, help Mr. Truman to be "tough" or "firm" with the Poles and Bulgars in the matter of their elections, while his Attorney-General neglects to do anything about the Kansas City ballot-theft scandal? Do those $84 garters reassure Mr. Truman that he can get away with accusing the Russians of expansionism, imperialism, and conquest of a dozen one-time democratic lands while his Administration goes on turning the Philippines, Britain, Turkey, Greece, Italy, France, and all the Latin American republics into our satellites? Did those incredible garters help him play the part when he visited Rio de Janerio (with the mighty *Mo* in the bay) as a living symbol of our hegemony over two continents? . . .

The chances are that, in their attempt in '48 to get Mr. Truman to move out of the White House, the Republicans are going to be posing less relevant and more foolish questions than these. Don't hesitate to address them to the nearest psychiatrist or political scientist.—*L. A.*

Hitler-Like? . . . Oh, No!

Late in Sept. the U. S. Ambassador in Moscow protested to the Soviet government over an article in a Soviet magazine in which President Truman was characterized as "Hitler-like." Mr. Truman of course is not exactly like Hitler. But here is a paragraph from the Sept. 26 Helena (Mont.) People's Voice:

A careful investigation of dismissals under the misnamed "loyalty" order promulgated by President Truman indicates that 50 percent of those dismissed by the government have been *either Jewish or married to Jews,* according to The New Republic. Seems we heard of similar occurrences not too many years ago under the rule of one A. Hitler in Germany.

America's Past is Haunting Americans

By H. E. Sharkey: from his "Fact and Fancy" column in the July 31 York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily:

It seems that at one point in our history a crowd of unwashed dissidents, who didn't like the way the government was handling things, staged a Red revolution against the democratic forces of King George of England. Not only did these revolutionaries make things unpleasant for the loyal subjects of King George, but they actually lived off the land. For more than 6 years these revolutionaries kept the country in a chaotic condition. In the hills of Vermont and New York, where the government forces sought to track them down, they would come out of hiding on a raid against the government stores, and then disappear. From the Carolina swamps, the guerrillas who were dissatisfied with the government imposed upon them made effective forays against the constituted authorities.

The Cry Was "Liberty!"

This unwashed horde of guerrillas struck upon a very enticing propaganda note. "Liberty!" they cried. "No taxation without representation!" Some even went so far as to declare in a published document the subversive doctrine that men were created equal, that "governments are instituted among men" to secure certain inalienable rights, such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that these governments derive their powers "from the consent of the governed."

This sort of propaganda had the evil effect of attracting a good deal of attention in other parts of the world. Communications were a bit slow in those days. For word of this new concept to cross the ocean it took as long as 3 to 6 weeks. But it got across, and the established government of Anglo-Saxon Civilization considered it very upsetting. Here was a band of outlaws, many of them recent arrivals in the vast wilderness that was America, lately sprung from Europe's jails, challenging the established form of government which Western Civilization had found so enriching.

European Interest in This Rebellion

In some parts of Europe there were men so blind that they could not see this threat. All they knew was that the rebels were fighting against a hated England. The rebels were, in reality, aiding the cause of those who had a grievance against England. The Dutch, who had been resenting England's efforts to wipe out their very lucrative smuggling business, saw in the rebels a chance to grind grist for their own mill. Some Frenchmen who had kept nursing their ill feeling toward England were willing to cheer on the rebels, even though it was quite clear that if the revolution in America succeeded the whole system of European monachy would be threatened. Spain, smarting over recent defeats at the hand of her British cousin, saw an opportunity to retaliate. Russia, Poland, Sweden, and even Prussia became interested in this rebellion.

Out of this interest grew the greatest international brigade of all time. Spanish ships harassed the vessels of His Majesty. Dutch smugglers turned privateers and interfered with King George's efforts to put down his colonial troublemakers. Admirals DeGrasse and d'Estaing used units of the French fleet not only to annoy British shipping, but also to deliver supplies and armed members of the international brigade to the revolutionary colonies.

A French internationalist by the name of LaFayette wound up as a Major General in the Revolutionary Army. One Casimir Pulaski, a Pole, took a general's commission and did some effective work before he lost his life at Savannah. Another Pole, Tadeusz Kosciuzko, became a colonel of artillery, then adjutant of the Partisan leader, George Washington. Baron Steuben, the Prussian, covered himself with glory in making the Partisan forces an effective army. And John Paul Jones, a Scotsman, borrowed ships from the French King and a crew from all races and creeds and wrote a page of glory for America's early naval history.

Disgraceful Partisans all; international brigades financed by indirection with funds from some of the Kings who hated England more than they understood their own regal prerogatives.

Should We Tear Up Our History Books?

Without help from the international brigades, our ancestors, instead of having been great Revolutionary patriots, would have had their necks stretched as traitors.

But perhaps we do look upon them as traitors rather than as patriots. How else can we explain our assumption that any man who served in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain's fight against fascism is guilty of seeking to overthrow our government? How else can we conceive that men who may be fighting in the hills of Greece against King George's German cousin who is trying to repeat King George's record of oppression against the American colonies, are merely trying to subvert democratic Greece and make a Communist outpost of it? How else can we explain American support for the Dutch oppressors of the Indonesian Republic?

Perhaps we should tear up the books of American history so our children won't grow up to revere freedom, won't be misled by revolutionary propaganda into becoming international troublemakers. The only way we can stop the haunting of the ghost of our American past is either to honor that past or kill it with renunciation.

Big Money Is on the Other Side

T&T's budget for 1947 has been less than $4,000, with printing and overhead costs increasing from month to month. As the following editorial from the Valley City (N. D.) Times-Record suggests, the big money is on the other side:

Those who are naive enough to believe that "it can't happen here" might be interested in learning that a Texas millionaire established a foundation of $1,000,000 to insure publication and distribution of a pamphlet, "World Empire."

This rich man is George W. Armstrong. He himself has one foot in the grave (he's 81) but he is making certain that the power of his money will live after him.

As exposed by Friends of Democracy, the booklet written by Armstrong and being distributed by Don Lohbeck, editor of Gerald L. K. Smith's hate-sheets, urges deportation of Negroes and Jews and calls for repeal of Sections 1 of the 14th and 15th amendments to the U. S. Constitution, so that only the nation's "white Americans" may have a voice in the government of America. . . .

A "crackpot?" Perhaps, but a crackpot with millions. A crackpot who has joined the hate-mongers who spread their evil over the land of the free prior to Pearl Harbor, who went underground during the war against fascism, and who now have returned to plague the country, to infest weak minds with a hate ideology, to prey upon the prejudices of human beings for the purpose of ultimate enslavement.

ADDITIONAL COPIES of this number of T&T — for distribution among your friends, for discussion groups, for classroom use—are available: 3 for $1, 8 for $2, 20 for $5.

My Friend "Cvyetko"

Fiorello LaGuardia and I first met in the fall of 1940 at the speaker's table in a New York hotel banquet-room full of people (I don't recall what the dinner was for or about), and we became friends then and there. He knew a few score of Serbo-Croatian (Yugoslav) words from the time he had served as U. S. consul in Fiume, and he used them, all of them over and over again in talking to me on that first occasion, repeating especially the cuss words in connection with Hitler and Mussolini. He told me that Yugoslavs in Fiume used to call him "Cvyetko" — an approximate translation of "Fiorello." I called him Cvyetko thereafter, and he signed his letters, notes and telegrams to me with that name.

It seemed to delight him to "speak Yugoslav" to me every time we got together, which was rather often during 1942-47, in his office at the City Hall or in the Mayor's Mansion on the East River, or at the Engineers Club on West 40th Street, where he sometimes went for a highball on the way home; and later in his midtown office. Once I found myself with him in his little car, which was equipped with a two-way radio communication system; and as we drove through the city, he made me call a friend who knew Yugoslav, and Cvyetko spoke to him too. It was quite silly, but nice — his way of relaxing after the day's work.

Another time I was with him chasing a fire engine. He picked up that radio telephone and called his wife: "I'll be a little late, Marie. Yeah, going to a fire. 'Bye!" Then, replacing the receiver, he said to me: "She's wise to me," and grinned like a bad little boy.

During 1943-44 Cvyetko was intensely interested in the Tito-Mikhailovich controversy as it raged in the U. S., and he had me in his office every two or three weeks to hear what I was doing about it. He cursed the then Yugoslav ambassador in Washington, Fotich, in the latter's native language. He had no use for the "cookie-pushers" in the State Dept. "Those punks have no sense, no feeling, about a country like Yugoslavia, or Italy, for that matter. Say, what's the matter with Adolf Berle? He seemed to be a good man while he worked for me, but look at 'im now that he's become a diplomat and statesman."

Cvyetko had a sort of instinctive understanding of countries like Yugoslavia. "Gee, if they'd only have sense enough to send us two over there, eh? — you to Yugoslavia, me to Italy, to help those people. We *could* help them, you and I, couldn't we? But the brass-hats, they don't want us anywhere in the picture." He made a face.

Often I was so absorbed watching his facial expressions that I forgot to pay attention to his talk. He grimaced, he pouted; he squinted, he grinned. He grunted, he squealed; he chuckled, he laughed out loud. He could go through a half-dozen moods in half a minute. He was a tubby, sawed-off little guy: his stubby feet did not reach to the floor as he sat in the Mayor's chair, turning and bouncing every which way as he talked to me or screamed at his secretaries, who loved him.

One evening during the war when the meat problem was rather acute in New York City, he dragged me to a big meeting of restaurant owners he had called. He spoke to them on menus. When he came to the reason why, in his opinion, they ought to serve more chicken dishes, he paused to take a sip of water. One of New York's leading restaurateurs, Frank Caspar — president of the N. Y. branch of the International Geneva Society, an organization of both employers and employees in the restaurant business — took advantage of the pause to cry out: "But, Mr. LaGuardia, chicken is scarce too; where are we going to get chicken?"

There was a big applause, a big stir in the hall over this vital question put so bluntly to the Mayor.

Putting his glass down, Fiorello glared at Caspar for a long moment, then screwed up his big face into an expression that was a mingling of many expressions. "Where are you going to get chicken?" he said in his high, squeaky voice. "What the hell do you want me to do — lay an egg?"

When the roar of laughter subsided, the restaurant owners of New York City were ready to adjust their menus any way he wished. "And, mind you now, don't profiteer on the public," he said. "I'll be keeping an eye on your prices."

I saw him last in May, a month before he submitted to the operation which revealed that he had cancer. He didn't tell me he was ill. But he was unusually quiet. He looked all right, but it occurred to me that I had never wondered how old he might be. Somehow, age had never been an aspect of his personality.

He had asked me to come to see him. When he began to talk, he said he was worried about things. "All this stuff going on in Washington and Lake Success. Truman Doctrine!" He livened up with indignation. "My God, where can it lead to? I'm disappointed in George Marshall, that he goes along with this Truman Doctrine business. Where can it get us? Another war? Doesn't make sense. Does it to you? . . . We're so damn' self-righteous. . . . Why not do business with guys like Tito? I met Tito; I was in Poland, all over that part of Europe. What else could those countries do but what they're doing. . . . Say, who's pushing Truman? Is Marshall somebody's stooge too? . . ."

When, three weeks later, I heard him say on the radio that he was going to hospital "for a repair job," I sent him a wire wishing him well. Back came the reply: *Hvala* (Thanks). Cvyetko."

Hvala Tebi, Cvyetko, za vse! Thanks to you, Cvyetko, for everything — most of all for the sort of man you were. — *Louis.*

Europe has shrunk. It is now only a small nose on a vast body which is Asia.—*Stephen Spender, English poet.*

Someone should tell [the Americans] to be generous quickly, to be impractically and imprudently generous, since it is not safe for one nation alone to be so blessed.—*Martha Gellhorn, The New Republic.*

I feel jimcrow every day of my life, sometimes in subtle ways, sometimes sharply like the recent refusal of the Croydon Hotel in Chicago to rent me a suite because I was colored. Since my meager success, I've experienced as much discrimination as when I was an unknown.—*Lena Horne, actress.*

A Message for the Little Guy

In 1943, on his return to Emporia, Kans., from a visit of several days to Washington, D. C., the late well-remembered William Allen White wrote a piece—a sort of message to the Little Guy, alias Common Man—that deserves reprinting today. White was profoundly disturbed by "the international combinations of industrial finance with [their] tremendous power and no social brains" . . . combinations which "hover like old Silurian reptiles about our more or less Christian civilization." He continued:

"In the East I sensed uneasily rather than saw, evidences of this revival of Jurassic morality. It is as though the powers of evil in all the predatory organizations of commerce had formed a wolf pack. It is consolidated power without moral restraint or civic sensibility. For a corporation has no soul. In the nature of its purposes this power can function only on greed.

A 10,000-Year Fight for Freedom

"No matter what happens to the war against the political tyrants, the European and Asiatic dictators, the little guy who has been fighting his way to freedom for 10,000 years is up against another and more deadly combat when the smoke of the second world war has cleared away. For this little guy who struggled with paranoiac power in the Roman Empire, fought with an ignorant and corrupt religion in the Middle Ages, this little guy who has overthrown kings and routed feudal barons, and who has scattered the armies of tyrants during all of man's long journey across this earth, is now batting his eyes and licking his dry lips as he sees these hungry trusts, combines, monopolies, syndicates, cartels and secret understandings that have risen out of the machine age menacing all that he holds dear.

"This little guy is scared stiff. He must have been petrified in terror when he tackled the Roman Empire, when he faced Attila the Hun and Napoleon and the feudal system. He got badly towseled in the French revolution. They chopped his head off, but it grew back on. He is the same little guy who stood in front of Goliath with five smooth stones from the brook in his sling. He must have been scared into conniptions there, but gulped bravely and decided then to take his chance and fight for his rights.

"Oh, little guy, brave little American guy, what if your knees quake and your heart beats faster as you walk in the presence of these monsters! Be of good cheer, little guy! You have licked the giants before. You have smashed the armies of blood-thirsty invaders during all the long centuries of history. The brook where the fine smooth stones were found may be at flood or dried up and mud-covered. But you have got a new weapon called the ballot. And you have under your cocked hat something that these huge monsters have not—a head with brains in it, and under your shirt, that fluttering heart has more power than all the devouring herd that surrounds you. For it is driven by the indomitable love of freedom.

The Great Devouring Lizards

"Brace up, little guy. Pull down your vest; show your collar button if it is brass. For you will have the angels on your side and the inextinguishable passion of liberty to lead you to victory.

"I left the East with these great devouring, paranoiac lizards looming on the horizon and the little guy standing back of the barricades of his government. He is in a tough spot, with Hitler and his blood-thirsty, murderous, military power threatening the little guy across the sea, and with gleaming carnivorous teeth of the monster commodity trusts snapping at him here at home. But someway I knew that when my bones are dust and when decades have become generations and generations have rounded out a century, the little guy will win the battle. Then the world will be the same old world with new troubles, another kind of danger and the combat still raging. For it is the major blessing of a wise and kindly God that the little guy always will have something to fight for, so long as the sun follows its appointed course. When the little guy lies down to rest, the stars will wink out and the heavens roll up a scroll. And the fight for human dignity will move on to some distant purple star."

Wallace on Communists

In his Madison Sq. Garden speech on Sept. 11, Henry A. Wallace hit sharply at reactionaries who, he said, use the word "Communism" to "cover every liberal idea."

"The distortion," he went on, "is becoming so pronounced that we are heading into a time when it will be called 'American' to practice and preach hatred of races and religions and nations; and un-American to practice and preach brotherhood and Christianity. The redbaiting of reactionaries stems . . . not from fear of communism, but from fear of democracy."

Pointing out that there is a real communism, and that he is among those who don't believe in it, Wallace cautioned his listeners to remember that "we can't suppress ideals with force or legislation" and that "if we believe it is impossible to live in the world with communism, we are accepting the inevitability of suicidal war.

"Let us face the fact that our crises are not brought on by the communists. The people responsible for high prices, high rents and growing insecurity are the monopoly capitalists and their political errand boys. It wasn't the communists who removed the wartime controls needed after V-J Day . . . The communists did not kill OPA.

"Nor are the communists directing the foreign policy which violates democratic principles." That policy, he said, "is being formulated and carried out by men whose essential interests are quite different from those of the average citizen."

(Though strenuous efforts were made by the Progressive Citizens of America, which sponsored the meeting, to broadcast the Wallace speech, all major networks and local stations refused to give him time.)

In the footnote on page 1, I quote again the late General Stillwell's motto "Don't let the bastards grind you down." My own recent experiences have led me to the conclusion that the worst "bastards" are those who happen to be on your side in a cause. They are apt to grind you down worse than those openly opposing you. — *L. A.*

Don C. Matchan — until lately editor-publisher of the Valley City (N. D.) Times-Record, and author of some of the best articles that have appeared in T&T during the past year — has left for Europe and the Middle East as correspondent of a number of Northwestern farm papers and other publications, including T&T. He will visit 21 countries in about 6 months.

T&T hopes to publish Don's first letter from abroad in the next issue.

He that would rightly understand a man must read his whole story.—*Proverb.*

Labor is a Terrible Monopoly

Editorial, Mobile (Ala.) Labor Journal, organ of AFL unions:

The Taft-Hartley argument that organized labor was becoming monopolistic and, therefore, needed the same type of regulation that is supposed to govern large corporations, is ridiculous though partly true. The monopolistic tendencies of labor are rather terrible. To cite only a few of the things in life over which labor exercises a complete monopoly will be interesting.

Labor has a complete monopoly on all the ramshackle houses in the slums of all great cities. Those having only reasonable wealth would consider living in such shacks abominable. Labor *must* live in these slums because of the inadequate wages they receive from greedy, wealthy employers.

Labor has a complete monopoly on every room in the poor houses of our nation. Labor toils hard to eke an existence and to accumulate profit for the absentee owners in industry who own their jobs. Labor is too old to toil after the age of 50, then a very benevolent society gives labor an alms house to share with none other except those who have earned their living by the sweat of their brow and who have been beaten badly by the machine.

Labor has a complete monopoly in finding it impossible to give all of their children a university education. Usually Mary has to go to work in the factory and John has to take a job in the mines so that Mother can have a few extra dollars to keep the little home together.

Labor has a complete monopoly when ill, on the wards in too many unkempt city hospitals. The wealthy go to private institutions with trained nurses constantly at their beck and call.

Labor, especially black labor, has a complete monopoly on ignorance because their white "masters" still refuse to furnish universities or schools for them to attend in some of our sovereign states.

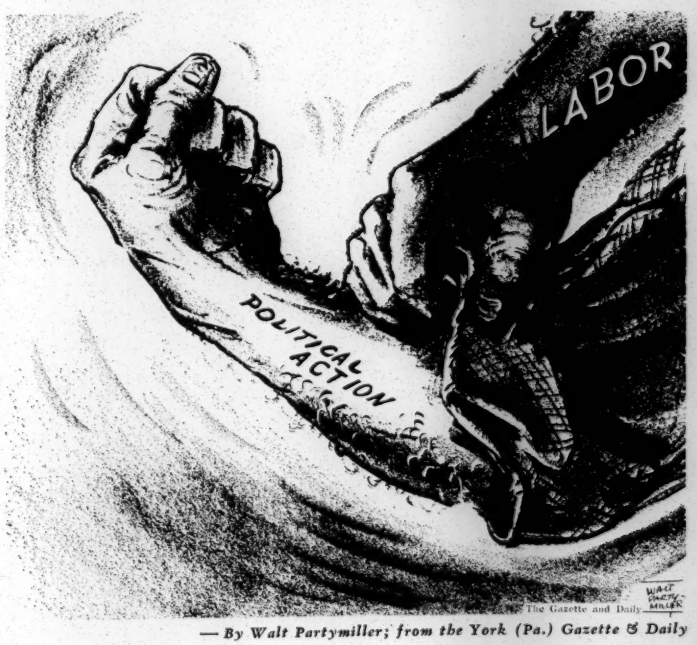
Labor has a complete monopoly on the right to go to war, to fight and die to save the world until the next generation of workers can develop so that another war can be fought and won.

Labor has a complete monopoly to suffer and to die for lack of proper medical attention because of the high fees of professional physicians. A trip to the good doctor's office daily at a cost of $3.00 a throw strains the purse strings too greatly and so poor Mom just suffers it out and too often her reward is a shroud.

Labor has a complete monopoly on job fear and debt; a complete monopoly on a million rattling "tin lizzies" that will be paid for at the end of 3 years if not attached because a few payments could not be made.

When this giant labor organized for the purpose of giving more schooling to the children to keep them out of mines, mills and factories, to give them free textbooks, to give mothers pensions, old age and unemployment insurance, to provide the underprivileged with opportunities for a moral and social and intellectual status, then they are supposed to suffer with attempted crucifixion at the hands of modern Pontius Pilates of the ilk of the Daffy Tafts, the Joe Screw-balls and the Heartless Hartleys.

The members of organized labor should not forget that even in adversity they must keep their faces to the sun . . . with bigger and stronger unions based upon justice, equality and the brotherhood of man.



— By Walt Partymiller; from the York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily

Don't Be a Petty Racketeer

From the June '47 Socialist Standard, an English magazine:

The late Stephen Leacock wrote a humorous story on borrowing money. The man who wanted to borrow a trifling sum was rebuffed, with insults. At a few hundred dollars the insults disappeared. At the four-figure level it was possible to do a deal; but it was not until a loan for millions was asked for that the bankers obsequiously hailed the borrower as if he were a benefactor entitled to a royal reception. So it is also in the matter of running a capitalist racket.

A street hawker "who admitted overcharging for apples, oranges and lemons, was sent to prison for nine months at Manchester." (News Chronicle, 30/4/47.)

Up the scale a little are the people who resold Cup Final tickets. These "racketeers," according to the Sunday Express (27/4/47), "made hundreds of pounds." "One seller boasted that he had made more than 100 pounds profit in an hour."

Higher still we reach the big money, but they are no longer described as racketeers. The Evening Standard (22/4/47) told of a house in Mayfair sold in 1935 for 15,000 pounds freehold Slightly bomb-damaged, it was sold as business premises in 1943 for 45,000 pounds; and resold in 1946 for 65,000 pounds. Nine months later it is sold again for 75,000 pounds. The Evening Standard gave publicity to the agent's ingenious argument to show that the price "is not so extravagant as it sounds." The argument is that it will be cheaper for the buyer to pay 75,000 pounds for the freehold than to pay 7,000 pounds a year as rent, at the market rate of 1 pound a square foot.

Higher still up the scale we read (Daily Mail, 26/4/47) of the Marquess of Bute who had just died. His fortune was "once reputed to be worth 60,000,000 pounds." A lot of the family wealth came from the lucky possession of land in Glamorgan under which vast coal deposits were found. One of the astute deals of an earlier Marquess was to build Bute docks at a cost of 350,000 pounds. "When, in 1922, the family sold the docks to the Great Western Railway, the purchase price was 5,000,000 pounds."

The man in jail will have nine months to ponder over the golden rule that if you want to plunder your fellow man you should take care to be born into the propertied class and consult the best lawyers to see that it is legal.

Cartoons and Cartoonists

By Don C. Matchan:

Cartoons wield perhaps more influence on political-social-economic thinking than any other form of expression. They are a powerful influence in molding public opinion. People who read little generally look at cartoons, and usually understand them. In a flash an idea can be conveyed to a mind through a cartoon.

If you want to learn the editorial policy of a newspaper, you can do so in a moment merely by checking the cartoon it carries.

A survey would show that at least 95% of the nation's press carries cartoons which play the tune for "the interests." Reactionary cartoonists are plentiful, progressive ones are scarce. This probably is due to the fact there is no demand for progressive artists. Persons who have drawing talent and who depend upon their talent for a living must have a market for their work.

Walt Partymiller, Progressive

Among the outstanding liberal cartoonists of the country are Fitzpatrick of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Lambert of the Chicago Sun, and Walt Partymiller of the York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily. For my money, the last-named ranks tops. Walt Partymiller is a progressive who works for progressive publishers. He puts his soul into his work. Consistently, day in and day out, you'll find the Partymiller cartoons expressing the viewpoint of the little guy. I marvel at his ability to dramatize so eloquently the big issues of this period of history. He has done a remarkable series on the atom bomb; he has pictured ably the fallacy of the Truman Doctrine; he has lashed out at the red-baiting tactics of Big Business and reactionary politicians; he has done a beautiful job of showing how the veteran was stung by inflation and robbed of housing.

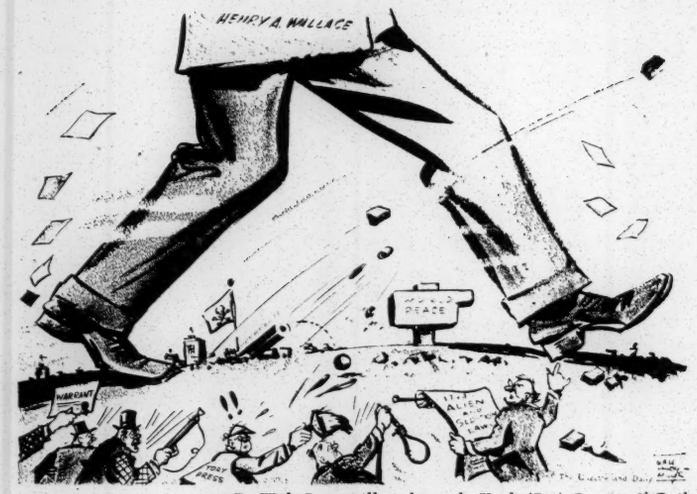
Partymiller is fortunate in being able to work for people who give him complete freedom, full latitude in developing whatever progressive idea he wishes. He would be a most unhappy person, and probably wouldn't be able to scratch out a living if he didn't work for the Gitt family. And Walt Partymiller does appreciate those bosses of his! Said he: "A guy can be the best, most honest artist there ever was—another Art Young, a Daumier or a Thomas Nast—*but* he must have a paper that will let him 'shout from the housetops'—or 'just sing his little song.' A few years ago Rollin Kirby told me that should he lose his job, he wouldn't know where to look. (A three-times Pulitzer prize winner, too.) . . ."

Most Cartoonists Take Orders

I am convinced that most cartoonists take orders from someone. They seem to be out in front of public thinking. This was brought home to me forcibly last year when the fight developed to scrap OPA. It will be recalled that 84% of the people wanted a continuation of price control until supply caught up with demand. The National Association of Manufacturers launched its drive to abolish controls, and before this drive was known publicly, the cartoons had started to snipe at price control. You could almost name the day when "the line" changed, when the cartoons started picturing price control as odious, unwanted. It was so obvious that it made an indelible impression on me. Somebody, somewhere, had issued orders; cartoonists were carrying them out.

When Henry Wallace started to become a "threat" to the two major parties and to monopolism behind them, the cartoonists let loose with vicious, inflammatory creations designed to create antipathy toward Wallace.

When the Truman Doctrine was about to be formalized, the cartoonists did their job of "educating the masses" about the "danger of Communism in Greece." Not once did they suggest



— By Walt Partymiller; from the York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily

that behind the Truman Doctrine was oil and lust for power on the part of American monopolists. All they needed do was picture the ogre of Communism about to swallow up little Greece, with the grinning bear in the background—and there you had it!

Then, when the Taft-Hartley bill was in the process of being born, they moved in again with their pencils and brushes, to paint labor as a monster that was ready to gobble up Dear Public in one gulp. And when the tax bill was being debated, again they were ready with "reasons" for the cut in taxes, carefully avoiding, of course, identifying the chief beneficiaries of the tax cut—the big boys.

They Are Always Ahead of the Crowd

I say that cartoonists must be taking orders because they are always *ahead of the crowd*. But who is giving the orders? Is it the editors, the publishers of the sheets for which they work? Someone is telling them what to draw. Cartoons are drawn in conformance with policy established by someone higher up the economic ladder than the men who draw the pictures. The cartoonist "just works here." He is a weathervane in the political world and if you follow him objectively, you will be able to know far in advance what will happen in Congress or at the White House.

I suggest, however, that when you chuckle at his work, you first ask the question: "Whose axe is being ground by that one?" The axe is always to be found if you search long enough. Like the clever writer, the cartoonist who advocates war instead of peace will make you think that black is white. He has the skill to cause you to believe that your interests are being considered first. That is a necessary part of the technique in molding your mind.

If he told you, for instance, that today's high prices are attributable to the campaign staged by the NAM starting in Jan. '46, you wouldn't feel so kindly toward the NAM. So he hides the source of the trouble, blames it onto labor or the farmer. If he told you who creates U. S. foreign policy, who is responsible for the hate-Russia campaign, you wouldn't like those people, either, because you do feel, instinctively (the polls say 64%) that we are following a path toward war, not peace. So he makes you think that Greek-Turkish-Chinese-Latin American munitions gifts are in the interests of peace. You want peace, he knows that, so he catches his flies by withholding truth.

When you look at the cartoon, look behind it for the hidden motive. Ask: who is giving the orders?

The Cornucopia of Free Enterprise

The Ladies' Home Journal, an evangelically fervent supporter of free enterprise (not long ago the president of the company publishing it was head of the NAM) took full-page ads in the leading newspapers of Sept. 2 to call attention to an article in that magazine which should forever still the tongues of critics who refuse to believe that things in the U. S. are perfect.

"Can you still raise a family on $18 a week?" asks the LHJ and proceeds to relate how Mrs. Mildred Bemis, a widow in Rockville, Ind., "does just that." The family consists of Mrs. Bemis and two sons, the elder being 17 years old. In this day when beef, pork and lamb cost $1 a pound or more, a small loaf of bread 11 to 20c, milk 21c a quart, cheese 69c to more than a dollar a pound, butter 91c a pound, oranges and apples 7c apiece, tiny canteloupes 28c, and a suit of clothes for a boy from $25 to $35, this is "certainly something," and every American will be eager for the details.

It's Just a Story

But alas!—in the first place it ain't so. Mrs. Bemis' 17-year old son has been self-supporting since he was 12. So that leaves only two to get along on $18 a week.

And alas again—and horrors!—Mrs. Bemis' chief income is a Social Security pension of $31.38 a month — an item of income that doesn't come from free enterprise at all but from State Socialism! The next largest item of income is derived from boarding a 7-year old girl for $1 a day, or an average of $30.41 a month. Finally, Mrs. Bemis takes in washing at $4.50 a week. It all comes to nearer $19 than $18 a week, but let that pass.

One wonders, does Mrs. Bemis own her home? If so, its rental value, minus probably very small taxes, should be added to her income statistically, and must amount to between $5 and $10 a week at least. Let's split the difference, call it $7.50 a week, making Mrs. Bemis' real income actually about $25.50 a week.

One picture shows Mrs. Bemis wiping her younger boy's nose while he is wrapped in a blanket—obviously, he has a cold. This reminds us that human beings, American or lesser breeds, young and old, rich and poor, are subject to sickness and injury. If one of Mrs. Bemis' bairns should be injured or taken seriously ill, does the LHJ seriously maintain that such an emergency could be taken care of on an income of $18 a week without resort to charity?

Obviously the yarn that Mrs. Bemis or any mother can raise a family in happiness and rectitude on $18 a week is a fraud, but that isn't the point here. The ad says that this is part of "the Journal's great continuing story, 'How America Lives.'" And it adds that like the Bemises, "*one American family in five lives on an income of less than* $1,000 *a year.*"

"Sweet are the uses of adversity," said Shakespeare, and sweet are the uses of advertising, say we. Blessed be the LHJ, which advertises to the world that the cornucopia of free enterprise pours down upon a widow with a dependent child the privilege of living on $18 a week, and calls this a "heartening story . . . an inspiring example of spiritual riches in a setting of adversity," full of "the very qualities that make America great." We are strong for spiritual riches, and consider them much superior to the gross material wealth of those to whom $18 is a small fraction of one night's fling at the Stork Club. It might occur, however, to some of the LHJ's advertisers that the Bemis family provides a poor market for automobiles, radios, electric gadgets, cosmetics, Hollywood sports togs, and the other things they would like to sell.

But that isn't the point, either. The point—or, rather, one point—is: the "inspiring example" which this story gives to the rest of the world. We earnestly hope that this "heartening story" will penetrate to the remotest corners of the Balkan countries, Poland, Italy, France, China and the Soviet Union—wherever men and women have already embraced the chimera of Socialism or are tempted to fall for that odious doctrine. May it open their eyes to the "inspiring" truth that only under a system of free enterprise can a worthy widow, in these times of dollar meat, 90c butter, etc., etc., enjoy the high "spiritual" privilege of bringing up her family on $18 a week!

The other point—put quite bluntly—is: with this article about the heroic, self-reliant Mrs. Bemis and with the full-page ads calling attention to it, LHJ is initiating a propaganda campaign, soon to get into full swing under the NAM leadership, to try to prepare the masses of the American people for the next depression and for a lower standard of living.

On the regular T&T mailing list are numerous people, organizations, newspapers and libraries in England, India, China, France, Poland, the Soviet Union, Holland, Sweden and Yugoslavia. Most of them are unable to send currency out of their countries. Only a few of them have friends here who subscribe for them. That's why T&T must have a Sustaining Fund. — *See p. 24.*

FREE BOOKS

The motive for the following offer of FREE *autographed* copies of Louis Adamic's books is to encourage an increase in T&T's circulation.

For THREE subscriptions, send $5 and you will get free *one* of the 6 books marked *.

For SIX subscriptions, send $10 and you will get free *two* of the 6 books marked *; or *one* of the 6 marked * *and one* of two marked **.

For TEN subscriptions, send $15 and you will get free *any three* of the 8 books.

For 20 subscriptions, send $20 and you will get free *any four* of the 9 books.

For 20 subscriptions, send $30 for the 8 books.

*Dinner at the White House

*Two-Way Passage

*A Nation of Nations

*My Native Land

*The Native's Return

*What's Your Name?

**From Many Lands

**Laughing in the Jungle

Please write addresses plainly; give zone numbers. . . . Make check or postal note or money order payable to "Louis Adamic."

If you happen to be too busy to think of several people who should receive T&T and to write down their addresses, you are requested that, according to your ability, if you haven't done so already in recent months, you send a contribution to the *T&T Sustaining Fund.* This money is used to keep on the mailing list people who cannot subscribe or are not in the habit of subscribing to such papers but who should see T&T; to send sample copies to possible subscribers; to cover some of the deficit at end of each year; to pay for the material used in the paper. (Mr. Adamic is not paid for his work on T&T.)

Address for all communications:

LOUIS ADAMIC, MILFORD, NEW JERSEY

Letters From Readers

Eisenhower Strategy

Dear Mr. A.: Your last issue is excellent. . . . I hope you will take up the strategy of Gen. Eisenhower leaving his job as Chief of Staff to become president of Columbia Univ. When this was announced, it seemed to me at once that he would be a candidate for President of the U. S., after being president of Columbia for a short time.

I think I was right. When interviewed out in Kansas, he is quoted as having said that he had already said that he had no political ambitions, but he did not say that he wouldn't run for President. It was also hinted that he did not deny that he was a Republican. I guess some of the big bosses of the G.O.P. [and some of the big-businessmen, such as Thomas J. Watson of the International Business Machines, who is said to be Eisenhower's chief financial backer] realize they can't win with Dewey, Taft or Stassen.

Won't it be lovely to have a former Chief of Staff as Secretary of State and another former Chief of Staff as President? This is a country which has always said that it was not military-minded and has had only one military man as President, U. S. Grant, and wasn't he a poor one! Won't other nations wonder what we are up to, with two military men, five-star generals at that, at the head in '48!—*A. Walter Kramer, N. Y. C.*

How to Wreck the U. S. Government

Dear Mr. A.: If the Communists were really out to destroy our government, which I believe they are not; and if they were really smart, they would send copies of The Nation and The New Republic to all Federal employees, many of whom would then naively, innocently carry these magazines under their arms in street cars and busses, and would be seen carrying them by agents of the Un-American Committee, FBI, and the Civil Service Commission. That would be enough to have them booted out of their jobs under the Loyalty Purge. Thus in a few weeks the U. S. government would be completely disorganized, many important government services would cease, and there would be an upsurge of Communism, etc.

You know, of course, that being seen with a copy of The Nation and The New Republic is enough to have a Federal employee declared "disloyal."—*E. P. K., Washington, D. C.*

Change in Alaska

Dear L. A.: While sending along my T&T renewal, I thought it might interest you to know of the change in outlook noticeable among many people here in the North Country.

Before the war we were all so provincial, worrying only about the smaller local troubles, such as the re-opening of some lumber mill, the closing down of the gold mines owing to the war, and the fights over government regulation of the fishing industry as advocated by the New Dealers and resisted by the fishing interests. We had little or no concern about anything outside these issues.

Along came the war; now everything is changed. We are all sitting up watching the speedy military construction going on around us at a faster pace than during the war. Our economy is affected by this; even the smaller towns are getting a backwash of the activity in the bigger centers. A frequently heard remark is that "we owe a lot to Uncle Joe for filling the ice-box."

Alas! the ice-box is being filled with stuff that might start a chain reaction that will leave our beautiful North Country a stinking radioactive mess, a no-man's-land, only worse, in that it may never again be used to produce for the benefit of man.

So you see, many of us now quite avidly follow international events and, knowing that we may be caught in the crossfire, are certainly hoping for a peaceful solution of the difference between us and the Russians, and stop the large military program that is unnaturally disrupting the economy of the region and is making us one of the first military objectives in an open conflict.

I made my banker read your article "Business or War—Alternatives in American-Soviet Affairs" [July-Sept. '47 T&T] and he gave it back to me with the remark that you were absolutely right. In fact, he said he would subscribe. He is my cousin and I was safe in showing him T&T.—*The name of this correspondent, who is in government service, and the name of his town are withheld. (T&T has a considerable number of subscribers in Alaska.)*

THE PEOPLES OF AMERICA SERIES

Louis Adamic, *General Editor*

The first volume in this highly important Series, published by J. B. Lippincott Co., has just appeared—a work of distinction both as history and literature—

THEY CAME FROM HOLLAND
By Arnold Mulder

An American of Dutch ancestry, Mr. Mulder is professor of English at Kalamazoo College in Michigan and the author of 3 novels dealing with Dutch American life.

THEY CAME FROM HOLLAND is for sale in all bookstores at $5. Those desiring first-edition copies autographed by Mr. Adamic as general editor may order them direct from him.

Three volumes are scheduled for 1948:

THEY CAME FROM HUNGARY. By Emil Lengyel. *Feb.*

THEY CAME FROM JAPAN. By Bradford Smith. *June.*

THEY CAME FROM SPAIN AND MEXICO. By Carey McWilliams. *Fall.*

Each of these books will be priced at $5.

Those desiring first-edition copies autographed by Mr. Adamic as general editor may order them direct from him, now or later. Each volume thus ordered from Mr. Adamic will entitle you to one *free* T&T subscription in 1948. All such orders should be accompanied by checks or money orders payable to "Louis Adamic." Address:

LOUIS ADAMIC, MILFORD, NEW JERSEY

In preparation for 1949 and later publication are the following volumes: THE INDIANS: THEY CAME HERE FIRST, by D'Arcy McNickle; THE AMERICAN NEGROES, by J. Saunders Redding; THE IRISH IN AMERICA, by Shaemas O'Sheel; THEY CAME FROM ARMENIA, by John Roy Carlson; THEY CAME FROM NORWAY, by Leola Nelson Bergman, etc. An eminent writer whose name cannot yet be announced will do the book on the English element. Mr. Adamic will probably portray the group from Yugoslavia. . . .

Those unable to buy The Peoples of America volumes for their personal libraries are urged to ask for them at their public, college, high school libraries.

What's In a Name?

Dear T&T: Jasinsky's letter published in the July-Sept. issue is quite appealing, but is also an example of how *not* to approach the problem of anti-foreignerism, racism, &c. Boiled down, his letter is a complaint that, although he is not a foreigner, he is treated as if he were. Our problem in this country is not to establish who is really native and who is not, but is to combat discrimination against persons who actually are foreigners. When J. goes to so much trouble to prove that he is actually not foreign at all, despite his name, he is really reinforcing the chauvinism of his enemies.

It was very decent of him to stick it out with "a lot of Polish fellows" in the Army. It would have been even better if he had not himself raised the point that the others were really Polish whereas he only appeared to be Polish.

Our problem in the U. S. in this matter is precisely to defend the rights of *all* foreign-born, especially those who *really are* foreign-born. If we can organize a defense of these people, and we must, then the rest is easy. I look forward to a time when a man whose name is Jasinsky is not victimized by chauvinism — not even if he came from Poland yesterday. In this work, it would help if those Jasinskys (or—"nothing could induce me to change my name"—Von Jaschinskis) who were born here would ally themselves with those who came here yesterday, instead of busying themselves with proving that their ancestors came here 160 years ago.—*Lyle Dowling, N. Y. C.*

A Straw Worth Clinging To

Dear Mr. A.: I don't know what T&T's circulation is, but somehow, in these times, it is comforting to know that there are some people in America who are being reached by this kind of thinking and comment.

I remember thinking last spring when we were listening to Henry Wallace's Madison Sq. Garden speech that the roar of applause that greeted him was comforting in the right way. Hearing it, I knew there were a lot of people—not enough as far as votes or national decisions are concerned—who still knew and still cared that the issues were between a chance at peace and world disaster.

I feel the same way about T&T. I know it doesn't get to enough people, but it's a straw worth clinging to that it gets to some—including some who like myself rent post-office boxes just to receive it and The Nation and The New Republic. It seems to me one of the most frightening realities that it is circulation and reiteration which count more than common sense, fact, or long-term consistency and soundness. Nevertheless it's only with the sort of thing that T&T stands for that one can feel at home in America or feel human, properly speaking. — *A college prof.*

Hands Across the Sea

Dear Mr. A.: A retired English scholar living in London has compiled a list of several hundred names of English men and women who desire to exchange newsmatter and periodicals with a similar number of Americans. This man's only motive is to promote better Anglo-American understanding through the exchange of the better publications, the New Republic, The Nation, T&T, etc.

This elderly man of good will has already succeeded in making contact among several hundred English people and Americans, resulting in an exchange of information *via* personal mail, where desired, and current news. A much travelled person, he stresses the importance of this international postal contact.

This is not an organization. No formalities are necessary. Merely drop a card to the undersigned and you will be put in touch with intelligent, interesting postal friends. — (Mr.) N. Gish, 5225 14th Avenue, Brooklyn 19, N. Y.

Autographed copies of Louis Adamic's books available for gifts to your friends—for your own library shelves:

DINNER AT THE WHITE HOUSE **$2.50**

"A fascinating study of three great personalities—Churchill, and Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt."—*N. Y. Times.* "A brilliant analysis of the causes of the present reversion to power politics on the international scene.—*Clip Boutell, N. Y. Post.* "Sprightly reading."—*Time.* "Stimulating criticism."—*Phila. Inquirer.* Widely translated.

TWO-WAY PASSAGE **$2.50**

"It opens vistas," was President Roosevelt's comment on *Two-Way Passage*, "—it really opens vistas." He made Winston Churchill read it. 12th edition.

A NATION OF NATIONS **$3.50**

"Adamic's best book. It proclaims an America greater than we had realized; and so it is an enlargement of the honor of the country. —*Gerald W. Johnson in the N. Y. Herald Tribune.*

MY NATIVE LAND **$3.75**

Chicago Sun: "No praise can be high enough for *My Native Land.* It proves that enduring world peace hinges upon an entirely new Yugoslav state, built from the bottom up. Mandatory reading for everyone."

THE NATIVE'S RETURN **$2.75**

A best-seller of 10 years ago, now generally considered a modern classic, this is the author's first book about his native Yugoslavia. "One of those rare 'originals' that turn up once in a blue moon." —*N. Y. Times.* Now in the 24th edition.

FROM MANY LANDS **$3.75**

"An epic. In the heroic sweep of its material, *From Many Lands* is among the great books of our day"—*N. Y. Times.* "Of extreme importance to Americans."—*Clifton Fadiman in The New Yorker.* Awarded 1941 Annisfield Prize. 14th edition.

WHAT'S YOUR NAME? **$2.50**

The comedy and tragedy of "foreign" names in America. Some of the author's best writing.

LAUGHING IN THE JUNGLE **$3.50**

In *Laughing in the Jungle*, "Louis Adamic touches greatness as a story-teller."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune.*

THEY CAME FROM HOLLAND **$5.00**

By Arnold Mulder. The first volume of The Peoples of America Series, edited by Louis Adamic.

The set of nine books if ordered together..... $25.00

Those ordering 2 or more of the above books will receive T&T free through '48. Profit from book sales is put into the T&T Sustaining Fund.

See also box on p. 21 for special offer of free copies of above books.

LOUIS ADAMIC, MILFORD, NEW JERSEY

"A friend of my mother," writes a student at a Western university, "has been paying for my T&T subscription since early in '46. I find the paper most useful. One day last spring, for instance, I took part in a discussion in the International Affairs Club here. The compliments I received afterward were really deserved by T&T. My copy is read by at least a dozen other students."

Why not send in subscriptions for college and university students you know? One sub. $2; three $5.

The Problem of Publishing T&T

Trends & Tides (T&T)—now winding up its third year—will be continued in 1948. There seems to be a demand for it—even if but a rather limited demand. Any suggestion from me that I may discontinue it brings a lot of protests. Here is the gist of some of the recent letters:

T&T is pamphleteering in the Tom Paine tradition. You must keep it going . . . Keep on sticking out your neck; somebody has to. . . . I can't speak out loud against the lies of the general press and the radio; I can't afford not to knuckle under, outwardly, to the hysteria and the subtle terrorism now going on over the country. In a way, I save my Americanism by getting T&T and showing it to trusted friends. . . .

Therein, perhaps is one of the values of T&T. I don't mind "sticking my neck out;" in a way, it's fun, it's my business—but an unprofitable one. I wish a few more T&T enthusiasts would not only subscribe for themselves but for others and/or contribute to the always inadequate Sustaining Fund.

In 1945 T&T put me $1,100 "in the hole"; in '46 over $900; the '47 deficit threatens to be about $500. Next year I hope to go abroad, and I'll be unable to put anything into T&T but my work.

I can reasonably expect 3000 paid subscribers for '48, but to get them will cost about $1,500 for circulars, envelopes, stuffing, postage, etc. I hope that most of the organizations interested in our domestic affairs and in our foreign policy will continue the bulk orders which in '47 average 2500 copies per issue, but which they receive virtually at printing cost.

However, 5500 copies hardly justify the work that goes into each issue. I usually print 3000 or more additional copies, mostly for free distribution among people who are not regular subscribers but who I think will be specially interested in some article if not in the entire issue.

Two of the '47 numbers, for instance, were sent to every member of Congress, and at least two members used material from them in their speeches. The last issue went free to over 2000 persons in the labor movement and the interracial and foreign-policy fields, and judging by the mail and clippings this evoked, it was worth doing. If U. S. foreign policy changes in the near future, perhaps T&T will be justified in taking a slice of credit for that development.

Owing to its leading feature, this issue goes to over 3,000 people and organizations, mostly in Washington, who are not on the regular mailing list. The addresses of some of these were supplied by General Holdridge and his friends.

In the past three years I have kept on the mailing list about 730 columnists, commentators, editors, clergymen, government officials and other public persons who are used to receiving publications free. I should like to continue this.

Of course all this costs money. The expenditures connected with this issue will be near $1,500.

I am trying to work out the money problem involved in continuing T&T in 1948 and making it a better paper, for I am not nearly satisfied with it even if a good many of the customers are. The problem is not an easy one.

I hear that, as part of the general inflationary spiral, printing and paper costs will go still higher, and I am urged to buy now the supply of paper T&T will need for the whole of '48. I must maintain an office with an assistant. Some of the articles and cartoons must be paid for. And, to repeat, it will cost about $1,500 to get 3,000 renewals and new subscribers.

If you haven't yet subscribed for 1948, please do so at once. I am fairly sure that you will not want to miss the next issue and all the other '48 issues.

If possible, please send in a few or several subscriptions for others — for persons of influence in your town or elsewhere, your public and college libraries, for your friends.

Subscription rate now is $2 a year . . . $5 for three years . . . or three 1-year subscriptions for $5 . . . and six 1-year subscriptions for $10. Every $5 sent in for T&T entitles the sender to a free signed copy of one of my books listed elsewhere in this issue. — *L. A.*

Recommended Reading

One Thousand Americans. By George Seldes, editor of In Fact. The story of the men, corporations, banks, lobbies and their newspapers, and congressmen who control the U. S., direct the press, make the laws, boss your taxes, your wages, and your thinking. Published by Boni & Gaer, New York. $2.50. You may order from In Fact, 230 Lafayette St., N. Y. 12, N. Y. "*Must.*"

But Not Yet Slain. A novel by Benjamin Appel. Publisher: A. A. Wyn, Inc., 23 W. 47th St., N. Y. 19, N. Y. Deals with the defeat of New Dealers in Washington following FDR's death; good story; important.

A Plan for a Democratic Public Opinion. By Joseph Facci. $1. Published by the author; address: Box 716, Falls Church, Va.

"How to Get On With the Russians." An article by Seymour Nagan. Sept. 15 New Republic. Look it up at the library. The article is in part an interview with Samuel B. Lush, a Philadelphia businessman who is doing business with the Soviets, and whose advice is: "Let's take the chip off our shoulder."

I tell my American friends that if 60 pounds of newsprint per head per year—which is the present rate of consumption in the U. S. A.—is necessary and needed to instill and maintain the present way of life, there is only sufficient newsprint in the world for two hundred million democrats. The other two thousand millions of the world's population must presumably be totalitarians.—*Sir Walter Layton, Chairman of the Rationing Committee of the British Newsprint Supply Organization.*

The United States, now turning out more than 50 percent of the world's steel has *only* 10 *percent of the world's ore reserves.* It is expected that low-grade ore beneficiation in the Lake Superior region will boost U. S. reserves, but unless it becomes commercially feasible in the reasonably foreseeable future unusual dependence may have to be placed on foreign ores—with *relocation of mills in prospect.—Iron Age.*

October 28, 1947

Mr. Louis Adamic
Milford
New Jersey

Dear Mr. Adamic:

22-8-1

I am sending you herewith a copy of our petition to the United Nations on human rights. I thought you would be interested in it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Afro]

2 January 1947

21-15-28

My dear Mr. Mackay:

I have your letter of December 16th, but with the work on hand it was impossible for me to comply with it. I am sorry not to have been able to cooperate.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. C. W. Mackay
Managing Editor
Afro
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore, 3, Maryland

[Lillian Alexander]

17 January 1947

My dear Mrs. Alexander:

Dr. Diggs address is Dr. Irene Diggs, Yacht Club Hruguayo, Puerto de Buceo, Montevideo, Uruguay, South America.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ernest Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York City

382-7

[Lillian Alexander]

Mrs. Lionel Alexander

January 23, 1947

22-7-15

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

I am very sorry indeed not to be able to attend your buffet supper in honor of Shirley Graham. I shall be out of town lecturing at that time.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

[Lillian Alexander]

4 April 1947

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

I have just dropped into town and had rather counted on having April pretty free but I have an unusual number of appointments. I must speak at Howard University, April 9; Chicago, April 13; in Cleveland, April 20; and here in New York the 25 and 30; possibly in Connecticut on the 17.

Now if you can select some date that will not interfere with these dates and my going and coming from them, I shall be only too happy to dine with you.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Ernest R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York City

[Lillian Alexander]

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FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

22-7-13

21 July 1947

Mrs. Ernest R. Alexander
RFD No. 1
Greenwood Lake
Monro, New York

Miss Diggs and I can come up next weekend if that suits you.

W. E. B. Du Bois

or Sept 6 for the week-
end — so sorry not to have
had you before.

I've been distressed that
Mrs Du Bois does not seem
to rally.

Will you write me a
line at once naming
the day?

Sincerely yours,
Gillian Alexander

7 August 1947

MRS. ERNEST RAYMOND ALEXANDER
GREEN PASTURES
MONROE, NEW YORK

Dear Dr. Du Bois

I'm scratching another
note to you with dates
I'm holding open — hoping
you can come at one
time or another.

I'm hoping you can
make it either August 23

10-8-22

[Alexander Testimonial Dinner]

TESTIMONIAL BANQUET COMMITTEE
OF
THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY
AND
THE PHILADELPHIA FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION
IN HONOR OF
DR. SADIE T. M. ALEXANDER

CO-CHAIRMEN
MRS. VERONA E. BECKETT
218 W. COULTER STREET
GERMANTOWN, PHILA. 44, PA.

MRS. ALBERTA MORRIS
260 S. 15TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

TREASURER
MRS. BENJAMIN S. GLASCO
1924 S. COLLEGE AVENUE
PHILADELPHIA 21, PA.

January 24, 1947

My dear Dr. DuBois:

The citizens of Philadelphia under the sponsorship of the above agencies are tendering a testimonial banquet in honor of Dr. Sadie T. M. Alexander on Saturday evening, the 15th of February, 1947, at 6:30 P. M.

22-7-21

We believe that there are many of her friends, some of whom live great distances from Philadelphia and, therefore, will be unable to attend who would like to offer an expression of their regard and esteem for the tireless work and accomplishments of Dr. Alexander in fostering inter-racial cooperation, inter-cultural relations, the work of the Christian Church, the professional woman and the advancement of the legal profession. We, therefore, hope that you will send to the Committee on or before February 8, 1947, a letter addressed to Dr. Alexander mailed to the undersigned, on your letter head, size about 8½ x 11 (please leave a wide margin at the left) so that we may make a bound volume of these testimonials to present to her on the evening of the banquet.

X

Needless to say the Committee hopes that you can attend the banquet and desires that I urge you to do so. Your cooperation in replying at your earliest convenience to this communication will be greatly appreciated, in order that we may upon this occasion honor Dr. Alexander in a manner such as we believe she deserves.

Very cordially yours,

Verona E. Beckett

(Mrs.) Verona E. Beckett
218 W. Coulter Street
Germantown, Phila. 44, Pa.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

BANQUET - *Saturday, February 15th, 1947, at Fellowship Center, 260 S. 15th Street*

[Alexander-Testimonial Dinner]

January 29, 1947

Dear Sadie;

My congradulations on your first work and best wishes for your future.

22-7-22

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

[Virginia Alexander?]

CLASS OF SERVICE

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PRESIDENT

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DR W E B DUBOIS=

409 EDGECOMBE AVE

22-1-8

:=WISHING YOU HEALTH AND HAPPINESS ON YOUR BIRTHDAY AND FOR MANY YEARS TO COME=

VIRGINIA.

Address by

(ALPHA PHI ALPHA)

HENRY A. WALLACE

Before the National Convention of
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Tulsa, Oklahoma
December 28, 1947

TEN EXTRA YEARS

I have not come here to address the convention of this great American fraternity - older than the state in which it holds its convention - in order to repeat simple truths.

I have not come here to recite facts about conditions you know fully well as I do -- and which you have learned at more bitter cost.

Nor have I come to demonstrate my knowledge of the contributions the Negro people have made to building and defending this great nation.

These are themes better saved for audiences which have less grasp of the problem. I used them recently in talking to large and receptive audiences in key southern cities. I have used them, no less importantly, in many northern cities. It is vital to prick consciences in the self-righteous north.

I am here to say: Jim Crow in America has simply got to go.

But I am not here to recite the economic facts and figures which support the case. If there were no such facts, the simple immorality of segregation and discrimination is enough to condemn it. It is enough to demand our every effort to destroy it.

I have come here to state my belief that the abolition of Jim Crow has top place on the agenda of a program for national defense. I have come to say that until it is abolished the words "democracy" and "freedom" and "justice", used so glibly to support our foreign policy, will ring hollow throughout the world.

I come to you as a liberal fellow American, one who served in the New Deal Administration which did more than any administration since the time of Abraham Lincoln to improve the living conditions of the Negro people. Yet I make these points only to emphasize that: whatever we white, unprejudiced democratic Americans have done; whatever the New Deal did, has been far less than enough. It has been less far less than our principles demand that we do.

Today we must be as stubborn in our devotion to principle as the Abolitionists of a century ago. The times demand it. The defense of our country demands it.

I am here to state my opinions as to why so many of us, who have been genuinely devoted to the elimination of prejudice and its fruits have not been fully effective in fighting for our belief. I state these opinions with the hope that they will help us find a more successful course for the period immediately ahead.

First, let me state my impression that our greatest weakness has been a failure to take the offensive. We liberal, unprejudiced white Americans have never failed to answer pleas for the defense of the rights of our Negro brothers; but we have not maintained a day-to-day offensive to demand complete justice.

I mentioned a minute ago the necessity for pricking consciences in the north. Many of us who live outside the south have been vigorous spokesmen for change in the south. We have looked at the civil rights statues on the books of many northern states and assumed airs of self-righteousness. We have contrasted them with the quite opposite laws - the laws imposing segregation - which are found in the south. In using this base for self-righteousness, we have been kidding ourselves. We have taken pride in statutes, but we have not taken leadership to see that the laws have meaning. When we are willing to face facts, we know that discrimination and segregation in the north are only slightly less brutal than in the south. Yes, when we face facts we know that restrictive covenants are the most despicable examples of priority

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for property rights over human rights. We have taken pride in a lesser evil. But in an evil all the same.

Sometimes we have been handicapped by our own liberal philosophy. We have been too tolerant of intolerance. We have let the intolerant assume the offensive. We have permitted ourselves to be forced into defensive roles.

I think today of the utterly nauseating spectacle of hearings before the House Un-American Committee. I think of its great drive against liberals, progressives, and communists. This drive is not made against these groups, including the communists, because they are advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence. It is directed against them because they have demanded that we give meaning to the words "equal opportunity for the pursuit of happiness".

Every uttered truth produces a tremor in those who live by lies. The truth is truly dangerous. It eats up prejudices and devours hate. The House Committee has taken the offensive against truth. It is trying to silence the writers and artists and political leaders who are most adept at carrying truth to the people. It is trying to intimidate into silence the professors, teachers, scientists, and ordinary citizens who like to speak the truth. It is receiving whole-hearted assistance from the craven men of the motion picture industry. It will receive similar assistance from the "big money men" on the Boards of Trustees of Universities and Colleges. The Un-American Committee is a fortress for the defense of Jim Crow.

I should like to dwell for just a moment on the subject of the motion picture industry. It will help explain my thesis that we are too often on the defensive.

I can remember - sometime back - joining with others in protesting to the movie industry against the use of certain stereotype characters of Negroes and Jews and other minorities. We pointed out that these portrayals - these stereotypes - helped to perpetuate prejudices. Although this accomplished some good it was essentially a defensive act. We have not been equally vigorous in demanding positive contributions from the motion picture industry toward the elimination of prejudice.

The movie industrialists buckled under to the Thomas-Rankin Committee because they feared for their markets. They thought the American public would condemn Hollywood for harboring progressives. They worried that the people would boycott movies, even though no evidence of subversion had been uncovered.

Yes, the movie magnates worry about their markets. Like many other huge industrialists they value profit above human needs. I think it is time that we talk to them in their own terms.

Let them use the full powers at their disposal in the fight for the abolition of segregation and discrimination - or let them feel the organized resistance of millions of white and Negro Americans. Let them know that we shall not support an industry which is afraid of fundamental American principles. Let them show the same respect for freedom - loving Americans that they have shown for that defender of the Klan, John Rankin, and his compatriot, J. Parnell Thomas. If we can't get results by appeals to principle, let us talk in language they understand - in the language of box office dollars. Other groups have found it

possible to get results from these profit-mad moguls. It is time for our counter-offensive. An industry truly interested in the dramatic arts, in the defense of American liberty, and in legitimate box office receipts can find no richer source of material than in the successful struggles of groups of Negro citizens and individual Negro leaders.

The fight against the House Un-American Committee and all congressmen who abuse their powers is a major battle for all Americans, white and Negro.

Many of you remember the war-time activities of one Andrew J. May, a congressman from Kentucky. You remember that he used his powers as Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee for private profit. But the act of Andrew May's which was far more despicable, the act for which he was not convicted in court nor even in the public press, came at the peak of the war. The few dollars of profiteering for which he was sentenced caused the people no irreparable harm, but his actions in stopping the distribution to troops of scientific material to combat prejudice - specifically the pamphlet "races of the mankind" - was a crime of enormous implications.

Such abuses of power are all too frequent. Some are publicized; many more go by virtually unnoticed. They are the truly subversive, un-American activities. ---- When I speak of taking the offensive, I mean that we must pin the label of subversive where it properly belongs. We must pin it on the Rankins, Coxes, and the others who breed prejudice and defend segregation and discrimination. They are the enemies in our midst.

The New Deal administrations were accused by the southern poll taxers of going beyond the southern doctrine of "gradualism" in helping to improve the living conditions of the Negro people. By comparison with our needs at this period of history, the New Deal record looks like "gradualism" itself.

In reviewing our record and in charting a course for a more successful and productive future. We must recognize that the problems of the Negro people are fundamentally the problems of all workers, farmers, small businessmen, and professional people. We must recognize that the problems of the south are vital problems of the entire nation. We have known these facts. We have spoken them. But too often we have acted as though they were problems separate and apart.

It is four score and seven years ago since we were forced to act upon the fundamental premise that this nation could not survive half-slave and half free. Today we must act upon the equally fundamental premise that a strong and democratic America cannot be built, while that one-third of our people who live in the south, Negroes and whites alike, remain the common victims of an oppressive economic, political, and social system. It is a system which bears a striking resemblance to the hated fascism we so recently fought a war to destroy. It, too, must be uprooted.

The problems of the Negro people lie at the very heart of the problem of the south; and the problems of the south are basic to the critical problems of our entire nation.

The problem of John Rankin is not a problem for the south alone. It is certainly not a problem for Negro southerners alone. Rankin is the enemy of

the entire nation. He holds a powerful seat in congress by virtue of very few thousand votes. In that seat he has the opportunity to pervert his congressional powers to the detriment of the entire nation. Is the attorney-general truly interested in cataloguing subversive organizations and individuals? I doubt it. But, if he is, he might head his list with the cabal of southern congressmen and their backers who maintain Jim Crow and attack the fundamental rights of all Americans to free speech and assembly and free ballots.

The cancerous disease of race hate, which bears so heavily upon Negro citizens, and at the same time drags the masses of southern white citizens into the common quagmire of poverty and ignorance and political servitude is not an isolated problem to be attacked completely apart from our other national problems. It is part of an ever more dominant philosophy of dollars above men, of property values over human values. The Jim Crow system pays handsome profits to a small number of men in positions of economic and political power. Jim Crow divides white and Negro for the profit of the few. It is a very profitable system, indeed.

We have only to examine the wages paid to white and Negro workers in southern agriculture and industry to see how profitable this system is. We find, of course, that Negro workers receive many millions of dollars less pay than the same number of white men doing similar jobs. But that is only part of the profits from Jim Crow. We look further and find that southern white workers receive far lower wages than their brothers in the north. It is then that we get some measure of the tremendous fortunes which are wrung out of the hides of white workers by a system which divides Negro and white and increases the exploitation of both. America's trade unions must be strengthened for they are trying to fight Jim Crow.

Jim Crowism puts many millions of extra dollars every year into the pockets of the owners and rulers of the south. It is "good business" for the few; but it means ignorance, disenfranchisement, poverty, undernourishment, disease, terror, and death for the many.

During the past decade, because of the war and other emergencies, we have pulled our punches in the fight against the money-changers and monopolists. F D R waged that fight, magnificently and successfully in the middle thirties; and it is a fight which must be resumed. The war-time recess in this fight is part of the reason for our failure to make headway in the fight against Jim Crow. The fight against monopoly dominance is at the very core of the fight to abolish segregation. The extended armistice in the fight against monopoly has delayed the end of colonial rule over the south. We have known that those who profit from the traffic in human misery in the south are not exclusively southerners. We have known tnat the big Wall Street interests dominate the southern economy. We have known that our fight for justice in the south is doomed to fail unless we carry the bigger fight. We must act on this knowledge.

As we take the offensive to lick Jim Crow, we must keep our eyes on the principal opposition - the big interests for whom Jim Crow is profitable. We must not be distracted into fights against their other victims, their tools - the prejudiced and bigoted workers and farmers and small business people who have been so warped by their economic masters that they do not respond to principled appeals. We must talk to these sad victims in language they understand. If they see a

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clear picture of the concentration of economic power in Wall Street if they see clearly Wall Street's domination of Washington; and if they can be made to see the high day-to-day cost they pay for a system of Jim Crow, we shall win strong allies in our fight against Jim Crow. The freedom of all workers, farmers, small businessmen, and professional people, north and south, white and Negro, rests on our fight to destroy Jim Crow. In waging our fight we must, I repeat, concentrate on the sources of trouble and not perpetuate divisions between workers and others. The peace of the world depends in no small measure on a successful fight here at home to make American practices conform to American principles.

The full democratic power of our government must be used to enlarge and protect the lives and liberties of those millions. Both white and Negro, who are now the common victims of Jim Crow. The new session of Congress must take positive steps to extend to all the people of the south their constitutional right to vote, regardless of race, creed, or economic status. The whole network of devices by which the masses of common people in the south are kept from the polls must be utterly and completely destroyed. We can't demand free elections in the Balkans and be passive about restrictions to suffrage here at home. It is time for the President to use the power and influence of his office to help win free elections for the people of the south. The Department of Justice must use its full resources to put a stop to the whole bagful of tricks by which southern registrars and other officials deny Negro citizens the right to vote.

The Republican Party, controlling, the present Congress, must be reminded of its 1944 convention pledge to outlaw the poll tax barrier to free elections in America.

The 1948 election must see the greatest outpouring of southern white and Negro voters in all our history. It will take immense courage to challenge Jim Crow. But the time to strike is now.

The time has come to demand action from the bi-partisan coalition which is so concerned with freedom abroad and so oblivious to the needs for greater freedom at home. It is time for action to defend Americans at home. Such action is more essential to the maintenance of peace than the defense of American corporations abroad.

The admirable report of the Special Committee on Civil Rights is not action; it is no more than a welcome prelude to action. It must not be pigeonholed. We need no further investigations --- we didn't need this one --- to know that a federal anti-lynch law is a necessity. The time is long past when we liberal Americans can be pacified with reports and promises of action. Our readiness to accept reports in place of action is one of the big reasons for our failure to be fully effective in the fight against Jim Crow.

Lynchings, serving to intimidate Negro Americans, may be useful to those who would keep some of our people submerged; but none of them dare defend lynching openly.

Address by
HENRY A. WALLACE
Before the National Convention of
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity- Pg. #6

December 28, 1947

The contention that a federal anti-lynching law violates states rights has no validity. The power of our federal government is used to interfere in the internal affairs of half the countries in the world; it can certainly be used to defend Americans at home.

Poll taxes and lynch laws are only two of the hateful devices used to maintain Jim Crow which must be completely destroyed. No less important is positive action to enlarge and equalize the educational opportunities of American children - especially in the south.

We cannot rest easily with a shameful picture you know better than I - the picture of dilapidated and barren Negro school houses in most of the rural south; the poorly paid teachers, the extremely meager - or non-existent school transportation facilities; the scores of southern counties where there are absolutely no high school facilities for Negroes, and the severely limited and sub-standard college and professional facilities. We can't rest with that picture and the almost equally sordid picture of the educational facilities for white children in much of the south.

That great historic hoax called "separate but equal" Negro schools must be ended. There is not, and there never can be, equality of educational opportunity in a system of segregated schools. This system is not only an impossible drain on the financial resources of the south, but it is a system which is intended to deliberately maintain suspicion and hatred between Negro and white and to keep the masses of both people in virtual ignorance. The Supreme Court, as well as the Congress, must discard the doctrine of substantial equality.

I realize full well that the administration of public education in the states is beyond the scope of federal legislative control, but the federal government can and must make tremendous contributions toward enlarging and equalizing educational opportunities through appropriations to the states. Such grants-in-aid must be made under a plan sufficiently rigid to prevent discrimination. Many a white American, eager to help the Negro people, has insisted that education is essential. Some have used "lack of education" as an excuse for present atrocious conditions; with others it is a genuine belief of the need for greater education. In any case, all proponents of more education must be enlisted in the fight for adequate federal aid. From an administration which demands an annual expenditure of two million dollars for an outrageous program of compulsory military training we must demand the dollars which can enlarge and equalize educational opportunities in the south and in rural areas in other sections of the nation.

The abolition of the educational props to Jim Crow must be accompanied by an end to the widespread employment discriminations, which now bar millions of Negroes, Jews, Catholics, and foreign-born Americans from decent jobs.

During the war, under Franklin Roosevelt, our federal government began a serious attack upon the problem of discrimination in employment. The vital and struggling fair employment practice committee did heroic work in opening up job opportunities. But now, like so much that Roosevelt fought hard to build, the FEPC has been allowed to die - almost without a struggle. Peacetime employment is reverting again to the widespread discrimination on grounds of race, creed, and National origin.

Address by
HENRY A. WALLACE
Before the National Convention of
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity- Pg. #7

December 28, 1947

President Truman did, indeed, ask the Congress for permanent FEPC legislation. Yet no observer on Capitol Hill has seen the power which the Administration can command thrown into a serious fight to guarantee the adoption of a permanent FEPC law. Nor, indeed, has any action been taken to combat the job discrimination which exists under the President's nose in the administrative departments of government. The thousands of Negro federal employees, who held good jobs during the war, are rapidly disappearing from the scene. There are many federal agencies which have become notorious for their job discrimination against Negro workers.

I have said many times - and I say again - that the President does not have to wait upon Congress to correct this sordid condition. If he can proclaim so-called "loyalty oath" witch-hunts against civil service workers who show the least tinge of progressive thought then he can, if he really wants to, proclaim an executive order barring discrimination in federal employment.

I would remind you, too, of another broken platform pledge solemnly proclaimed at the Republican Convention in 1944. It was the promise to pass permanent FEPC legislation if the Republicans got control of Congress. They now have such control.

It is obvious, I think, that we - both white and Negro - have pulled too many punches in our past fights against Jim Crow. This must stop. We have every moral principle and every economic and social fact on our side. There is no reason to compromise or relent in the fight against Jim Crow.

There is a particularly hateful expression, used innocently at times by many white Americans --- it is a line about "The Great White Hope". I say to you and to those who speak of "White Hopes" that the true white hope is a well-organized, intelligently-directed Negro minority fighting for full justice. The measure of success or failure of American democracy can be found at all times in the conditions of our thirteen million Negro citizens. The great Negro organizations - fraternal, social, economic, and political - have greater powers than they have ever used. I beg of you - do not compromise. You are indebted to no one for the crumbs of justice you have been thrown. Gratitude should be reserved for genuine favors; not idly bestowed for simple justice.

As we enter one of the most critical years in world history, we must overcome our weaknesses in order to fight successfully. We must distinguish between words and deeds:

"What doth it profit, my brethren, if a man say he hath faith, but have not works? Can that faith save him if a brother or sister be naked, and in lack of daily food, and one of you say unto them, go in peace, be ye warm and filled; and yet he give them not the things needful to the body; what doth it profit?.... Faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself." (James)

Before I take leave of this audience - and in thanking Alpha Phi Alpha for the opportunity to address you - let me say that I am haunted by a single, grim fact-pulled out of dry statistics as I prepared an address some months back:

Address by
HENRY A. WALLACE
Before the National Convention of
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity- Pg. #8

December 28, 1947

It is the fact that a Negro child born this day has a life expectancy ten years less than that of a white child born a few miles away.

I say that those ten years - those ten extra years for millions of Americans are what we are fighting for, I say that those who stand in the way of the health, education, housing and social security programs which would erase that gap commit murder. I say that those who perpetuate Jim Crow are criminals. I pledge you that I shall fight them with everything I have.

END

222-8

6 May 1947

Gentlemen:

I have just made over the telephone a reservation from New York to Little Rock, Arkansas, Flight 207, leaving at seven a. m., Monday, May twenty-sixth. I should like also to make a reservation for returning: Flight 206, leaving Little Rock, May twenty-ninth at 10:30 a. m., or the next best flight if that is not scheduled.

I am enclosing my check for $134.78.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

American Airlines
100 East 42nd Street
New York City

7 January 1947

My dear Mr. Eichelberger:

I propose to attend the meeting January 15th. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has prepared a petition to the United Nations on the rights of Negroes in the United States. The main chapters have been written by three lawyers of standing and a professor of history. The introduction and summary has been written by me as editor. If it is consonance with your plans, I should like not more than ten minutes to present this matter to your meeting January 15th. I am enclosing a copy of the petition for your information but not for publicity as many typographical changes are yet to be made.

22-13-9

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger
American Association for the United Nations, Inc.
45 East 65th Street
New York 21, New York

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE
45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N.Y.

MAJOR DECISIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY SESSION
September 16 to November 29, 1947

PALESTINE -- Partition plan adopted, 33 to 13 with 10 abstentions and 1 absence, after long debate and series of parliamentary maneuvers, during which Arab League states fought bitterly against partition. Under plan, Palestine is divided into separate Arab and Jewish states, with Jerusalem and environs becoming an international zone with a special regime under United Nations Trusteeship Council. Arab state will include coastal regions of Acre in north and Gaza in south, part of western Negeb, most of Samaria and an enclave in Jewish state containing the port city of Jaffa. Jewish state will comprise central coastal plain including Haifa and Tel Aviv, eastern part of upper Galilee and most of Negeb region. British troops are to leave Palestine by Aug. 1 as Britain relinquishes League of Nations mandate.

BALKANS -- Special committee created (representatives of Australia, Brazil, China, France, Mexico, Netherlands, Pakistan, United Kingdom and United States, with seats held open for Soviet Union and Poland) to maintain watch on Greece's northern border, with headquarters in Salonika; to observe compliance by Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia with Assembly's recommendation that they cooperate in peaceful settlement of disputes and to be available to assist the four governments concerned in implementing such recommendations. Slav bloc is boycotting committee.

KOREA -- Korean people called upon to elect representatives to take part in United Nations discussions looking to Korea's independence. Commission (representatives of Australia, Canada, China, El Salvador, France, India, Philippines, Syria and Ukraine) to go to Korea and supervise elections, to be held not later than next March 31 by secret ballot and adult suffrage. Korea's National Assembly to convene as soon as possible after elections and form national government. Soviet proposal for simultaneous withdrawal of United States and Russian troops was rejected. Soviet bloc has announced boycott of commission and all matters related to it.

LITTLE ASSEMBLY -- Interim Committee of Assembly established to function until next session. It will consider matters referred to it by Assembly; any dispute or situation brought before Assembly or Security Council, requiring preliminary study and rated as "important" by two-thirds vote of Assembly; methods of implementing Charter provisions on general principles of cooperation in maintenance of peace; whether special Assembly session is required in connection with any matter before it. May conduct investigations and appoint commissions of inquiry, but not without consent of states in which inquiry would take place. Will report to next Assembly on advisability of permanent Little Assembly. Slav bloc has declared boycott of committee.

VETO -- Problem of Security Council veto was referred to newly constituted Little Assembly for study, in consultation with any committee that Security Council may designate, a report on its conclusions to be made by next July 15. Also permanent members of Security Council were asked to consult on measures to insure "prompt and effective exercise" of Council's functions.

SOUTH AFRICA -- Proposal to ask India, Pakistan and South Africa to hold round-table discussion with view to settling dispute over treatment of Indians in South Africa failed to obtain two-thirds vote required for adoption. A similar proposal, with added proviso that dispute be referred to International Court as last resort, was rejected.

SPAIN -- Assembly expressed "confidence that the Security Council would exercise its responsibilities under the Charter as soon as it considers that the situation in regard to Spain so requires." A paragraph in the resolution, reaffirming last year's recommendation that all members recall the heads of diplomatic missions to Franco Spain failed to get required two-thirds vote and was deleted.

22-21

WAR PROPAGANDA -- In toned-down version of Soviet proposal to prosecute "warmongers," Assembly called on member nations to take steps to promote friendly relations and "to encourage dissemination of all information designed to give expression to the undoubted desire of all peoples for peace." Condemned all forms of propaganda designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to or breach of peace or act of aggression. Another resolution asked nations to study measures to combat diffusion of false or distorted reports likely to injure friendly relations.

WAR CRIMINALS -- Recommended that nations continue "with unabated energy" to carry out responsibilities concerning surrender and trial of war criminals; that request for surrender be supported with evidence as to identity and guilt and that trials be governed "by principles of justice, law and evidence." Rejected harsher Yugoslav proposal to censure "certain governments" for failing to carry out responsibilities in this field.

NEW MEMBERS -- Pakistan and Yemen admitted as fifty-sixth and fifty-seventh member states. Following Soviet veto of Ireland, Portugal, Trans-Jordan, Italy, Finland and Austria, asked Security Council to reconsider these nations' applications; also recommended that permanent members of Security Council consult with a view to reaching agreement on applications and asked International Court of Justice for opinion on whether member nation is entitled, as Soviet Union did, to subject its assent to an applicant's admission to the condition that other states be admitted at same time.

ELECTIONS -- Elected Argentina, Canada and Ukraine to Security Council for two years, starting next Jan.1, to succeed Brazil, Australia and Poland. Re-elected United Kingdom and Soviet Union to Economic and Social Council and chose Australia, Brazil, Denmark and Poland to replace Cuba, Czechoslovakia, India and Norway. Elected Philippines and Costa Rica as additional members of Trusteeship Council.

TRUSTEESHIP -- Assembly approved trusteeship agreement for Pacific isle of Nauru, submitted by United Kingdom, New Zealand and Australia. Also urged Union of South Africa to submit trusteeship agreement for former German colony of South-West Africa; a similar resolution, passed last year after South Africa lost fight for permission to incorporate territory, had been ignored. Likewise adopted standard form for summaries and analyses of information submitted by administering nations annually concerning non-self-governing territories. Assembly declined to call on members to transmit data on political development of trust territories, but declared "voluntary" transmission should be noted and encouraged; it suggested that services of specialized agencies be made available to improve conditions in these territories.

TRADE UNIONS -- Affirming belief that "the inalienable right of trade union freedom of association is, as well as other social safeguards, essential to the improvement of the standard of living of workers and to their economic well-being," Assembly asked the International Labor Organization to "pursue urgently" study of international machinery to safeguard such rights.

22-a)

CHILDREN -- People of all countries were urged to cooperate toward success of United Nations appeal for children, which aims to succor young in war-stricken regions. Assembly also commended work of International Children's Emergency Fund and drew attention of member nations to its critical needs.

REFUGEES -- Nations were urged to adopt urgent measures for early return of repatriable refugees and displaced persons to their countries of origin and for absorbing a fair share of non-repatriable refugees and displaced persons; Assembly also called on nations not to aid or protect individuals or organizations promoting illegal immigration.

GENOCIDE -- Reinforcing action taken last year, Assembly asked Economic and Social Council to proceed with completion of convention to outlaw crime of genocide without awaiting comments on draft convention from every member state.

WORLD COURT -- United Nations organs urged to designate for review points of law within jurisdiction of International Court of Justice that have arisen in their activities, including legal points related to interpretation of Charter. Trusteeship Council authorized to seek Court's advisory opinions on questions within council's scope. All nations asked to submit legal disputes to Court and to accept compulsory jurisdiction if they have not already done so.

INTERNATIONAL LAW -- International Law Commission created to work on progressive development and codification of international law. Fifteen expert members to be appointed at next Assembly session; Secretariat will lay groundwork meanwhile. Commission was instructed to prepare draft declaration on rights and duties of states, to formulate principles recognized in Charter and judgment of Nuremberg tribunal and to prepare a draft code of offenses against peace and security. Member nations were called upon to extend teaching of international law in all its phases.

TEACHING -- Member nations were urged to take steps to include in their educational systems teaching of purposes and principles of Charter and structure, background and activities of United Nations.

WHITE SLAVERY -- Approved protocols transferring to UN functions and powers exercised by League of Nations to suppress traffic in women and children and in obscene publications and urged that all nations sign them and enforce them pending their entry into force.

TREATIES -- Attention of member states drawn to Charter provision that no treaty or international agreement not registered with and published by Secretariat may be invoked before any United Nations organ.

HEADQUARTERS -- General plan and design for permanent headquarters on East River site in Manhattan approved. Secretary General authorized to negotiate agreement on $65,000,000 interest-free loan provisionally offered by U.S. Advisory committee (representatives of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, France, Greece, India, Norway, Poland, Syria, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia) appointed to assist in planning and construction. Secretary General also authorized to bring into force agreement with U.S. on U.N. privileges and immunities in temporary and permanent headquarters.

22-21

BUDGET -- Appropriations for 1948 set at $34,825,195 an increase of $6,208,627 over 1947, after stringent economy drive. Working capital fund maintained at $20,000,000 and rules for its use adopted. Scale of members' contributions to budget approved, ranging from .04 per cent for many of the small countries to 39.89 for the U.S.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES -- Agreements were approved bringing these specialized agencies into relationship with UN: World Health Organization, Universal Postal Union, Universal Telecommunications Union, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Monetary Fund.

AVIATION -- Approved in principle admission of Italy and Austria to International Civil Aviation Organization.

COMMUNICATIONS -- Secretary General was authorized to proceed with negotiations to obtain wavelengths, call signs, rights and privileges for operation of a telecommunications system; also to study the administrative, financial and technical implications of a United Nations postal service.

U. N. DAY -- Oct. 24, anniversary of Charter's coming into force. All member nations urged to observe it.

NEXT SESSION -- Assembly's third regular session opening on Sept. 21, 1948, to be held in Paris, France.

Reprinted from The New York Times
November 30, 1947.

Butler, Pa.
Accession No. 1105

[American Ass'n of University Women - Butler Branch

601 E. Pearl Street
Butler, Penna.
November 13, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 W. Fortieth Street
New York 18, N. Y.

22-11-105

My dear Dr. DuBois:

We are looking forward to your lecture of December 3. Last night we had a splendid talk by Dr. Chan of Dartmouth. Yours will be the last of our series.

Concerning arrangements for your entertainment, Miss Kerber, one of our domestic science teachers, is planning a little dinner party at her home at 6:30 (address - 210 Oak St.)

then she and her brother will be glad to have you stay for the night. I called the Wilson, our best hotel, and was told that they will accommodate you, but Miss Gerber had already gone ahead with her plans.

As to accommodations in Pittsburgh, I'm not sure, but I suggest that you write to Mr. Harmon of the Center Avenue Y.M.C.A. and he will make reservations for you, I'm sure.

Some of us will meet you at the bus terminal, if you let

us know at what time you are coming.

Would you like to speak to a high school group in the afternoon? We have about 1700 in our Senior high school and 850 in the junior high building.

I am going to do the introducing — if there is anything in particular that you wish me to say or not to say, please let me know, I have sufficient publicity material, I think.

Yours truly,

(Miss) Lila A. Adams

[AAUW-Butler, Pa.]

Dust
Comm 11-28-47 lt

Butler, Penna.
November 25, 1947

22-11-186

My dear Dr. DuBois:

We understand your feelings about a dinner party and have arranged a quiet supper for you in the home of Mrs. Bean, our president. Dr. Bean is principal of the Senior High School and they have a little daughter of six. They may invite one or two others, but I assure you that it will be a quiet but very interested and sympathetic group. The Beans are charming and gracious folks.

I am reserving a room at the Nixon Hotel for the night of December 3, which you may cancel if you decide to return to Pittsburgh that night. Miss Gerber has had to cancel both dinner party and entertainment because of a bad fall, resulting in

BUTLER

HARMONY.
SHORT LINE

10th one

Route 8

. . . . a sprained ankle and knee.

Now - a few items about Butler. We are thirty miles north of Pittsburgh on Route 8. There is hourly bus service, the buses leaving Pittsburgh via Harmony - Short Line (station on Tenth Avenue in Pittsburgh) about a quarter of the hour and arriving in Butler at ten minutes after the hour. The Nixon Hotel is three blocks from the station - near the Court House.

Our population is around 25,000, with another 10,000 in the surrounding suburbs of which Lyndora, made up of Slavic and German peoples, a few Italians, is the largest. There are possibly 200-250 Jews and about the same number of Negroes in Butler and vicinity. Butler is known

as a "church town", very conservative and predominantly Republican. The Presbyterians outnumber all other Protestant denominations, and about one third of the people are Catholic.

We have no particular race or religious problem, but I think there are many strongly prejudiced. We are anticipating a straight-forward talk about Color and Democracy and you will find a sympathetic audience. We have been having from 350 - 450 in attendance.

I shall call you at the Nixon a little after four (and I hope that this note reaches you in time.)

Sincerely,

(Miss) Lila A. Adams

[AAUW - Butler, Pa] [Nov. 1947]

Memo . . .

To Dr. Du Bois

from

W. E. B. DU BOIS

33a-12

Trains to Butler, Pa, from Pittsburgh, Pa., go via Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, as follows:

Leave Pittsburgh

9:00 A. M.

10:00 P. M.

These are the only two trains, and the information clerk suggested travel by bus, since Butler is only 53 miles from Pittsburgh. (The Greyhound Company was unable to furnish me with a bus schedule between Pittsburgh and Butler)

Smythe

SCHULTE PRESS, Inc. CHelsea 2-0326 0327 119 W. 23rd ST., NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

[AAUW-Butler, Pa.]

December 18, 1947

22-11-107

Miss Lila A. Adams:
601 East Pearl Street
Butler, Pennsylvania

My dear Miss Adams:

May I thank you very much for the pleasant stop which I had in Butler. I enjoyed the occasion and I am only sorry that I did not have more time to get acquainted with the people there. I did not expect you to pay my hotel bill, and I stayed over an extra day in order to make better connections out of Pittsburgh. I should be very glad to refund the extra charge.

Please give my best regards to the School Principal and his wife, who gave the dinner. My best regards to Miss Gerber and I hope that she has quite recovered.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

11 April 1947

22-23-37

Gentlemen:

I expect to arrive in New York from Chicago, April fifteenth about five o'clock. If I am on time, I will try to attend the cocktail part in honor of Mr. Soetan Sjahsam and Mr. Dasaad. If I am too late, I shall be sorry not to be there.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

American Committee for Indonesian Independence
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Indonesia

2 September 1947

22-23-36

My dear Miss:

In accordance with your letter of August 28th I am returning the checks with my endorsement and also the proposed letter. In the future I should rather that my name should not be used as treasurer, at least not alone. I have not sufficient financial standing to take such a responsibility. I am of course more than willing to cooperate in any other way for Indonesian Independence.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Eleanor Lebsky
American Committee for
Indonesian Independence
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

[American Committee for Indonesian Independence]

ACTION CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA

144 BLEEKER STREET • NEW YORK 12, N. Y.

Telephone MUrray Hill 6-6860

Auspices:

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE

UNITED ACTION FOR A FREE INDONESIA

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DECEMBER 6, 1947 • 1-5:30 P. M.
HOTEL DIPLOMAT, 108 WEST 43 ST.

November 17, 1947.

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

May I take this opportunity, on behalf of the Action Conference on Indonesia, to thank you for becoming one of the sponsors of the Conference.

Naturally, we will make every effort to make the Conference a success, and that means, of course, to have it become the first step in a series of activities to acquaint many additional Americans with the facts about relations between the United States and Indonesia, and the need to build friendly relations between the two peoples.

We sincerely trust that it will be possible for you to attend the Conference personally and participate in its deliberations. To facilitate arrangements at the Conference, would you please return the enclosed postcard.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Lebsky

Eleanor Lebsky
Secretary

EL:ss
encl

UOPWA-16

22-238

[American Committee for Indonesian Independence]

ACTION CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA

144 BLEEKER STREET • NEW YORK 12, N. Y.

Telephone MUrray Hill 6-6860

Auspices:

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE

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GENE WELTFISH

DECEMBER 6, 1947 • 1-5:30 P. M.
HOTEL DIPLOMAT, 108 WEST 43 ST.

Dear Friend:

We call your attention to the enclosed Call to an ACTION CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA, December 6, 1:00 to 5:30 in the afternoon, at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43 Street.

The Conference will attempt to strengthen the ties among the various groups which believe that Indonesia has the right to full independence NOW, and feel that the policy of the United States Government has been rather to support Dutch attacks on the young Indonesian Republic.

This policy has led to a disasterous situation. Since July 20 last, the Dutch have launched and sustained full-scale attacks upon the Indonesian Republic, which was granted recognition a few months previous. Military action has continued despite two Security Council cease-fire orders. The United States, as Chairman of the three-nation Security Council Commission now meeting with representatives of the Indonesian Republic and the Netherlands to work out a lasting peace, can use its great influence either to support the Dutch further in their efforts to destroy the Indonesian Republic and thus spread war, or to recognize the legitimate right of the Indonesians to a Government of their choice, and support peace.

We therefore urge Indonesians and Americans interested in the Indonesian cause and peace generally to attend the Conference and join in formulating a Program of Action that will hasten the development of a democratic American policy toward Indonesia. The Conference will be only the first step in building an informed American public opinion about the great cultural and political advances made by Indonesia.

We respectfully urge that you and your organization consider this at the earliest moment, and send in your registration quickly. Since the work of calling the Conference requires considerable funds, we trust you or your organization will be able to make a substantial contribution. Please make checks payable to the ACTION CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA. Thanking you for your cooperation, we remain,

Sincerely yours

Ian Rhemes
Ian Rhemes
United Action for
a Free Indonesia

Dirk J. Struik
Dirk J. Struik
American Committee for
Indonesian Independence

uopwa/16

[American Education Fellowship]

The University of Chicago
CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS
The Department of Education

THE LABORATORY SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

May 20, 1947

Professor W.E.B. DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Professor DuBois:

I am writing you on behalf of the American Education Fellowship (formerly the Progressive Education Association) to solicit your participation in the National Convention of Fellowship to be held here in Chicago on November 27-29.

22-12-48

As you probably know, the Fellowship has for many years been the nucleus of liberal and progressive thought and action in American education affairs. The organization has never been large but its influence has been substantial. At the moment the threat to the liberal point of view in education and in American life generally is unmistakable. We hope, therefore, to make the National Convention a rallying point for people of liberal mind.

The general theme of the Convention is to be "Education for Democratic Human Relations". At the general session on Friday morning, November 28, we are planning two major presentations. One is to be on the subject "A World Save for Differences". The second which we should like you to discuss is "No Second-Class Citizens". In the first we look for a discussion of differences which are significant and worthwhile and which should be preserved. We should like to have you present the other side of the problem; namely, those differences among peoples which are unnecessary or unimportant and which impede effective human relations.

I hope that your sympathies lie with our undertaking and that your calendar will permit you to take part in the program. I hope that an honorarium of $250 and expenses will add such inducement as money can add to my pleading.

Sincerely yours,

Warren C. Seyfert

Warren C. Seyfert
Chairman, Program Committee
A.E.F. Convention

WCS:vw

[American Education Fellowship]

lecture

2 June 1947

My dear Mr. Seyfert:

Answering your letter of May 20th, may I say that I shall be very glad to speak on "No Second-Class Citizens" Friday morning, November 28th at the National Convention of Fellowship.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Warren C. Seyfert
The University of Chicago
Chicago, 37, Illinois

[American Education Fellowship]

The University of Chicago

CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

The Department of Education

Lecture

THE LABORATORY SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

June 4, 1947

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

22-12-49

I was delighted no end to receive your letter in which you said that you would be able to address the National Convention of the American Education Fellowship. You may be interested to know that the other speaker at the session which you are to address is to be Professor Goodwin Watson who is going to talk on the subject " A World Safe for Differences". With you and Mr. Watson on the same program, we surely have lined up an extremely fine session.

I shall, of course, be getting in touch with you from time to time to keep you familiar with the general development of the program. If you have any questions about arrangements, I shall be very glad to try to answer them. Incidentally, the Convention is being held here at the Hotel Stevens, so if you care to do so, you might make application for accommodations there. It probably will help to mention the fact that you are coming in connection with our Convention.

Sincerely yours,

Warren C. Seyfert

Warren C. Seyfert
Chairman, Program Committee
A.E.F. Convention

WCS:vw

AMERICAN EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP
11 EAST WALTON PLACE CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

Publishers of PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

President
JOHN J. De BOER

November 11, 1947

22-11-61

Mr. W. E. DuBois
Director of the Department of
Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The members and friends of the American Education Fellowship are eagerly looking forward to hearing your lecture on November 28th.

I would very much appreciate receiving two advance copies of your paper. Could these be mailed so that I would receive them by November 24th? I hope this will not rush you too much.

Looking forward to meeting you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frances R. Horwich

Frances R. Horwich
Conference Chairman
Roosevelt College
430 South Michigan Ave
Chicago, Illinois

FRH:pad

November 14, 1947

Miss Frances R. Horwich
American Education Fellowship
11 Walton Place
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Miss Horwich: Your letter to Dr. DuBois concerning copies of his speech, which he is to deliver on November 28, arrived after his departure from the city. I regret to say that he will not return to his desk until mid-December. Therefore, I am afraid you will not be able to obtain copies of his address until he arrives in Chicago.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

November 29, 1947

Mr. Warren C. Seyfert
Department of Education
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

22-12-59

Dear Mr. Seyfert:

I am enclosing a notation of my expenses. I am not sure just which of these should be included, but you will know.

May I thank you very much for the opportunity of speaking for the Fellowship.

Very sincerely yours,

The University of Chicago

The Department of Education

THE LABORATORY SCHOOL

December 8, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, New York

22-12-58

Dear Dr. DuBois,

One of my great regrets in connection with the Convention of the American Education Fellowship was that I did not have more time to become better acquainted with you. Everyone at the meetings, however, has been loud in his praise of the contribution which you made. It was most gracious of you to spend the time and thought which you obviously gave to the paper you read to us.

Thank you for sending me your statement of expenses. I have sent the bill on to the proper authorities and you should be reimbursed shortly. Of course, my experience with the organizations of this sort is that there usually is some delay in getting those together and getting them paid, but I hope the delay will not be excessive.

Thank you again for helping us with our programs.

Sincerely,

Warren C. Seyfert

WCS:do

Warren C. Seyfert

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

NOVEMBER, 1947 Vol. 25, No. 2

32.25.62

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Reentered as second class matter October 25, 1944 at the Post office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879

WELCOME, PROGRESSIVE!

By John J. DeBoer

President, American Education Fellowship.

The convention of progressives in American education at the Stevens Hotel, Thanksgiving Day, 1947, will be noted with the keenest interest by educators and laymen of all shades of opinion in every part of the country. It is now a long time since the spokesmen of Progressive Education have been heard from in an organized, official manner. The platforms and discussion chambers will reveal what has been the drift of progressive thinking in American education in the years when the Fellowship was compelled to forego its traditional, brilliant national conferences.

The occasion will be especially dramatic because the meeting takes place at a time when a full-scale offensive has been lanuched against progressives in every field of human endeavor. In a sense, this convention may be thought of as a counterattack against the thought-controllers and the reactionaries in American society.

One cannot predict what the progressives will say in their meetings. Some estimate can be made, however, on the basis of the program which has been prepared under the able leadership of Warren Seyfert. The general sessions will feature such men as David Lilienthal, Langston Hughes, Harold Rugg, Curtis McDougall, Ernest Melby, Theodore Brameld, W. E. B. DuBois, and others. These men do not agree on all points. But all of them will strike a clear and vigorous note in behalf of fundamental American liberties, of social and economic progress, and of peace.

The temper of the American Education Fellowship today, as it will be reflected in the general and section meetings, is one that calls for courageous advance. Refusing to accept the dominance of any of the political factions now engaged in mutual recrimination, it repudiates the spirit of witchhunting and convenient compromise with reaction. It calls for unified action against the evils and the perils that confront the people of the world today.

To all participants we extend cordial greetings, and the hope that they may find the meetings inspiring and rewarding.

National Conference

STEVENS HOTEL — CHICAGO
November 27, 28, 29, 1947

COOPERATING GROUPS

This conference has been planned and is being held with the full cooperation of:

1. Association for Family Living
2. National Association for Nursery Education
3. National Safety Council
4. West Towns Branch—American Education Fellowship
5. University of Chicago Branch — American Education Fellowship
6. Chicago Association for Childhood Education

COMMITTEES

The American Education Fellowship takes this means of expressing its appreciation to all who have assisted in building this Conference. The Following committee has served as an "Executive Committee" to integrate the plans of numerous sub-committees of the National Conference:

Executive Committee

Frances R. Horwich, *Chairman*

John J. DeBoer
Lester Ball
Nellie M. Merrick
Warren Seyfert
Wallace Sugden
Charles Butler
Harold Shane
Lester Ade
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Prudence Bostwick
Theodore Brameld
John J. DeBoer
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Gladys Willicutt

Hospitality Committee

Elizabeth Zimmerman, *Chairman*

Registration Committee

Willard Abraham, *Chairman*

Publicity Committee

Lester K. Ball
Pearl Drubeck

Membership Committee

Antoinette LaBrose, *Chairman*

REGISTRATION

Registration for the Conference officially opens at 4:00 p.m., Thursday, November 27th at the registration desk in the Exhibit Hall. Advance registration tickets not received through the mail should be called for at the registration desk.
Registration fees are the same for members and non-members of the Fellowship

Registration Fees

General	$3.50
Single Day	1.50
Single Session	.50
Student General	1.00
Student Single Day	.75
Student Single Session	.25
Luncheon Tickets	2.85

RECENT PAMPHLETS

Continued from Page 273

Leaders interested in adult education will find in this booklet specific accounts of a veteran - civilian discussion program carried on under the sponsorship of the New York Adult Education Council. The Council invited several organizations to establish discussion groups of twenty to thirty persons, about half veterans and half civilians where that was practicable.

"The Council felt that through this venture the nonveterans would have an opportunity to share the thoughts and experiences of the veterans, and in turn provide the veterans with information about issues that had arisen during their absence from the country. This free exchange of ideas might help prevent a gap between the veterans and the nonveterans; in fact, the two groups might find that their most serious problems were identical.

"The Council would at the same time be helping to develop a design for the small group discussion meeting. It was hoped that the experiences of this demonstration could be adapted throughout the United States, and would help hasten the day when more people would consider public issues carefully in the light of reason, rather than in the heat of blind passion."

The activities of several groups, with detailed accounts of how discussions were started, were carried on, and were evaluated, are set forth clearly for others who might be interested in such an adult - education project.

THE EVOLUTION OF SUSAN PRIM, a story developed by the Lincoln High and Elementary School Faculties. Tallahassee, Florida. 1944. 72 pp.

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 27

4:00 P. M. Registration and opening of exhibits—Exhibit Hall

8:15 P. M. General Session—Grand Ballroom
Chairman: Frances R. Horwich
Topic: "Communication and Human Relations"
Speakers: Mayor's Representative, Warren Seyfert, Langston Hughes
Platform Guests:
Edwin Embree, Director, Rosenwald Foundation
John J. DeBoer, President, American Education Fellowship

This program arranged and dramatized by the Chicago Unit of Stage for Action.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28

8:30 A.M. Registration Continued—Exhibit Hall

9:30 A.M. General Session—Grand Ballroom
Chairman: John Ivey, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Topic: "No Second Class Citizens"
Speaker: W. E. DuBois, Director of the Department of Special Research, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Topic: "A World Safe for Differences"
Speaker: Harold Rugg, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University
Platform Guests:
Ned Dearborn, National Safety Council
Edward J. Sparling, President, Roosevelt College
E. T. McSwain, Professor of Education, Northwestern University

11:15 A.M. - 12:30 P. M. Sectional Meetings

(1) Topic (Room 12): "How to Study and Interpret Pressure Points in Human Relations"
Chairman: Russell B. Babcock, Director, Department of Public Information and Education, Chicago
Speakers:
Joseph Kluchesky, Consultant on Police Training, American Council on Race Relations
Cornelius Golightly, Professor of Philosophy, Olivet College.
Joseph Lohman, Director of Race Relations, Julius Rosenwald Foundation

(2) Topic (PDR #1): "Developing Social Understanding Among Young Children"
Chairman: Evelyn Beyer, Director, Pre-School Activities, Rochester Child Health Project
Speaker: Margaret W. Gerard, M.D., Institute for Psychoanalysis, Chicago
Resource People:
Mary Elizabeth Keister, Principal, University of Chicago Nursery School
Frances R. Horwich, Chairman, Department of Education, Roosevelt College
Katherine Roberts, Psychologist, Rochester Child Health Project

(3) Topic (PDR #2): "Family Living: Key to Better Human Relationships"
Chairman: Lester Kirkendall, Director, Association for Family Living
Speaker: Ethel Kawin, Guidance Consultant, Glencoe Public Schools
Resource People:
Mrs. Aletha Coffman, Staff Member, Association for Family Living

MISS PARKER, THE NEW TEACHER, developed by the Moultrie High and Elementary School. Moultrie, Georgia. 1946. 72 pp.

The above pamphlets were developed in cooperation with the staff of THE SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDY OF THE ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES.

The value of having all members of a teaching staff and the students cooperate in improving school living is very apparent in each of two very readable "stories" of progress made by two southern schools that participated in the SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDY of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes.

Having experienced cooperative planning, participation in professional workshops, and new, lively, school activities, the faculty of each school, with advisors, decided to give their report of growth not in the usual pedagogical, factual manner, but in the personal narrative form which makes the content live.

These two illustrated, stimulating publications are valuable not only to school, "colleges, and teacher-training institutions which might be interested in the professional competencies teachers consider valuable," but to those concerned with methods of reporting school programs to the public.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY — PRACTICAL PREVENTION by Ben Solomon. Youth Service Inc., Peekskill, N. Y. 1947. 96 pp. $1.50.

Youth leaders entrusted with the guidance of young people will find in this booklet many practical suggestions for encouraging the wholesome growth of boys and girls.

"Ben Solomon, the author of this book, believes that the time has come—is long overdue—for

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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October 21, 1947

22-3-33

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your very prompt response to my request concerning the distribution of population according to color. The information you have given me is proving very helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Diana Bernstein

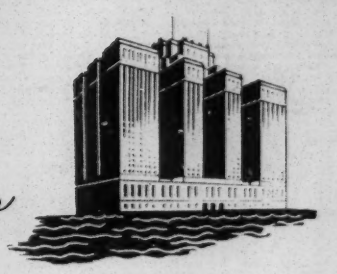
Diana Bernstein

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, New York

DB:bw

[American Jewish Congress]

The STEVENS Chicago



C. N. HILTON, *President* • ROBERT P. WILLIFORD, *Vice President*
R. F. QUAIN, *Manager*

NOV. 28, 1947
mid Dec 1, 1947
via air mail

Bill for Maslow
of Amer. Jewish Congress:

N.Y. Telegram, Nov 25	$1.84
N.Y. Phone call Nov 26	3.12
	$4.96

22-23

A Hilton Hotel

November 28, 1947

22-23-54

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
1834 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Maslow:

I have just heard from Dr. DuBois, and he asked me to write you as follows:

> I wired Dennis of the Liberian Delegation to the U. N. November 25, at 9:00 P. M., saying, "MAY I BEG YOU TO VOTE FOR PARTITION OF PALESTINE. I AM WAITING TO TALK TO YOU BY PHONE."
>
> On the 26th, at 8:00 A.M., I got him on the phone and talked. I did not get much satisfaction.

Doctor says he will send you the charges for the phone call and telegram later.

If there is anything further you feel we can do, please let us know. At this moment, 4:30 P.M., we are anxiously awaiting the results of the voting at the United Nations. We just called and found the balloting had not begun.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

American Jewish Congress

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22-23-35

December 1, 1947

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much indeed for your work with the Liberian Delegation.

Your secretary has reported that you found Mr. Dennis unsympathetic. However I am sure that every overture made to him helped in the final result - the affirmative vote cast by Liberia.

If I, or my organization, can ever repay this debt to you, please call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

Will Maslow

Will Maslow

WMrs

Smythe

American Jewish Congress

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212 WEST 50th ST. • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • CIRCLE 5-5434

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22-23

December 1, 1947

Mr. Hugh B. Smythe
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Thanks you very much for your letter of November 28th, and of December 1st. I enclose my check for $4.96 and would appreciate your giving it to Dr. DuBois.

I have already written him thanking him for the wonderful way in which he came to our help.

Sincerely yours,

Will Maslow

Will Maslow

Enclosure
WMrs

December 1, 1947

22-23

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
1834 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Maslow:

The following is the memorandum of a bill which I have just received from Dr. DuBois, who is still in the Middle West. The matter is self-explanatory:

New York, telegram,	November 25,	$1.84
New York, telephone,	November 26,	3.12
	Total	$4.96

This is in reference to his conferring with the delegation from Liberia on the Palestine matter.

We rejoice with you in the success of the partition plan.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

lecture

December 12, 1947

American Jewish Congress
1834 Broadway
New York, New York

Attention Mr. Schatz

Dear Mr. Schatz: I have finally been able to contact Dr. DuBois in regard to the Parkchester Rally in January. As you already know, Doctor is quite occupied and conditions make it impossible for him to meet all requests. However, he understands thoroughly the nature of your meeting and would like to find time to appear for you. However, out of sheer self-defense he is forced to charge a fee for his appearances. In your case he would be glad to come for $50.00

I am sure you understand the situation and can sympathize with Dr. DuBois' position. Thanking you for your courtesy, and awaiting your reaction, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

22-27

lecture

Check due

SPEAKERS' BUREAU
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
1834 Broadway
New York 23, New York

CONFIRMATION OF SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT

From: Speakers' Bureau To: **Dr. Du Bois** Date: **Dec. 19, 1947**
Nat'l Assoc. For the Advancement of Colored People

This will confirm the arrangements agreed upon for you to speak

on **January 21, 1948** (Date) **Wednesday** (day) **9:00 PM** (hour)

Auspices **Hadassah, PCA, AJC, ALP, Temple Emanuel, Rev. White**

Purpose of Meeting **Civil Rights Meeting** Size **500**

Person in Charge **Mr. Ben Sharaga**

Address **1590 Unionport Road, Bronx** Tel. **BA 7-5070**

Place of Meeting **Stardust Ballroom**

Address ~~**RKO Chester Theatre Building - West Farms Road and 177th Street**~~ CHESTER HOUSE (next to Macy's store in center of Parkchester)

Take IRT subway, Pelham Bay line, to Westchester square station

City **Bronx, N. Y.** State **N. Y.**

Subject of Address **"Civil Rights - a Pillar for American Democracy"**

Traveling Directions **Lexington-180th Street Bronx Park Train to 177th Street Station**

Lodging (out of town)

Costs **$50. Fee**

Thank you for your willingness to serve.

Signed **Julius Schatz**
DIRECTOR, SPEAKERS' BUREAU

REMARKS:

OD-CSB-17
11/24/47

[American Missionary Association]

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches

287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY

RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

October 7, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Nat'l Assn. for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

22-7-23

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Under separate cover I am sending you an inscribed copy of NEW DAY ASCENDING, which was my attempt in 1946 to sum up the A. M. A.'s first hundred years. I notice in the Preparatory Volume of the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO that you mentioned the A. M. A. Three books concerning this Association's work have now been published:

A CRUSADE OF BROTHERHOOD by Dr. Augustus Field Beard, 1909
CHRISTIAN RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH by H. Paul Douglass, 1909
NEW DAY ASCENDING.

All were published by Pilgrim Press in Boston.

Best wishes to you always.

Yours cordially,

Fred L. Brownlee

Fred L. Brownlee

FLB HD

[American Missionary Association]

October 16, 1947

22-7-24

Dr. W. L. Brownlee
The Board of Home Missions
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Brownlee: I want you to know that I appreciate very much your sending me a copy of your book, NEW DAY ASCENDING, which has just been received.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HS

[American Missionary Association]

Bill

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

HERMAN H. LONG, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

December 18, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N. A. A. C. P.
Willkie Building
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

22-7-25

Because of its importance to the struggle against restrictive covenants, I am sending for possible review a copy of People vs. Property. This is the first comprehensive approach to the problems of racially restrictive covenants in housing, and its timeliness is of course greatly enhanced by the fact that the Supreme Court has before it the whole question of the legality of such covenants.

Of greatest importance to the public at large is the convincing demonstration that covenants and the segregated slums they create breed race tensions and race riots. Some of the stories of the brutal attacks upon respectable Negro families who have dared to move outside the slums are very moving evidence of the importance of the whole question of segregation.

The authors, Herman H. Long and Charles S. Johnson, are associate director and director of the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association. Mr. Long carried out most of the several years' research work behind this volume, though working closely with Dr. Johnson. The latter is, as you know, one of the U.S. delegates to UNESCO, president of Fisk University, and distinguished author of many works in the general field of sociology and social problems.

The book is priced at $1.00 in paper binding and $1.50 in cloth.

Very sincerely yours,

Roger G. Mastrude
Educational Director

December 5, 1947

Mr. Jacques F. Ferrand
The American Nobel Anniversary Committee
740 West End Avenue
New York 25, New York

22-26

Dear Mr. Ferrand:

The Viking Press has notified Dr. Du Bois of the selection of his book, THE WORLD AND AFRICA, which is to be exhibited in connection with The Annual American Nobel Anniversary dinner at the Hotel Astor, December 10.

Dr. Du Bois is in the Middle West on a lecture tour and although I feel he would like to attend the affair, under the circumstances it will be impossible for him to be present since he will not return to his desk before the middle of the month. However, I know he appreciates the honor and your letter will be brought to his attention upon his return.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

W2B DuBois
[American Nobel Anniversary Committee]

You are cordially invited to attend

The Seventh American

Nobel Anniversary Dinner

22-26

Wednesday, December Tenth

Nineteen Hundred and Forty-Seven

at Seven o'clock

in the Grand Ballroom

Hotel Astor

New York

under the auspices of

The American

Nobel Anniversary Committee

Excerpts from an address delivered by Gustav Nobel at the Sixth American Nobel Anniversary Dinner at the Hotel Astor on December 10, 1946:

Half a century has elapsed today since the death of my uncle, Alfred Nobel. But as this illustrious gathering amply demonstrates: his memory lives on, and his life seems to take on added significance, as the years pass. Indeed, in the light of recent developments in physics and chemistry — with all their immense implications both for good and evil — we seem to get a deeper understanding of Alfred Nobel's aims both as an inventor and as a donor of those awards, which bear his name.

I wouldn't go so far as to say that he foresaw nuclear fission or the atomic bomb, but no doubt he realized that his inventions — dynamite and other explosives — were not the last word in the release of nature's hidden forces. He knew that there is no stopping the urge to dig deeper into the secrets of the physical universe but he also saw the danger signals earlier than most of his contemporaries, and he knew that scientific progress not necessarily spells the equivalent of wisdom and profound human culture.

He had indeed the scientific urge as strongly as anybody and was all for the pursuit of research to the bitter end but he was also convinced of the necessity of the parallel pursuit of those aspects of human life which cannot be measured in laboratories, and that *this realm of values* must be equally firmly established in human society if — in the long run — we are to benefit from our revolutionary progress in natural science and technology. *That,* ladies and gentlemen — I submit as Alfred Nobel's basic reason for the establishment of the Peace — and Literature prizes.

It seems evident — and not the least here in America — that this viewpoint now is shared by many of our time's most prominent scientists, and among them many whose names are associated with my uncle's as Nobel Prize winners; and I think, he would be especially happy — could he know it today — that they are inspired not only by the same scientific urge which spurred him on, but also by the same high ideals.

Ladies and gentlemen: it is exceedingly fitting, it seems to me, that this day is commemorated, not only in Sweden — Alfred Nobel's native country, but also here in America, the new world of freedom — and of many peoples.

Alfred Nobel was a Swede, and he had deep roots in Sweden, that were never severed, although his life was spent mainly abroad. But his aims were universal and went far beyond the borders of his own country. In this sense you have made him your own — and I am sure he would have no objections.

Permit me to say, how happy and grateful I am to be able to be present here today to thank you personally and on behalf of all now living members of the Nobel family for the honor you here bestow on the memory of my uncle — Alfred Nobel.

Program

Chairman:

DR. WILLIAM EMERSON—*President of the American Association for the United Nations*

Speakers:

EMILY GREENE BALCH—*Nobel Peace Prize Winner* 1946

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.—*President of The Town Hall, Inc., founder and moderator "America's Town Meeting of the Air"*

RUFUS M. JONES—*Honorary Chairman of the Board, American Friends Service Committee*

HONORABLE HERBERT H. LEHMAN—*former Governor of the State of New York*

HONORABLE TRYGVE LIE—*Secretary General of the United Nations*

HIS EXCELLENCY JAN MASARYK—*President of the World Federation of the U.N. Associations, and Chairman of the Czechoslovak Delegation to the United Nations*

HIS EXCELLENCY WILHELM MORGENSTIERNE—*Norwegian Ambassador*

HONORABLE LENNART NYLANDER—*Consul General of Sweden*

DORE SCHARY—*Vice-President of the RKO Radio Pictures, Inc.*

DR. JAMES B. SUMNER—*Nobel Prize Winner for Chemistry* 1946

DAVIDSON TAYLOR—*Vice-President of the Columbia Broadcasting System*

REV. DANIEL A. POLING—*President and Editor of the Christian Herald will give the invocation*

Among Speakers and Honor Guests at Previous Anniversary Dinners have been:

Jose Antonio de Aguirre
Dr. Ernest F. W. Alexanderson
*Dr. Carl D. Anderson
*Sir Norman Angell
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
Walter Averitt
Senator R. E. Baldwin
Eugene A. Barnett
William L. Batt
Dr. C. H. Best
Charles Bolte
Dr. J. S. Bonnell
Minister W. Bostrom
Leonard Brockington
*Pearl S. Buck
Elmer A. Carter
Chancellor H. W. Chase
Dr. Benjamin Cohen
*Dr. Arthur H. Compton
Kent Cooper
Norman Corwin
*Dr. Henrik Dam
Dr. Carlos Davila
*Dr. O. J. Davisson
*Dr. Peter J. W. Debye
Dr. G. Salomon Delatour
Sir Owen Dixon
*Edward A. Doisy
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. John R. Dunning
Dean F. Ericcson
*Dr. Joseph Erlanger
Robert Erskine Ely
*Dr. Enrico Fermi
*Dr. James Franck
Sen. J. W. Fulbright
*Dr. Herbert S. Gasser
Rev. R. I. Gannon, S.J.
Dr. Hans Halban
Mrs. J. Borden Harriman
Dr. Michael Heidelberger
*Dr. Victor Francis Hess
Dr. C. L. Hsia
Fannie Hurst
Will Irwin
Dr. Alvin Johnson
Edgar Kobak
Halvdan Koht
*Dr. Irving Langmuir
*Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence
Read Lewis
*Dr. Otto Loewi
Erika Mann
Anne O'Hare McCormick
Dr. William P. Merrill
*Dr. Otto Meyerhof
Ambassador W. Morgenstierne
*Dr. William P. Murphy
Edward R. Murrow
Gustav Nobel
Consul General L. Nylander
Samuel F. Pryor
*Dr. Isidor I. Rabi
Dr. William J. Robbins
Richard de Rochemont
Nelson A. Rockefeller
Ruth Bryan O. Rohde
David Sarnoff
Masha Dikareva Scott
Dr. Harry L. Shapiro
Robert Sherwood
Dr. George N. Shuster
Spyros P. Skouras
Dr. Vilhjamur Stefanson
*Dr. Otto Stern
Lloyd Stratton
Clarence Streit
John W. Studebaker
Dean Mildred Thompson
*Sigrid Undset
Hal Wallis
Harry M. Warner
*Dr. George H. Whipple
Roy Wilkins
Dr. Lin Yutang
Darryl F. Zanuck

**Nobel Prize Winners*

Executive Committee—The American Nobel Anniversary Committee
Sir Norman Angell, *Honorary Chairman;* Mrs. Hjordis Swenson, *Chairman;* Waldemar Kaempffert, *Vice-Chairman;* Jacques F. Ferrand, *Secretary;* Harry G. Sandstrom, *Assistant Secretary;* Nathan L. Rock, *Treasurer;* Mona M. Karff, *Assistant Treasurer.*

RESERVATION FORM

THE AMERICAN NOBEL ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE
1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Please reserve ..... *seats for the*

NOBEL ANNIVERSARY DINNER

Wednesday Evening, December Tenth
Nineteen Hundred and Forty-seven — At Seven O'clock

THE HOTEL ASTOR, Broadway and 44th Street, New York

I enclose my check for $..... Subscription $10.00 per person
Tables seat ten

Please make checks payable to American Nobel Anniversary Committee

22-26

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

Note: Please make your reservations early, as the hotel must know the number of guests attending by December 6th.

GUESTS

1. Name.....
   Address.....
2. Name.....
   Address.....
3. Name.....
   Address.....
4. Name.....
   Address.....
5. Name.....
   Address.....
6. Name.....
   Address.....
7. Name.....
   Address.....
8. Name.....
   Address.....
9. Name.....
   Address.....
10. Name.....
    Address.....

For additional information, please telephone RIverside 9-0953 or MEdallion 3-2721

[American Radiator Co.]
Baltimore
Home

9 January 1947

Gentlemen:

In 1939 you installed in my residence, 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore 14, Maryland, an oil burning furnace; the builder C.F. Haug, and the architect Saûl M. Perdue. Since that we have had the furnace inspected and cleaned every year and sometimes two or more a year.

220-1

For the last few years the Major Oil Company 1038-46 North Arlington Avenue Baltimore, Maryland, has been furnishing the fuel and servicing the furnace. They installed a circulator motor December 20th. A few days later the furnace exploded and only by narrow chance did we escape complete destruction of the property. I am writing to ask that you get in touch with my daughter, Mrs. Du Bois Williams and the architect and thoroughly inspect this furnace and determine whose fault it is which caused this explosion.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The American Raditor Company
Baltimore, Maryland

[American Radiator...]

13 May 1947

Gentlemen:

Will you let me know if you have any bills against me for the repair of the furnace at 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore, since the explosion. Personally I think you ought to bear all expense for this unfortunate occurence as your workmen were in charge of the furnace. But at any rate I want to settle up the matter and if there are any bills will you let me hear from you immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

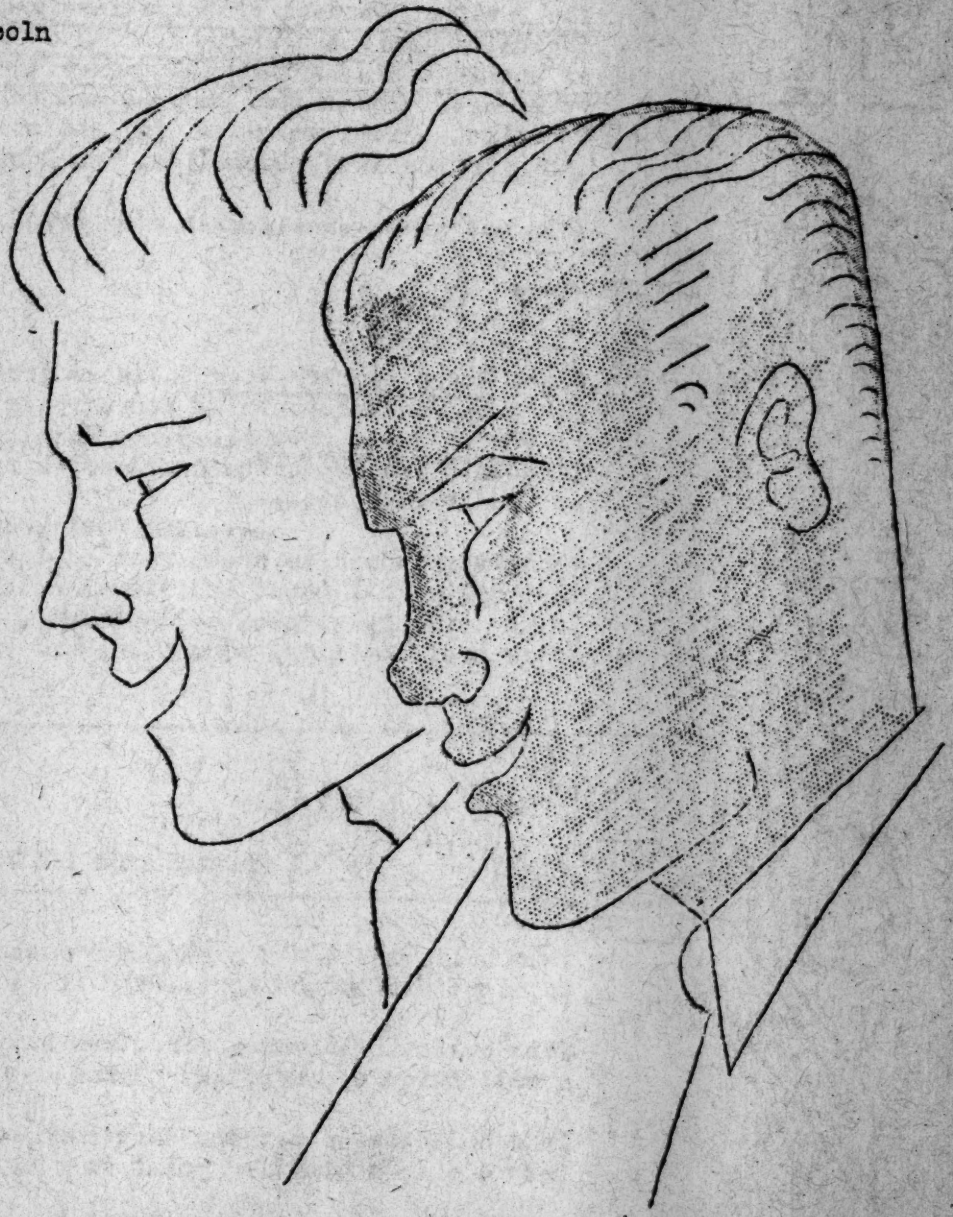
W. E. B. Du Bois

American Radiator & Standard Sanitary Corp.
Merchants & Manufacturers Building
5 Hopkins Place
Baltimore 1, Maryland

BROTHERHOOD MONTH

True democracy makes no inquiry about the color of a man's skin or the place of his birth.

Abraham Lincoln



CLUB LEADER'S GUIDE

Issued by the National Educational Dep't. of Y. D. — February, 1947

32-34-29

WHAT is Brotherhood Month???

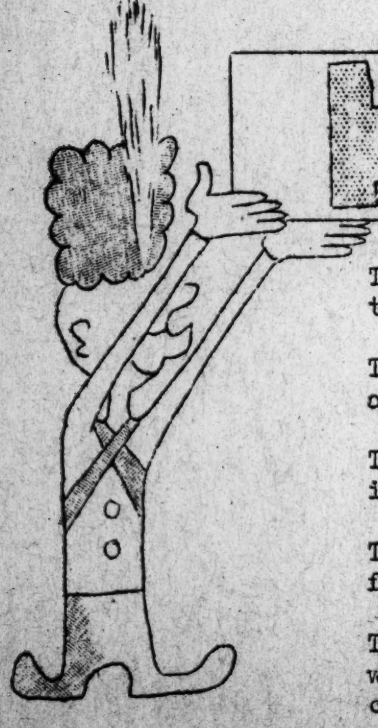
Brotherhood Month is officially a week...but if celebrated correctly it will last a whole year.

The National Council of Christians and Jews inaugurated "American Brotherhood Week", the week of Washington's Birthday (February 16-23) some years ago. The stated purpose was to encourage "justice, amity, understanding and cooperation--among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews....."

This was good.....hardly broad enough....

Since Negro History Week falls in February.... Since the entire month of February is celebrated as Jewish Music Month....Since Washington's, Lincoln's and Frederick Douglass' birthdays all are in February.....

.....AYD each year devotes the entire month to brotherhood activity..... that unites all these individual celebrations in one strong, simple, well-planned, and united program of activity, education, and brotherhood.



HOW to use this bulletin.....

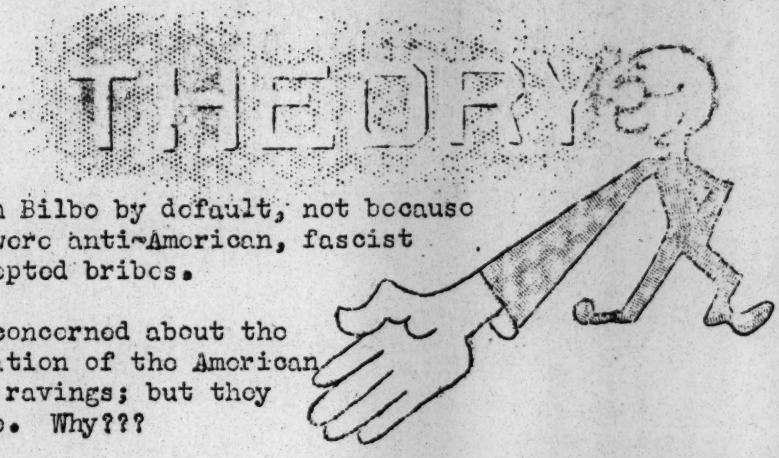
This bulletin is not a straight-jacket for all to adopt without change...even if it kills 'em.

This bulletin is not a directive but is simply a collection of carefully worked out suggestions.

This bulletin is not the last word but only is intended as a starting point in your thinking.

This bulletin is not infallible despite the fact that it comes from the National Office.

This bulletin and the ones to come in the future will be much better with your comments and criticism. What do you say?



Yes, Congress finally acted on Bilbo by default, not because the ideas that Bilbo spouted were anti-American, fascist ideas, but because he had accepted bribes.

It is true that Congress was concerned about the problem because of the indignation of the American people against Bilbo's racist ravings; but they refused to make this the issue. Why???

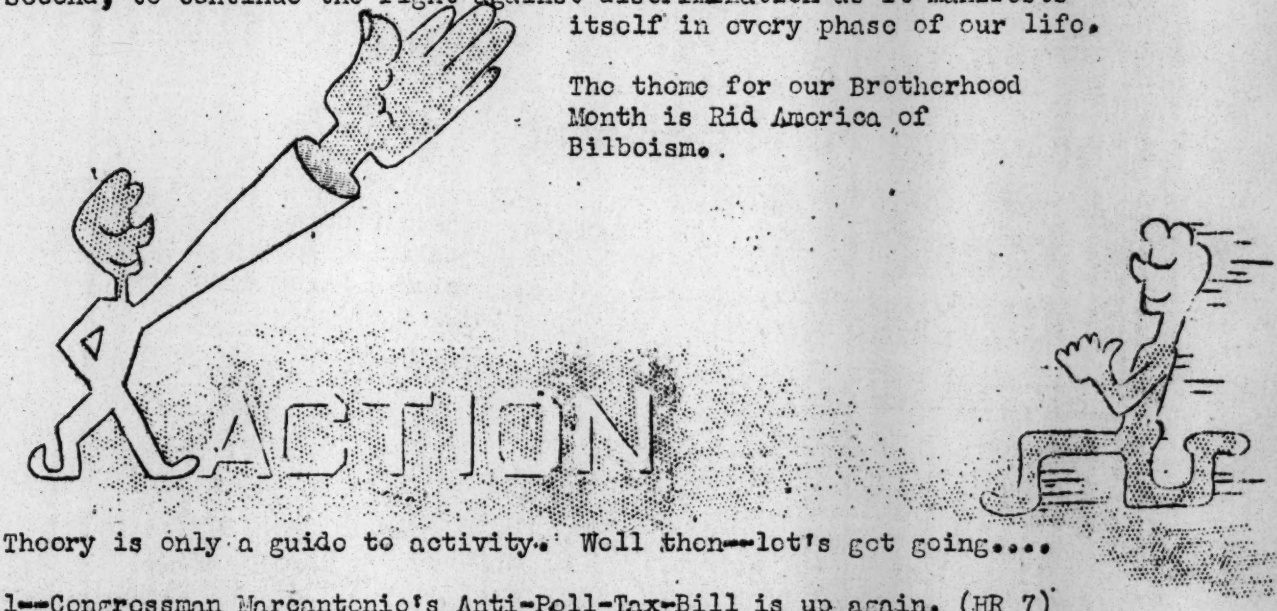
The reactionary Republican and certain Southern Senators who dominate Congress do not want to rid America of Bilboism. They find such ideas of racial superiority helpful in their drive to keep the American people disunited against their main enemy, American big business and a reactionary Congress. So, while Bilbo has not been seated, Bilboism remains in Congress. In fact the fight against Bilbo himself has not yet been won.

32-34-30

During this month of February when we celebrate Brotherhood Month, we have two purposes in mind....first, to improve our understanding of the Negro question in the U. S., to deepen our knowledge of the roots of discrimination, to even more fully appreciate the contribution of all minorities to American life. This knowledge and understanding is a key weapon in the fight against Bilboism.

Second, to continue the fight against discrimination as it manifests itself in every phase of our life.

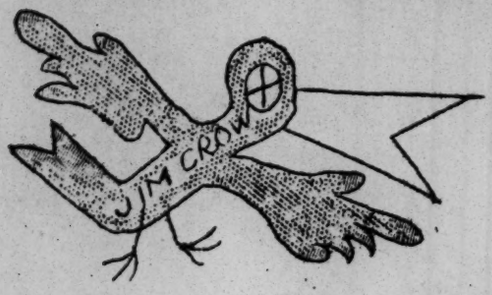
The theme for our Brotherhood Month is Rid America of Bilboism.



Theory is only a guide to activity. Well then--let's get going....

1--Congressman Marcantonio's Anti-Poll-Tax-Bill is up again. (HR 7)
2--Discrimination against Negro and Jewish Veterans in housing, education and employment must be fought militantly in every instant.
3--A bill to end discrimination in colleges by removing tax-exemption from discriminatory schools has been introduced into the N. Y. State Legislature. AYD should support and fight for such action.
4--Chauvinistic films such as Song of the South and Abie's Irish Rose should be protested, picketed, and removed from circulation.

COMMUNITY ACTION



THE BIRD IS GROGGY

Now that we've winged Jim-Crow let us finally cage him and his birds-of-a feather (anit-semitism and prejudice).

Fine talk and committees and cultural presentations are helpful only if they are part of a strong unified campaign--around an issue that unites the people.

For instance: a community and/or youth committee to protest Song of the South see theatre owner, picket, publicize, etc.

NOTHING HAPPENS BY ITSELF

Several organizations should send out a joint appeal for a meeting to form a "Community Council for Brotherhood". President Truman's Brotherhood message might be used as the basis for such an appeal.

HOW TO WORK

All Brotherhood Month activity should be centered around the Council's program. A huge rally, for instance, sponsored by the Council.

LOVE THY NEIGHBOR, AND ORGANIZE HIM

The Council, especially if it's a youth council, should be encouraged to continue as a permanent body.

ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS TO CONTACT

Trade Union leaders, I. W. O. Lodges, NAACP, Negro Urban League, Church youth groups, B'Nai B'rith, Jr. Hadassah, Consumer groups, athletic clubs, school clubs, social youth clubs, Catholic or Protestant laymen, teachers, city officials, musical and stage stars, Parent-Teachers Associations, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, settlement houses.

ETIQUETTE FOR RALLIES

A. Respect religious rules and customs of any and all groups involved in meeting.
B. This is a "natural" for your parents.
C. Too many, too windy speakers kill more meetings than anything. Variety is the spice of political technique. Vary the approach by using mass singing, dances, skits, audience participation, Professor Quiz, films, filmstrips, singers, etc.
D. Entertainment is educational. Do not waste it as a simple intermission stop.
E. Don't forget to pass the "hat".

AYD CLUB ACTION

BENEVOLENT DESPOT OR CLUB PRESIDENT

So great and varied is club activity during Brotherhood Month that unless each exec member is given definite work the president will soon find himself doing all the work.

This is not good (as the Walrus said). Poor organization (like leaving the details, leaflets, finances, etc. to the last minute) leads to despotism.

....No, you are not Napoleon!

NOTHING PERSONAL

It's all a matter of organization. And here are some suggestions:

A. Exec members should not be isolationists. Co-ordinate their activities and save time and effort and gain new understanding.
B. Plan every campaign with a division of work for exec in mind.
C. Cut that speech.
D. People are human. Are your meetings human too? Personalize the meeting by presenting ideas on as many different levels as you possibly can. Don't lecture, or harangue. Balance your agenda.
E. Cut the agenda.

32-34-31

BASHFUL ABOUT PUBLICITY?

Senator Glen Taylor has said, "When you hold a meeting in a hall only your friends will come." He's got something there.

The majority of the people don't go to meetings--and even if they did there wouldn't be enough seats for them (pleasant problems!!).

Forget those who are too tired to come?

Forget them or reach them?

DO THIS

Press releases before meeting and another after the meeting.

Picture of speakers to local paper.

Plan meeting with publicity always in mind (for instance: if you get a teacher to speak you are sure to get write-up in school paper), etc.

.....
use publicity

SPORTS

There may be a more natural and enjoyable activity for Brotherhood Month than sports--but it would be hard to find.

Mass participation sports that require little equipment such as bowling, indoor softball, basketball, ping pong, volley-ball, and ice skating are tops for generating club spirit, developing muscles, and having a good time, kidding around.

SIS BOOM BAA--AYD

An AYD cheering squad of girls and an interracial team! That sound okay for your club!!!!!

Fair and easy competition can be found at your local Y' Athletic club, settlement house, or at your school.

POSTERS AND INFORMATION AT:

Labor Sports Federation, 101 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

SOCIALS

SO YOU'RE NOT ANOTHER FRED ASTAIRE

Dances are not our only social activity anyway. Though a unity dance with 2 or 3 religious or Negro youth clubs would be a swell idea.

VALENTINES

Brotherhood Valentine cards done in bright colors can be bought for $6.00 per 100 and resold at 10¢ each. Order from Tomkins, 1175 Evergreen Ave., Bronx, 59, N. Y.

BROTHERHOOD BAZAAR

Booths, games, exhibits, raffles, pop-corn and fund raising all fit under the heading of bazaars..... The cellar of a community center or of a church make an ideal site. An afternoon bazaar could be followed by an evening dance as a windup to your Brotherhood Month campaign.

Make certain your local laws allow raffles and charitable bazaars.

CULTURAL

Culture is usually last on agendas because it is usually typed as "nice but hard to handle". That's not so, if it is handled democratically.

SONGS MAGAZINES FORUMS EXHIBITS
SKITS WORKSHOPS FILMS LEAFLETS

These (and more) should be part of a rounded club cultural program. The question is -- how?

NO MICHAELANGELO'S NEEDED

One person should not and cannot do all this but a club cultural workshop can easily. Thru such a workshop new members can be activized, creative talents developed, and the entire AYD program enlived.

Successful workshops in writing, folk dancing, amateur dramatics, modern dancing, and boxing are held weekly by NY and Bronx Teen-age AYD.

EDUCATIONAL

A SLEEPING PILL?

The most powerful weapon in our hands is knowledge of the truth. How can this put our members to sleep? How! When it's presented dully!

Social affairs, cultural work, and sports must all be part of our educational program. Even entertainment is educational. Let's not waste it as an intermission pause between speeches.

THE JOB

Specific jobs of the educational director are speakers, forums, club quizzes, leaflets and magazines (together with cultural workshop) and the sale of literature and the coming AYD national magazine YOUTH--THE MAGAZINE OF YOUNG AMERICA.

And from Chicago AYD comes this suggestion, "We have combined the education and cultural committees... so that we start thinking of those things in an over-all way."

32-34-32

digging the facts

...,it all depends on how you present the facts. Read 'em straight off this sheet and your audience will go to sleep....and fast. .....but use them in a quiz or in an exhibit and....wow

AMERICAN HISTORY Christopher Columbus was an "enemy alien", and "agent" of a foreign country. The captain of one of his ships was a Negro and many of his crew were half-Jews. And that's not all. Americus Vespucci, after whom America was named, was not even a citizen. Speaking of citizens, Duke Ellington's forebearers came to America almost a year before the Pilgrims landed.....

50% of George Washington's Army was composed of Negroes, foreign-born Irish Catholics, and Jews. 250,000 Negroes served in the Civil War, 400,000 in World War 1, and 900,000 in the last war.....

AMERICAN CULTURE Ben Bannaker, a Negro, made the first American clock, Jo Anderson, a Negro, made the first American reaper, Ernest Matzeliger, a Negro, invented the automatic shoe-making machine, Granville Wood, a Negro, worked with Edison on the electric railways, telegraph, phonograph. And there was Dr. Carver.....

The Statue of Liberty (made in France) is inscribed with a poem by Emma Lazarus, Jewish American Poetess.

AMERICA TODAY Minority groups (Negroes, Catholics, Foreign-born, American Indians and Jews) total 60% of the population. The minorities are a majority, which is why the reactionary big business interests try to disunite Negro and white, Gentile and Jew. That's why; Ford financed Hitler ($50000 a year); and General Motors, Dupont, Standard Oil, General Electric entered into deals with the Nazis; and why they spent $80,000,000 a year on spies, thugs, tear gas, etc. to break up the trade unions that fight for unity (see Lafollete Committee Report, 72nd Congress)!!!

Excellent Reading Material: ABRAHAM LINCOLN (HIS WRITINGS)--World $3.75
A NATION OF NATIONS by Louis Adamac (Harper) statistical stories
FREEDOM ROAD by Howard Fast--now available in 25¢ pocket-book size
THOMAS JEFFERSON (SELECTED WORKS)--Modern Library Edition
THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN AMERICA by Dr. Aptheker (35¢ International)
THE JEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY by Philip Foner (35¢ International)

QUIZZES FOR WIZZES

There are dozens of different quizzes that can be used at meetings... Doctor IQ, Professor Quiz, Information Please, and so on & on & on...

Information Please or quizzes with wizzes is worked with a board of experts (real or otherwise). Professor Quiz method is to select 5 contestants from audience. Doctor I.Q. method is to go directly into audience for contestant (best at big rallies). And there are the Obstacle Quizzes, Boys vs. Girls, Blondes vs. Left-handed people and the whacky punishment prizes they entail.

The following questions show types and sizes of questions to use.....

1. TRUE OR FALSE: Haym Solomon who loaned over $600,000 to Washington and the early U. S. government was rewarded for his generosity by payment in full for the loan plus a cabinet position.

2. TRUE OR FALSE: There were thousands of Negro slave-owners in the South before the Civil War who fought for the South.

3. TRUE OR FALSE: One of the three revolutionary patriots in the painting "The Spirit of '76" is a Negro.

4. There is one Negro dentist to every _____ number of U. S. Negroes.
A. 500 B. 1000 C. 2000 D. 4000 E. 6000 F. 8000

5. The American Jews control _____ % of U. S. manufacturing industry.
A. 1/10th of 1% B. ½ of 1% C. 1% D. 3% E. 5% F. 10%

6. _____ Negroes have graduated from New York medical schools in the past 23 years.
A. 10 B. 37 C. 686 D. 2037 E. 9000

7. NAME THE PERSON OUT OF PLACE AND WHO THE REMAINING PEOPLE WERE.
(Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Dr. Carver, Harriet Tubman, R. Purvis)

8. (Crispus Attucks, Peter Salem, Dorie Miller, Barzillia Low)

9. (Theordore Weiner, Albert Einstein, Jacob Benjamin, August Bondi)

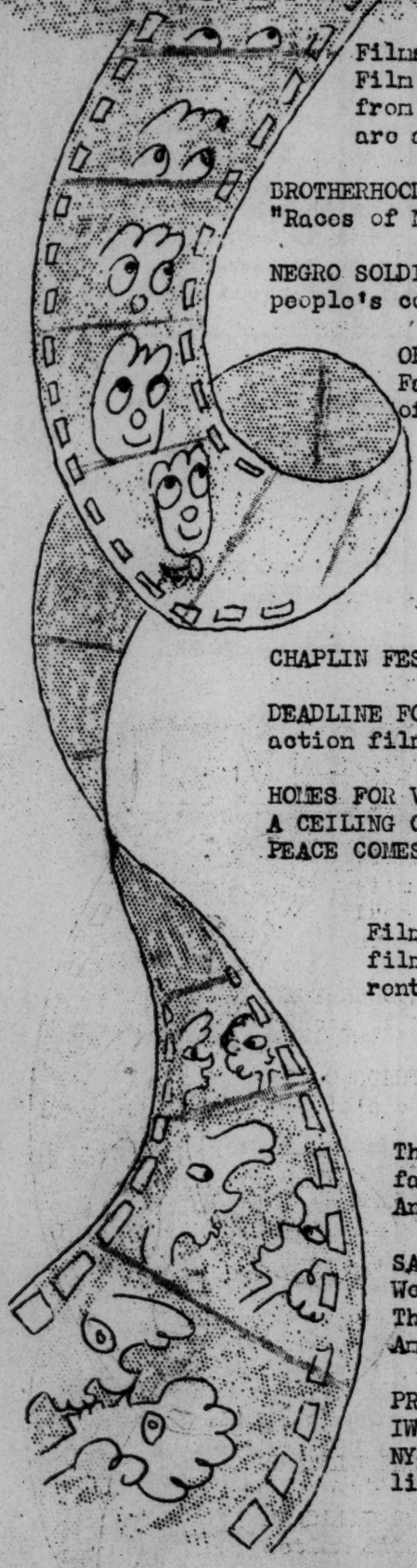
10. From 1619 to 1850 100,000,000 slaves were sent here from Africa. How many died on route of diseases, brutality, and hunger?

11. The Poll-Tax is aimed at the Negro voters almost exclusively!!

ANSWERS: (1) FALSE, he died penniless and forgotten (2) TRUE, 6230 (3) TRUE, Barzillia Low (4) E (5) A (6) B (7) Dr. Carver, the others were Negro anti-slavery leaders (8) D. Miller, the others were Negroes who fought in the Revolution. (9) Einstein, the others fought with John Brown (10) Over 75,000,000 - (11) No, more whites than Negroes are effected.

32-34-33

FILMS ARE MOVING!



Films and equipment marked (*) may be obtained from the Film Division, IWO, 80 5th Ave., NY and those marked (#) from Brandon's Films, 1660 Broadway, NY. Free catalogs are available at both.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN (*10 min. $3) UAW-CIO color-film based on "Races of Mankind". Amusing, witty cartoon.

NEGRO SOLDIER (*40 min. $2) really fine film showing Negro people's contribution to American history.

OF THESE OUR PEOPLE (*30 min. $6) Einstein, Howard Fast, others appear in this film that shows something of Jewish life in America.

COLOR OF MAN (*#20 min.) American Missionary Society film containing excellent documentary.

THE HOUSE I LIVE IN (*# 20 min.) Frank Sinatra and Earl Robinson supply words, music and story to the famous short.

CHAPLIN FESTIVAL (* 75 min. $12) Cure, Easy Street, others!

DEADLINE FOR ACTION (*# 40 min.) UE-CIO startling political action film that combines cartooning and documentary.

HOMES FOR VETERANS (*25 min. $1) acted out documentary.
A CEILING ON YOUR HOME (*13 min. $0.50) charts and stuff.
PEACE COMES TO AMERICA (*10 min. $0.50) vets problems.

Films may also be rented from local college's film libraries. Projectors (16mm) may be rented as well as sound equipment.

FILMSTRIPS

These are long strips of still pictures shown slide fashion. Each is sold complete with narration. And even your kid brother can work it.

SAMPLE TITLES AT $2.50 EACH: Forward All Together, We Are All Brothers, Sing and Win, Up and Aton, The USSR, People of France, American Counterpoint, Americans All. (*)

PROJECTORS: Small projector may be rented from the IWO for $1.50, large projectors for $2.50 in the NY area. Elsewhere they may be borrowed from libraries, schools, etc. Purchase price is $28.

EXHIBITS

Maximum effectiveness with a minimum of effort. That's the paste-pot-and poster-method of exhibit-making.

Now honestly, who looks at exhibits??

Nobody--if you hide them in the back room of your club. Display them at the club bazaar, dance, and party. In the window, as a backdrop for your skits, or around the clubroom.

Attention: Teen-age and college clubs:

Public libraries, community and religious centers, school clubs, and the schools themselves will be pleased to use your exhibits. IFFFFF (and it's a big if) they are neatly mounted.

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FREE POSTERS:

The Fraternalist, IWO, 80 5th Ave., NY, 11. Color poster on Negro history week celebration and significance.
National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 4th Ave., NY. Color poster of G. Washington on brotherhood.
Sachs Furniture Co., 330 Bruckner Blvd, NY. The large reprints of their famous brotherhood advertisements.
U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. Nedgro education in the U. S. Catalog #I 16.37:N 31 (10¢).

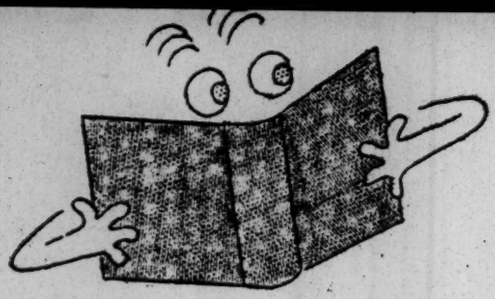
MAGAZINES ON INTER-RACIAL SUBJECTS, ETC.:

Crisis, 20 W. 40 St., NY, magazine of the NAACP.
Congress Views, 307 Lenox Ave., NY. National Negro Congress.
Opportunity, 1133 Broadway, NY, National Urban League.
National Jewish Monthly, 20 W. 40 St., NY. B'nai B'rith.
Jewish Life, 50 E. 13 St., NY.
World Over, 1776 Broadway, NY. Youth magazine of the Jewish Educational Committee, Deborah Possin, editor.

MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES:

The Fraternalist, IWO, 80 5th Ave, NY, 11. Special, wonderful magazine of Negro in America, fully illustrated, 3¢ single copies, 2¢ each for bundles of 10 or more.
Council Against Intolerance in America, 17 E. 42 St., NY.
Federal Council of Churches in America, 297 4th Ave., NY.
American Jewish Congress, 1834 Broadway, NY.
Dept. of Research and Education CIO, 718 Jackson Pl., N. W., Washington, 6, D. C. (A postcard puts you on mailing list.)
Anti-Defamation League, 20 E. 40 St., NY. Free 8 page illustrated reprints from Look on brotherhood.
Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, NY.
20 Races of Mankind, Race Riots, etc. pamphlets 10¢ each.

NATIONAL AND LOCAL UNION OFFICES ARE GOOD SOURCES FOR MATERIAL ON INTER-RACIAL, INTER-FAITH UNITY AND PRACTICAL METHODS OF WINNING IT.



No..Our club magazine editor got the measles and the magazine folded.....

Sounds sadly familiar. Then let's do some thinking about a swift remedy...

HOW TO PUBLISH AN AYD CLUB MAGAZINE

Say, 10 to 20 pages, mimeographed, stapled together, and containing... articles, songs, news, stories, and poems on Brotherhood Month activity.

Activity enough for a dozen club members. Something that will show AYD Brotherhood work to the whole community and recruit members.

A DOGMATIC RULE?

Though a capable editor may struggle to put out a fine magazine; a workshop of several people (led by the editor) can easily put out a better one. When not working on the magazine the workshop might continue to meet and work on their own writing or on club skits, etc.

A MATTER OF MONEY

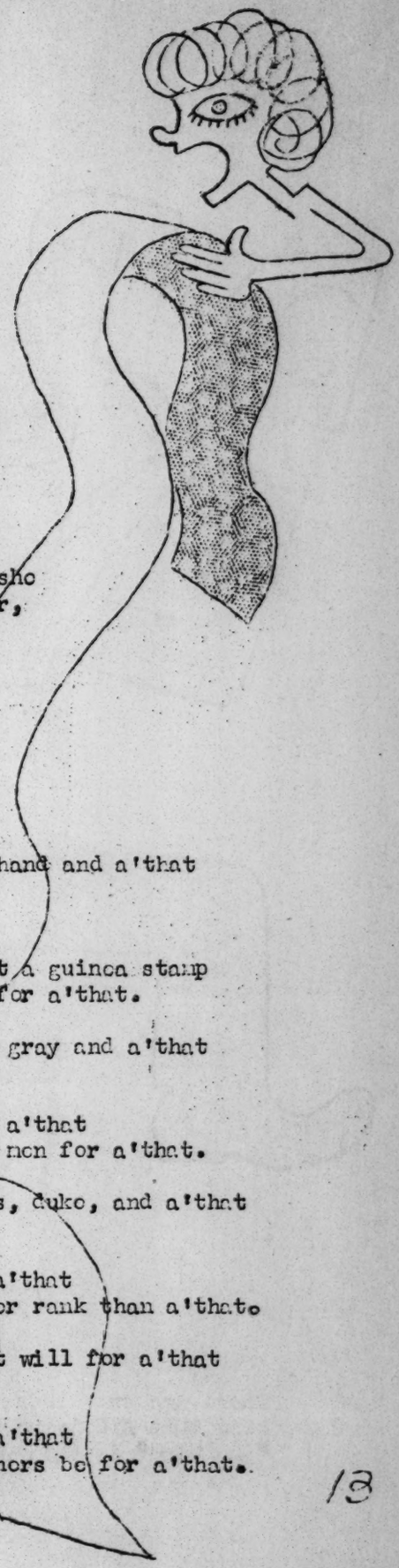
The magazine can finance itself on sales (5¢ each) and can earn a little money for the club treasury through community ads secured on the basis of it's Brotherhood work it will do.

BRAINSTORMS Forums with famous personages and community leaders and features of the brainstorm variety will give magazine spirited unique character.

BOOKS AND ETC

Anti-Defamation League, 20 West 40 Street, NYC: Army Factsheet on "Fascism", "Race Hate" by Justice Murphy, "Prejudice", other stuff.
Committee of Catholics for Human Rights, 1775 Broadway, NYC
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 W. 40 St., NYC: literature on poll-taxes, civil rights, etc.
Phi Beta Kappa, 5 East 44 Street, NYC: reprint from American Scholar on discrimination in colleges.
American Conference on Race Relations, 33 West Randolph, Chicago, Ill. "Horned In" a pamphlet 10¢ each, 7¢ each for 50, 5¢ each for 100.
The following pamphlets are available at the AYD National Office, 150 Nassau Street, NYC: "Behold the Land"(SNYC), "The Big Squeeze" and "The Case of the Missing Helicopter".
Complete Bibliographies on Brotherhood Month Activity: May be obtained by N. Y. clubs from the Schonborg Collection of Negro Literature, 136 W. 136 St., and Jewish Literature Room of the Public Library, 5 Ave. & 42 St. (See Dr. Joshau Block, Librarian). A national bibliography may be gotten for 5¢ from the Research Dep't. of the New Writing Foundation, 316 E. 61 Street, New York, 21, N. Y.

POEMS



32-34-35

These poems are sample selections for readings to club meetings or for publication in club magazines and papers.

THE NEW COLOSSUS, The Poem Inscribed on the Statue of Liberty by Emma Lazarus:

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame
With conquering limbs astride from land to land
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

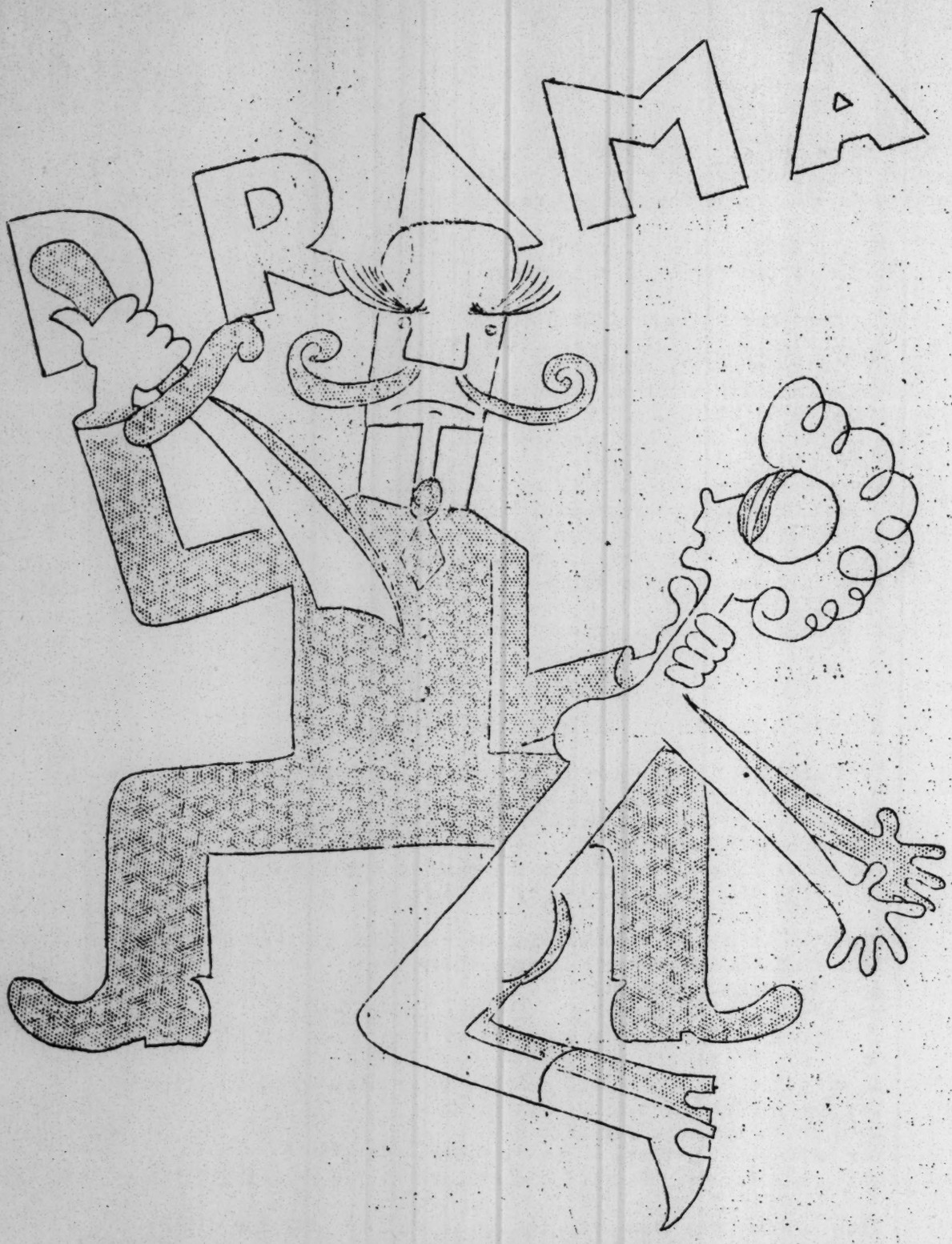
A MAN'S A MAN FOR A'THAT by Robert Burns

Is there for honest poverty that hangs his hand and a'that
The coward slave will pass him by
We dare be poor for a'that.
For a'that and a'that.
Our toils obscure and a'that the rank is but a guinea stamp
The man's the gold for a'that, brothers be for a'that.

What tho on homely fare we dine wear hodden gray and a'that
Give fools their silk and knaves their wine
A man's a man for a'that
For a'that and a'that their tinsel sown and a'that
The honest man, tho o'er sae poor is king o men for a'that.

A prince can make a belted knight, a marquis, duke, and a'that
But the honest man's above his might
Good faith he keeps for a'that.
For a'that and a'that, their dignities and a'that
The pith o'sense and pride o'worth are higher rank than a'that.

Then let us pray that come it may as come it will for a'that
That sense and worth o'er a' the earth
Shall win the fight for a'that
For a'that and a'that, it's coming yet for a'that
That man to man, the world o'er, shall brothers be for a'that.



There are two kinds of dramatics--the professional kind and the kind that AYD is proud to call its own. The only trouble with "our kind" is that we don't have enough of it!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

ZEST, SAID MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

The way to your club members' hearts. The way stop your meetings from wearing, the members from wearying, and the audience from wandering home--is thru zest, excitement and a healthy human approach.

ALL THE CLUBS A STAGE TO PLAY UPON

The remarkable thing about amateur dramatics is that even amateurs (you) can partake. A skit, a sketch, a one act play can be put on with ease by half a dozen people with courage and ambition. How? Listen...

SCENERY

The back wall of your clubroom is a fine back-drop. Just up a couple of sheets (paint scenes on 'em if you like) or paste together a few posterboards on a simple wood frame.

PROPS

String two clothes lines at right angles and throw two blankets over them. Then pin a window drawn on paper on one and presto you have a room. The chairs, tables, chests from the clubroom can do the rest.

32-34-36

COSTUMES

A character can be indicated by suggestion. A peasant by a flowered shirt and a kerchief. A banker by a cane, high hat(of paper) and a piece of glass jewelry from the 5 & 10. A worker by overalls. A teacher by a sad smile.

SHAKESPEARE WAS A GOOD GUY

Though your amateur dramatics group may not be able to tackle Romeo and Juliet they can easily do a housing shortage parody of the balcony scene. Parodies are sure fire comedy hits on classic themes. And you don't have to pay any royalties or put on fanciful productions.

A LA THE SOAP OPERA

The cure for forgetting your lines is to put on your skit as though it were a radio program (THEN YOU CAN HOLD THE SCRIPTS IN YOUR HANDS) Don't forget the sound affects. Make them weird, whacky, and unusual.

SCRIPTS AND WHERE TO GET THEM

THE ETERNAL LIGHT...scripts on Jewish history, religion, customs, and unity. Write to Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 3080 B'way, NYC.
NEW WORLD ACOMING...scripts of radio adaptation of B'way plays, novels, etc. on Negro-White unity and Negro history themes--YMCA, 1657 B'way, NYC.
MORE SCRIPTS FROM...American Jewish Committee, 386 4th Ave., NYC
Stage for Action, 130 W. 42 St., NYC
Bureau of Intercultural Education(find address SS)
National Conference of Christians & Jews, 381 4th Ave. NY
One Act Play Magazine, other Drama Magazines,
Libraries, Local Drama groups, etc.

"....we're in dager of seeing folk music as something static...if the only real music in America were the "pure" folk music this would be a darn dead country."

LEE HAYS OF PEOPLE'S SONGS

Frank Sinatra and Burl Ives are tops it's true--but for songs that will really be popular with your members try this one. It's a hundred year old Jewish Folksong with an all too modern theme.

BULBES (Potatoes)

Zoontik bul-be,	Sunday--potatoe,
Moontik bul-be,	Monday--potatoe,
Doenstik con mit-vok, bul-be,	Tuesday and Wednesday--potatoe,
Donerstik con fry-tik, bul-be,	Thursday and Friday--potatoe,
Aynmol in a nov-i-ne	But once in a while
A bulbe kugele.....	A special treat--potatoe pudding
Zoontik vy-ter bul-be.	And Sunday, potatoe again.
Flaish mit bul-be,	Meat with potatoe,
Broyt mit bul-be,	Bread with potatoe,
Ober con vider, bul-be,	Again and again--potatoe,
Vider con ober, bul-be,	Again and again--potatoe,
Sha-bos in nov-i-ne	But on the Sabbath,
A bulbe kugele.....	A special treat--potatoe pudding,
Zoontik vy-ter bul-be.	And Sunday potatoe again.*

FEBRUARY IS JEWISH MUSIC MONTH

Songs create more than understanding; they create friendship.... Jewish Music Month which takes place together with Brotherhood Month should suggest a "natural" club activity.

FREE SONG BOOKS

All Lodges of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the IWO have songbooks of Jewish songs from which you may get songs.
Jewish Music Alliance: 1 Union Square, NYC.
National Jewish Welfare Committee: 145 East 32 Street, NYC.

FREE AND EQUAL BLUES Music by Earl Robinson, Lyrics by E. Y. Harburg. Copyrighted 1943.

I went down to the St. James Infirmary
And saw some plasma there
And I ups and asks that doctorman
Was the donor dark or fair?
Well the doctor laughed a great big laugh
And puffed it right out in my face. He said,
"A molecule is a molecule
And the damned thing has got no race."

CHORUS: And that was news, yes, that was news
That was very, very, very special news
Cause ever since that day I've got
Those Free and Equal Blues

Doc puts down his doctor book
And he gives me a very scientific look
He speaks out plain and clear and rational.
"Metabolism is international!"

CHORUS: repeat

So he rigged up his microscope with some
Berlin blue blood (substitute "Bilbo" for "Berlin", etc.)
And by gosh it was the same as
Chungking, Kuibyshev, Timbuctoo blood.

CHORUS: repeat

Why them aryans
Goering and Goebbels (substitute appropriate names)
Don't even know the corpusle
Is global.

CHORUS: repeat

Tryin to disunite us with their racial supremacy
Flyin in the face of old man chemistry.
Taking the facts and trying to twist them
But (they) can't overthrow the circulartory system.

CHORUS: repeat

###

THIS SONG IS ESPECIALLY GOOD FOR RALLIES.
A SLICK PROFESSIONAL IMPRESSION CAN BE
GOTTEN WITH LITTLE EFFORT BY GIVING THE
CHORUS TO THE BOYS, THE REST TO THE GIRLS.

32 - 34 - 37

17

TALKING BLUES, AYD STYLE: This song is a parody of the famous Talking Union, by Charlie Weiner of Brooklyn Teen-age, written in 1945.

If you want a youth group that's really slick
I know the one you ought to pick--Brothers and Sisters
Take it from me--the thing for you is the AYD.
Purty girls, nice fellas, lots of fun
Nowadays some folks wouldn't listen to the truth
And they got some cock-eyed ideas about youth
They think all we wanna do is cut up rugs
And sit in the parlor and kiss and hug.
What they don't know about kids would fill ten books,
They ought to open their eyes and see the true light--
It'll blind 'em.

AYD MARCHING SONG: Words and Music: by George Levine
Copyright: 1946

From e'vry race and color
From sea to shining sea
We're marching in the ranks of
American Youth for Democracy.

We're learning how to struggle
For world security
We're marching in the ranks of
American Youth for Democracy.

From Lincoln and from Roosevelt
We've learned our battle plan
Unite all working people
Fight for the common man.

We've had enough of Jim-Crow
We want no world war three
That's why we march in the ranks of
American Youth for Democracy.

To victory in the ranks of
American Youth for Democracy.

SONGS

"Parodies are easiest to write and the most effective political songs.....your best bet is writing your own songs and parodies."

"Watch the copyright laws and don't print music or lyrics of any copyrighted songs without permission."

"Large gatherings are hard to start with songs.....later in the meeting when people have been stirred they will want to express their enthusiasm somehow (and) they will sing loudly."

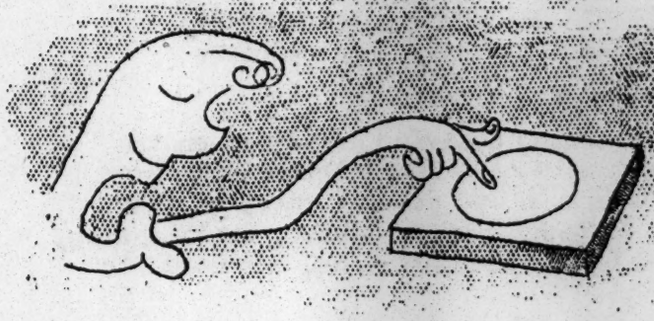
"Present your songs together somewhere in the middle of the program.....(though) if the meeting ends early (and the last speaker has excited the audience) a song to close isn't bad."

Filmstrips of songs for use at large rallies that contain songs like "Listen Mr. Bilbo" can be gotten from People's Songs, Inc., at 130 W. 42 St., NY, 18, NY, complete with instructions for only $2.50.

Group membership of 10 or more in People's Songs is $1.00 for a year. Membership includes a monthly magazine of folk and political songs.

These notes are taken from the Monthly Bulletin of People's Songs.

32-34-38



RECORDS

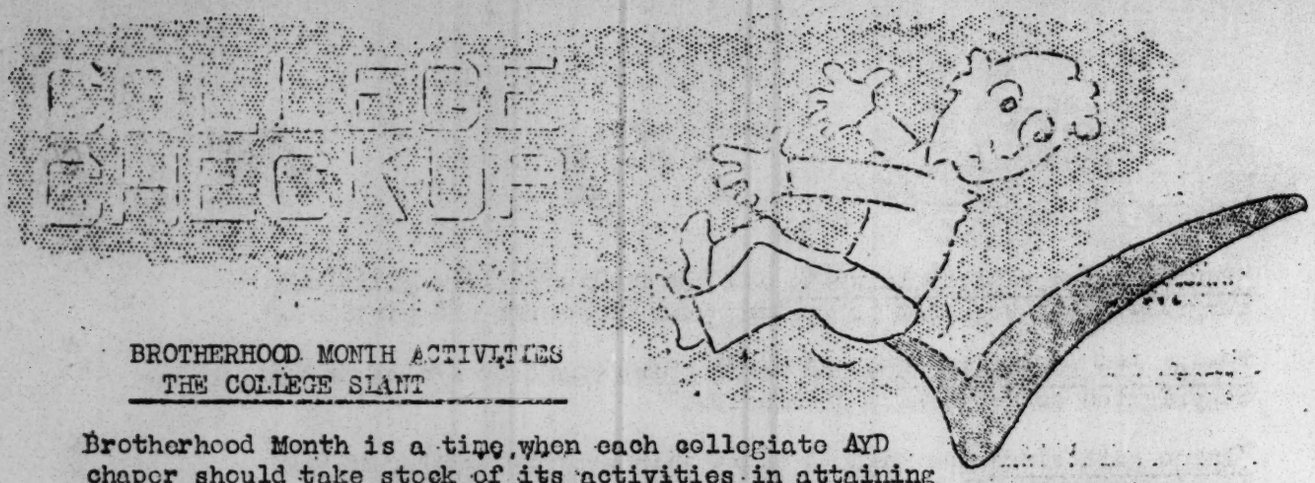
A few boogie, Bach, Bing, or Burl records before a rally starts will thaw out the icey feeling.

ALBUMS

SONGS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN VELD (gay and risque), KING COLE TRIO (silken jazz), SONGS OF FREEMEN (Paul Robeson), SOUTHERN EXPOSURE (Josh White), CIO SONGS OF POLITICAL ACTION (clever lyrics, tops for rallies), FREEDOM PLOW (moving Langston Hughes poem).

CATALOG OF PROGRESSIVE RECORDS

The most complete available listing of folk songs, fighting union songs, ballads, blues, un-sugared jazz, cowboy laments, etc. can be gotten free by writing: DISC COMPANY OF AMERICA, 117 W. 46 St., NYC.



BROTHERHOOD MONTH ACTIVITIES
THE COLLEGE SLANT

Brotherhood Month is a time when each collegiate AYD chaper should take stock of its activities in attaining a living democracy on the campus, and its success in becoming an inter-faith, inter-racial club.

Negro History Week occurs during Brotherhood Month. Every campus ..... should have a big affair on Negro History. AYD should call together a united sponsorship of such a celebration. On almost every campus a broad sponsorship is obtainable. It would be wise for such a celebration to end on a note of activity to fight discrimination on the campus, to have a Negro history course instituted, etc.

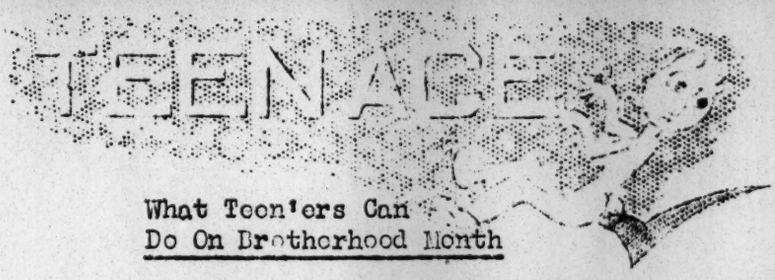
Enterprising AYD chapters could sponsor a visual exhibit on Negro and Jewish history in the U. S. Some clubs might want to institute through some of its history majors, study of the distorted and maligned Reconstruction Era in American history. What is the true story of Reconstruction? What is its relation to current events? Why is it deliberately maligned? AYD pamphlet Behold the Land and the petition of the National Negro Congress to the United Nations should be widely sold. Order these from the National AYD office at 3½¢ a piece to be sold for 5¢.

In taking stock of its own activities to secure a living democracy on the campus, the AYD club should learn and demonstrate. Learn the situation on the campus and then carry on bold activity to solve deficiencies, whether they be discrimination in restaurants, no Negro history course, quota system, segregation, housing discrimination, athletic discrimination, the need for more inter-racial socials, etc.

The recent National Student Convention at the University of Chicago had a major debate on activity to carry out its expressed principle of equality in education. What is the guarantee that a successful statement will be adopted at the Constitutional Convention this summer? It is united activity and demonstration in every section of the country to weaken and destroy discrimination on the campus. AYD should be in the forefront of such action!

Someone summed up the program and activities of AYD by saying we stand for, "making democracy live". Making democracy live is also the spirit of the American Tradition. Hypocritical preaching of democracy while acting on the basis of quota systems, discrimination in job-placement bureaus, restrictive housing covenants, discrimination in barber shops, restaurants, athletic teams, fraternity and sorority houses and ignoring the contributions of the Negro and Jewish people to American civilization is alien to the American tradition.

AD



What Teen'ers Can
Do On Brotherhood Month

See if you can get your high school to arrange a Brotherhood Month Assembly. The local chapters of the Conference for Christians and Jews can help.

Maybe certain school clubs can have club meetings devoted to this.

How about some articles in the high school paper?

Look into the possibility of a joint meeting with other Teen-age clubs in the community. Or a joint culture rally. Or a joint social affair celebrating brotherhood month. Certainly every teen-age club can have its own meetings with lots of cultural events.

32-34-39

Brotherhood month celebrations should be conducted jointly with other clubs in the community.

Look into the numerous possibilities of articles on Brotherhood month for the local papers.

Special discussions can be arranged during this month for members and friends who want to go more deeply into the subject than provided for at meetings and rallies.

***For All Division:

All those old members who come around during this month should be sure to get that 1947 membership card.

Make sure to have AYD enrollment cards at all functions. AYD can grow during this month.

Issued by the National Educational Department--American Youth for Democracy
150 Nassau Street, New York, 7, N. Y.
We. 2-3863

21

uopwa#16

THE NEEDS OF YOUTH
ARE THE
NEEDS OF THE NATION

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

1947

PROGRAM FOR YOUTH NEEDS

American Youth for Democracy
National Office
150 Nassau Street
New York, 7, N. Y.
North 2-3863

37-34-40

THE NEEDS OF YOUTH ARE THE NEEDS OF THE NATION

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY 1947 PROGRAM FOR YOUTH NEEDS

Young America fought and worked hard for victory in the war against fascism. They dreamed of a secure and happy future which was rightfully theirs.

During 1946, even with high production and employment, large numbers of young Americans suffered from insecurity, low wages and high prices. Over 2,000,000 youth were unemployed. Veterans had to leave college because subsistence rates were inadequate. Homes were unavailable. Racial and religious discrimination increased.

Is this to be the answer of a grateful nation to the youth who worked so hard for victory? During the war nothing was said to be impossible if it contributed to the winning of the war. Great miracles were performed, greater than are needed today to provide for the welfare of young Americans. Our government must put forward similar efforts to solve the problems of peace.

The prospects for 1947 would be better if the 'economic Royalists' had not strengthened their hold on America. This small but powerful group, concentrated in the big trusts, control the nation's wealth. Today with a reactionary-dominated Congress they are squandering the Roosevelt heritage. The sky is the limit on profits, and in their greed, the trusts are pushing prices to new heights. Wage demands of workers are rejected and reactionary Congressmen have introduced over 200 bills which would wreck the trade unions and destroy collective bargaining. It is clear that their plans lead to an economic crisis, threaten civil liberties and keeps alive the danger of another world war.

The hope of 1947 comes from the people of America. The greatness of our nation's history arises from the fact that at all times the American people battled for social and national progress, to protect our country

from tyrants, aristocrats, slave-owners, and monopolists.

1947 will be a year in which the American people, led by the labor and progressive forces, carrying forward the Roosevelt program, will battle the economic royalists to safeguard the nation's future.

The youth will join with their friends in the labor and progressive movement in this fight to carry forward the great traditions of Roosevelt. American youth are in a fighting mood. They know that in the 20th Century, past generations of young people have been successively known as 'lost generation', 'depression generation', and 'war generation'. They are determined that there shall be no repetition--that they shall achieve a happy and secure future.

32-34-41

We urge all young Americans, their clubs and organizations, to unite on a community, school, city, state and national level to discuss their common needs and interests, and to take action to advance their welfare.

Today, American youth, imbued with our progressive spirit and tradition, determined to achieve a happy and secure future, call upon the entire nation to respect their rights as young citizens.

These rights are:

The right to a good job, at decent wages, with equal opportunity and security

The right to full and equal education.

The right to a decent home for all.

The right to good health and physical fitness.

The right to freedom from racial and religious discrimination.

The right to satisfaction of all cultural and recreational needs.

The right to full and equal citizenship and political rights.

The right to a normal, happy family life in a democratic nation, in a peaceful world.

The right to freedom from fear of the future.

To help achieve those rights, American Youth for Democracy advances its 1947 program:

1. ECONOMIC SECURITY AND OPPORTUNITY

Young workers, industrial and whitecollar, are a source of cheap labor to employers, are forced into blind alley jobs, and have yet to find real security and equal opportunity in employment and training. They need jobs with a future. The hopes of working youth are tied in with the future of trade unionism.

A. Enact a Federal Youth Security bill. Prepare an over-all government employment and training program to protect the youth from an economic slump. Provide a trade for every young worker. Create national and state youth service administrations.

B. Pass a universal 75 cent minimum wage law.

C. Organize all young workers into trade unions.

D. Support labor's demands for higher wages and decent working and living standards.

E. Repeal the federal wage-ceiling established for veterans in the on-the-job training program.

F. Establish permanent federal and state Fair Employment Practices Committees.

G. Establish equal pay for equal work for youth and women.

H. Restore federal status to the United States Employment Service. End all discriminatory practices in the USES.

I. Improve and enforce all laws governing health and safety standards in industry.

J. Increase social security benefits. Extend the law to cover all workers.

K. Establish decent, minimum old-age pensions to assure rest for the aged, work for the youth.

1B. CHILD LABOR

A. Abolish child labor, with guaranteed education and training for youth.

B. Make 16 years the minimum age for employment.

C. Establish guaranteed annual vacations with pay to all young workers.

D. Increase federal and state appropriations to assure strict enforcement of all child labor protection laws.

2. EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

32-34-42

The principle of free and equal education for all irrespective of sex, race, religion, or economic status, is one of our great democratic traditions. But this principle has not yet become the practice in America.

Today, American education is in a crisis. Lack of housing, shortage of instructors, lack of school facilities, low subsistence pay for student veterans, rising costs of living, discrimination, limitations on academic freedom for students and teachers--these are the conditions making for the biggest crisis education has ever faced. To meet the educational crisis:

A. Establish compulsory high school education for all. Give federal and state financial allotments for all needy students, to guarantee that no student has to leave school to go to work.

B. Enact a large-scale program, in every state and city, and expand existing facilities to build free state universities and city colleges--with federal aid.

C. Establish 100,000 federal scholarships for qualified students from families with low incomes.

D. Increase veteran's subsistence pay to a minimum of $100 a month, and $25 for each dependent.

E. Put a ceiling on tuition fees and dormitory rents as of 1942. Provide free text books for all

F. Increase federal and state funds for emergency and long-range housing for students.

G. Raise teachers' salaries substantially.

2B. DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

A. End the quota system. Withold federal subsidies from colleges which discriminate. Colleges with a quota system should be deprived of their tax exemptions.

B. Abolish Jim Crow schools and colleges.

C. Establish federal standards in education to equalize opportunities between the south and north, between rural and urban areas.

D. End all racial and rreligious discrimination in education, in curricula, and in the selection of teachers and students.

2C. TOWARDS GREATER DEMOCRACY IN OUR SCHOOLS

A. Establish full academic freedom: the right of expression in the classroom, the right of organization on the campus, the right to a free student press.

B. Support the election, not appointment of boards of education, and higher education governing bodies.

C. Work for teacher, student, labor, and parent representation on all bodies governing education.

D. Extend and improve teaching of American History. Include the contribution of the Negro people and the labor movement in the curriculum.

E. Educate all students for friendship and understanding of the youth and people of all nations. Include study of the United Nations Organization in all school curriculum.

F. Bring the program and activities of the International Union of Students (I.U.S.) and the World Federation of Democratic Youth(W.F.D.Y.) to all students.

3. A DECENT HOME FOR ALL

The housing crisis has become a national scandal. The shortage results from the sabotage of any federal housing program by selfish real estate interests. They are busily engaged in commercial and high rental construction.

The housing shortage has created serious problems for American youth. It is resulting in the postponement of marriages, families, and making it difficult to create a normal, happy family life. To assure a decent home for every young man, woman and child, the government must:

A. Establish a federal program to build millions of low-cost homes, and public housing projects.

B. Eliminate city and rural slums.

C. Rent hotels to house veterans until permanent homes are provided.

D. End restrictive covenants and all forms of discrimination in public and private housing.

E. Maintain rent ceilings. Prevent evictions.

32-34-43

4. GOOD HEALTH AND PHYSICAL FITNESS

"Our country is the wealthiest, but not the healthiest." Millions of young Americans have grown up physically or mentally ill because they cannot afford the cost of keeping fit.

During the war one out of every three young men examined were disqualified for unlimited military service because of physical defects. The future well-being of our people is too important to be left to chance. Medical care must be based on need, not income.

A. Establish government responsibility to provide complete and free health care and medical guidance to all children and youth up to the age of 21. Regular, free, T. B. examinations.

B. Combat infantile paralysis and other diseases which strike at children and youth by adequate federal appropriations. Pass the bill for national cancer research.

C. Enact a national health insurance act.

D. Expand and modernize hospitals for mental patients.

E. Build more hospitals and medical schools without any discriminatory practices.

F. Pass a federal maternal care act.

G. Raise incomes of training nurses and interns.

5. A SECURE FUTURE FOR FARM YOUTH

The nation must not overlook the large section of young people who live and work on farms. To prevent future catastrophe to our young farmers, federal action is needed now to:

A. Give U. S. government protection and aid to family-owned and family-operated farms.

B. Make it easier for veterans to get loans to establish their own farms.

C. Expand the system of free agricultural schools and colleges. Equalize all educational opportunities for rural youth with those of urban youth.

D. Expand the cultural and recreational facilities for rural youth.

E. Provide rural youth with free transportation to and from schools.

F. Establish a program for aid to the migratory agricultural workers and their families.

G. Work for close cooperation and better understanding between rural and urban youth.

6. SATISFACTION OF RECREATION AND CULTURAL NEEDS

Creative ability and talents of young people must be encouraged. Our country would be richer if we provided for the fullest opportunity for young people to use and develop their talents.

A. Appropriate government funds to build community centers for youth wherever needed, with provisions for no discrimination.

B. Create a federal recreation agency. Launch a large-scale coordinated national, state, and local program, to establish full and complete recreational facilities and opportunities for young people.

C. Open all schools after school hours as recreation centers, with trained directors.

D. Encourage large-scale sports and recreation programs. End Jim Crow

and discrimination in amateur and professional sports.

E. Create permanent federal theatre, music, art, writing and other cultural projects. Establish specific federal scholarships for students qualified in those fields.

7. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The existence of juvenile crime and delinquency among a small minority of youth reflects our present inability to satisfy all of the normal needs and desires of youth. If every young person would have a good education, a good job, a decent home, racial and religious democracy, and leisure time activities--this problem would be largely solved. We recommend the following:

A. Investigate the system of juvenile courts, prisions and criminal laws affecting young people. The investigation should be under federal sponsorship in cooperation with welfare agencies, educators, labor, and the youth.

B. End discrimination and persecution of Negro, Mexican, and other minority youth.

C. Arrest and prosecute adults who instigate teen-age groups to engage in anti-Negro and anti-Jewish outrages. Re-educate these youth in the spirit of democracy and satisfy their needs and interests.

8. VETERANS

Everyone talks 'for the vets', but to date, too little has been done to guarantee them the fruits of victory which they deserve. To achieve this goal the government must:

A. Guarantee every homeless veteran a home. Build as many low cost homes, and public housing projects as are needed for this purpose.

B. Increase subsistence allowances for student veterans and on-the-job trainees to a minimum of $100 per month, with $25 additional for each dependent.

C. Remove the unjust wage ceiling on the income of on-the-job trainees.

D. Grant higher benefits to disabled veterans and their dependents.

32-34-44

E. Increase veteran's unemployment insurance to a minimum of $25 per week.

F. Insure the right to draw unemployment insurance to veterans who are forced to go on strike for decent working and living conditions.

G. Increase appropriations for the Veterans Administration; expand all hospital and medical facilities of the V. A. Make it easier for veterans to secure loans. Make the Term Insurance Plan permanent. End all discriminatory practices in the V. A.

H. Extend the GI Bill of Rights to cover the merchant seamen.

I. Pass immediate and adequate federal and state bonuses for all veterans. Allow veterans to cash terminal leave bonds immediately.

J. End discrimination against Negro veterans in employment, housing, education, training programs, U. S. Employment Service, and the Veterans Administration.

9. FULL AND EQUAL CITIZENSHIP

The Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution are all part of our democratic heritage, for which Americans fought and died. We must cherish and defend these hard-won liberties. To guarantee these fundamental liberties we oppose any type of discrimination or segregation and will work for inter-faith and inter-racial unity and understanding. We oppose all efforts to divide the American people through anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, red-baiting and other divisive methods.

We will strive to make the right to vote the unrestricted right of every American, especially young American, in every part of the country.

A. Lower the voting age to 18.

B. Pass the Federal Anti-Poll Tax bill. Protect the equal right of the Negro people of the South to vote and take part in the political life of their community.

C. Grant the suffrage to the people of the nation's capitol, Washington, D. C.

D. Establish youth representation in all government departments and committees which are concerned with any phase of youth activities.

E. Support every measure intended to end discrimination affecting young people in our national life; in public and private employment; in education; housing; in school and professional sports; in swimming pools; roller skating rinks, dance halls, theatres, and all recreational facilities; in cultural life; in the armed forces.

F. Pass the federal anti-lynching bill. Establish a strong federal civil rights law. Make anti-Semitism a national crime. Oust Bilbo, and end Bilboism. Abolish the so-called Un-American Activities Committee. Outlaw the K. K. K. and similar fascist organizations.

G. Protect the rights of our free labor movement.

32-34-43

10. WIN THE PEACE

More than anything else American youth need to work for a lasting peace. Vets of World War II do not want to be soldiers of World War III. Teen-agers of today do not want to be vets of tomorrow.

Either America revives the Roosevelt program of Big Three unity as the cornerstone of world peace; or we continue the policy of atom bomb diplomacy and world domination which keeps alive international tensions and the danger of another world war.

The fight for peace which is the most vital job facing youth must be assumed without cynicism. Though the 20th Century has seen two war generations of youth, we must prevent a third at all costs.

A. Support the United Nations and Big Three unity.

B. Finish the job of destroying fascism and militarism in German and Japan.

C. Restore the Roosevelt program of American-Soviet friendship as the cornerstone of world peace and national security.

D. Support general disarmament through the United Nations Organization.

E. Destroy existing piles of atom bombs. Establish international control of atomic energy through the U. N.

F. Cut the swollen peacetime military budget. Spend additional billions for social welfare.

G. Oppose any program for peacetime conscription, or universal military training; and all trends toward militarism in our national life.

H. Create the warmest bonds of friendship between the American youth and the youth of all nations.

I. Support the program and activities of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students--as groups which represent the common interests of the youth of America and all nations.

J. Oppose all propoganda intended to poison American youth with false ideas of national or racial superiority.

CONCLUSION:

American Youth for Democracy, as a popular, anti-fascist organization devoted to the battle for the welfare of youth and the nation, and dedicated to character building, education and action in the spirit of democracy, advances the foregoing 1947 program.

We honor the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was always concerned with the problems of youth.

We place our faith in the intelligence, initiative, and independence of American youth who are striving to realize a peaceful, happy and secure future.

We face the future with optimism and hope, because we believe in our nation, in the greatness of our democratic heritage. We are young Americans who want to preserve the great achievements of our country's past, yet boldly search for new frontiers of social and national progress.

We work, we study, and we fight for the future of youth!

[American Youth for Democracy]

WARNING

AFTER PRESIDENT'S TRUMAN'S SPEECH GET READY FOR A RAID !! AT LONG LAST CHRISTIAN EMOCRACY WILL RULE QUEENS COLLEGE INSTEAD OF THE COMMUNISTIC ATHEISM. F.B.I. HOOVER HAS YOUR AME AND YOUR ORGANIZATION. THE A.Y.D IS ON IT'S WAY OUT IN QUEENS AND EVERY OTHER COLLEGE?AND AMAY BE YOU ALSO.?? ITS TOO LATE TO EMBRACE DEMOCRACY.WE GIVE YOU AN EDUCATION FROM CRADLE TO GRAVE AND STILL YOU SUB-

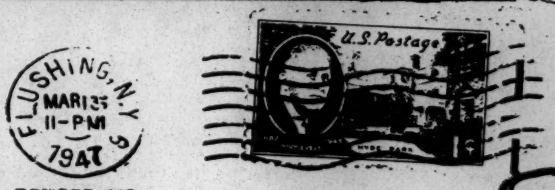
Reprinted from NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN
THURSDAY, February 13, 1947

SCRIBE TO "COMMUNISTIC A.Y.I WHOM MR. HOOVER LONG AGO DEC*- LARED PRO-COMMUNISTIC

'It Can't Happen Here!'

BEWARE OF BLOOD-SHED ON THE CAM-PUS IF WAR IS DECLARED

and to Russia, no matter what flip-



MR. ALAN SIEGLER, PRESIDENT,

A.Y.D.

QUEENS COLLEGE?

FLUSHING, L.I.

QUEENS COLLEGE STUDENT'S ANTI-DOTE ORG.(against communism)

22a-7

WARNING

The "get-AYD" campaign leads (just as the "get-the-'reds'" campaign in Germany and Italy did) to FASCISM. These Christian Front incitements to force and violence expressed in this letter to the AYD president are the inevitable accompaniments of Antidote's fight against democracy. FASCISM, despite all the "best intentions" in the world, is the ultimate goal of that fight.

Freshman City Councilman McGahan from Queens has introduced a resolution to ban AYD. Like the Student Council action this is another green light to fascism. THIS DRIVE AGAINST STUDENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS MUST BE STOPPED.

Write and wire your protests to the City Council and to the Student Council. DEFEND DEMOCRACY BY DEFENDING THE AYD'S DEMOCRATIC RIGHT TO ORGANIZE.

Issued by American Youth for Democracy, Intercollegiate Division
150 Nassau Street, New York 7, New York

[American Youth for Democracy]

Box 262.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS, CONNECTICUT

February 15, 1947.

Work Shut 13
on May 11 (Except 15)

Mr. William Du Bois
New Masses
304 East 9 Street
New York City

22-11-146

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The University of Connecticut branch of the American Youth for Democracy would like very much to bring to the students an awareness of the race problems existing in our country and the necessity for brotherhood among the diverse groups which make up our nation. Our students for the most part are ignorant or indifferent to these problems and need to be told and reminded of the importance of these issues. We thought that no one could do a better job than you in this task having spent so much time studying just this.

If you are interested, we should like to know what dates are available to you so that we may start making plans for a meeting and perhaps have other groups join us in sponsoring this meeting, especially the various religious groups.

May I add that we are feeling a very definite racial and religious problem here. Negro students

THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS, CONNECTICUT

22-11-147

have been barred from restaurants in town and little, if any, protest was sounded. There is also the problem of segregation of students of different religious faiths in the dormitories. I could cite others, but I believe that these will suffice to convince you of the need for education for brotherhood on our campus in order to dispel the lethargy which now exists in relation to it.

We shall be waiting anxiously to hear from you.

Yours Sincerely,

Clarice Claps

Clarice Claps,
President of the
Univ. of Conn.
branch of the
American Youth
for Democracy.

P.S. Your book "Color and Democracy" was recommended very strongly to the congregation at the Storrs Protestant Church by Dr. Harlow, guest speaer at the Sunday services; he is an instructor at Smith Collegs.

[American Youth for Democracy]

Box 262
University of Conn.
Storrs, Conn.
March 5, 1947

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

22-11-148

Thank you for accepting our invitation to speak at the University of Connecticut. We would like to have the lecture on Thursday, April 17, if this is convenient for you.

This meeting will have to be tentative because of the technicalities of university regulations and finance, which can not be settled until we are sure that you will be available at that date.

Please send me the subject of your lecture and any material on yourself that will be useful for publicity.

Sincerely
Claxine Claps

April 17, Democracy

[Am. Youth for Democracy - Connecticut, U-Conn]

Re Marsh
booth 2-6458

1 April 1947

22-11-149

My dear Miss Claps:

I wired you from the West saying that I could speak April seventeenth. I have received as yet no confirmation. Will you kindly let me have your decision at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Claps telephoned April 3 saying sponsoring organization is having difficulty with University administration; must have their O.K. on all speakers; will notify you as soon as possible. Cannot hold up his lecture program but if it does not conflict with other engagements would be glad to accept.

Miss Clarice Claps
The University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut

[Am. Youth for Democracy]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS, CONNECTICUT
Box 262
April 12, 1947

Dear Mr. DuBois,

I regret to inform you that we shall have to postone your lecture of April 17. If you still have the week of May 11 free we would like to invite you to speak on May 14. yes—

I am sorry that we did not let you know sooner but the administration has put a partial ban on the activities of the A. Y. D. of which we were not informed until last week.

22-11-150

THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS, CONNECTICUT

We hope to clear up this situation soon but if that is not possible one will present your lecture off campus.

Please let us know if May 14 is still open. Thank you.

Sincerely
Classics Chairman

22-11-151

[Am. Youth for Democracy]

22-11-152

17 April 1947

My dear Miss Claps:

As I am speaking in Boston May 15th, I could speak for you May 14th provided you let me know far enough ahead.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Clarice Claps
The University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut

[Am. Youth for Democracy]

F

THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS, CONNECTICUT

April 30, 1947

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

We find it impossible at this time to present you on May 14th. I am very sorry that we could not make the necessary arrangement and hope that perhaps the group next fall will be able to have the pleasure of hearing your lecture.

Sincerely
Charles Clapp

22-11-163

[American Youth for Democracy-
Roosevelt (Col.)]

Lecture

Chicago, Illinois.
November 13, 1947.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I am lead to understand that you will be in Chicago sometime during the last two weeks of November. I would like to know if you will be available to speak for the Roosevelt College Chapter of American Youth for Democracy on the subject of Negro Discrimination and Oppression in the United States?

22-12-15

Our local chapter feels that among the many important questions facing the American student, as well as the American people, the question of Negro discrimination is a major one; therefore, the AYD at Roosevelt College is placing a great deal of emphasis in bringing to the students a clearer and more factual picture of the role of the Negro people in America. This we hope to do, in part, through a series of lectures and forums. We sincerely hope that you will honor us as our first guest speaker.

Hoping to hear from you in the very near future, I am, respectfully yours,

Edward Weiss

Educational Director,
Roosevelt College Chapter,
American Youth for Democracy

Home Address:
1620 S. Trumbull Ave
Chicago 23, Ill.

November 20, 1947

Mr. Edward Weiss
1620 South Trumbull Avenue
Chicago 23, Illinois

Dear Mr. Weiss:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois, concerning his appearance before the American Youth for Democracy chapter of Roosevelt College, has come during his absence from his desk. However, Doctor's lecture itinerary is already so full that it will be impossible for him to add another lecture to his list. Perhaps, if you had contacted him in sufficient time it might have been arranged.

I know that he appreciated your interest and would liked to have spoken to your group. It may be that in the future he will be in a position to serve you, so please feel free to communicate with him.

With regrets, but extending best wishes for the success of your organization, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

105 Social Science Hall

November 4, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Special Research
NAACP
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

22-3-14

On June 26 of this year while in New York, I addressed a letter to you in which a request was made for an interview. From Dr. Diggs I learned that work in which you were engaged at the time did not permit you to grant favors which at other times might be willingly bestowed. Therefore, I did not trouble you futher at that time.

My study, A Sociological Analysis of the NAACP, has now reached the stage where I definitely need and would highly appreciate assistance from you. Such assistance would consist of answers, from you in particular, to two questions. They are:

1. What were the general cultural and social conditions which gave rise to the orgin of the NAACP?

Ch 8, DuBois "Dusk of Dawn"

2. Upon its formation and activation, what goals were first selected by the NAACP?

Consult annual reports, N.A.A.C.P.

I realize the value of your time and, therefore, do not wish you to allow my request to consume too much of it. If you will please be so kind as to consider it at all, you may feel free to use your own discretion as to the length or brevity of any statements you may make.

Your kindness exhibited in helping me will always be highly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Robert A. Anglin

Robert A. Anglin

ar:RAA

xxxxxxxxxxxxx

November 7, 1947

Mr. Robert A. Anglin
Department of Sociology
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

22-3-15

Dear Mr. Anglin: I am replying to your letter of November 4, to Dr. DuBois. In reference to the questions asked therein, I believe the following will be of some help to you:

1. What were the general cultural and social conditions which gave rise to the origin of the N.A.A.C.P.?

   See Chapter 8, DUSK OF DAWN, autobiography of W. E. B. DuBois.

2. Upon its formation and activation, what goals were first selected by the NAACP?

   Consult the Annual Reports of the NAACP, published by the Association.

We sincerely hope that you will find these sources of aid. Let us know if we can be of further service.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

[Arkansas A[illegible]
Mechanical + Normal College]

18 April 1947

My dear Mr. Davis:

22-13-8

I am speaking in Arkansas May twenty-seventh. I could arrange to speak at Pine Bluff just before or just after that date. My charge would be one hundred dollars out of which I would pay my own expenses. I would be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very truly yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President Lawrence A. Davis
AM and N College
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

[Arkansas A, M, and N College]

AGRICULTURAL, MECHANICAL & NORMAL COLLEGE

PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 9, 1947

22-13-6

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have been out of the city, but found your letter on my desk when I arrived.

Our commencement schedule is as follows: Baccalaureate Sunday May 25, High School Commencement Monday night, May 26, and the College Commencement Tuesday morning May 27. We have secured speakers for each of these occasions. However, my class is having a reunion and we would be very glad to have you speak for us on Monday evening, May 26.

Please let me know western union collect if it will be possible for you to come to us at that time.

Yours very truly,

Lawrence A. Davis

Lawrence A. Davis
President

LAD:rd

[Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical & Normal College]

21 May 1947

My dear President Davis:

22-13-7

I have your telegram asking me to speak Monday, May twenty-sixth, at 3:30 p. m. You did not mention a subject. Suppose I speak on the "United Nations and the Negro" or I could speak on education. I shall be prepared to speak on either subject.

I should like to get back to Little Rock Tuesday morning.

The fee, as you understand, is one hundred dollars.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President Lawrence A. Davis
A M and N College
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

1947 [Arkansas A&M College]

lecture

2 June 1947

My dear President Davis:

I want to thank you very much for the opportunity of speaking to your classmates and to the students. I enjoyed my trip to Arkansas State and was only sorry not to be able to stay longer. With best regards to you and Mrs. Davis.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-27-6

President Lawrence A. Davis
A M and N College
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

17 April 1947

22-19-45

Gentlemen:

Answering your letter of April 15th, may I say that Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois fell downstairs at her home 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore 14, Maryland in the fall of 1945 and tore the ligaments of her back. She was in Provident Hospital for several months and recovered fairly well. In the spring of 1946, however, she had a paralytic stroke and was taken to the Montefiore Hospital, New York City where she stayed until June 22nd, 1946.when she returned to her home in Baltimore. In November 1946, she fell on her way to the bathroom and strained again the ligaments in her back. She was taken to the Provident Hospital and it was this stay at the hospital which is the basis of claim No. 1306894. Her physician was Dr. I. G. Higgins.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Associated Hospital Service
370 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

[Associated Hospital Service]

25 April 1947

22-A-44

Gentlemen:

Answering your letter of April fifteenth, may I say that Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois fell downstairs at her home, 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore 14, Maryland in the fall of 1945 and tore the ligaments of her back. She was in Provident Hospital for several months and recovered fairly well. In the spring of 1946, however, she had a paralytic stroke and was taken to the Montefiore Hospital, New York City, where she stayed until June twenty-second, 1946 when she returned to her home in Baltimore. In November, 1946, she fell on her way to the bathroom and strained again the ligaments in her back. She was taken to the Provident Hospital and it was this stay at the hospital which is the basis of claim No. 1306894. Her physician was Dr. I. G. Higgins, 2243 Madison Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Associated Hospital Service
370 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Sent

The Hospital Sponsored Blue Cross Plan

ASSOCIATED HOSPITAL SERVICE OF NEW YORK

370 LEXINGTON AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 4-5900

May 19, 1947

W.E.B. DuBois
c/o Color & Democracy Colonies & Peace
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

Re: Nina G. DuBois
Claim Number: 1306894
Hospital: Provident Hospital
Date Admitted: 11/2/46
Payment $508.00

Dear Subscriber:

Our check for the above amount was sent today to the captioned hospital in payment of the benefits under your contract for hospital service received by you.

If the hospital did not credit you with this amount toward its bill for hospital services rendered, you should receive a refund in due course directly from the hospital.

We are gratified that through your foresight in securing the protection of our Plan we have been able to be of assistance to you at this time.

Very truly yours,

Harry Sesan

HARRY SESAN
Vice President

HS:NMS
cp

22a-8

December 23, 1947

The Associated Negro Press
3507 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Gentlemen:

We want to thank you for sending the clippings on Dr. Du Bois. However, since the news items are not identified as to source, we find ourselves handicapped in using them in our research work.

Hereafter, we will appreciate your identifing them by name of newspaper, or periodical, or other source from which they have been taken.

We know that you understand how necessary this is and want to thank you for your courtesy in keeping us informed.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

THE ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF LANGUAGE
IN
NEGRO COLLEGES

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
April 23, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

22-27-19

The Association of Teachers of Language in Negro Colleges is attempting to hold its first meeting since the war in New York City on May 2 and 3. Our theme for the conference is "The Effects of Race in the Teaching of Language and Literature." We should like you to give us a presentation during one of our meetings, either Friday afternoon, May 2, or Saturday afternoon, May 3, on a subject that might be suggested from the theme of the conference.

We realize that this invitation is given on very short notice, but we are hopeful that you will accept. The exact hour and place of the meeting will be forwarded to you within a few days.

It is anticipated that about fifty persons will attend the sessions.

May I be favored with an early reply.

Very truly yours,

B. F. Dabney
Executive Secretary

BFD/dl

[Association of Teachers of Language in]

25 April 1947

My dear Mr. Dabney:

Dr. Du Bois wishes me to say in answer to your letter of April twenty-third that he appreciates the invitation but he has so many engagements he cannot accept.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

22-27

Mr. B. F. Dabney
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

[Atlanta Board of Education]

January 23, 1947

Secretary of the Board of Education
Atlanta, Georgia

Sir:

22-3-16

I have been trying in vain for several months to get a certificate of graduation for Ruby Lavada Jones, whose married name is Baker. She lives at 140 West 116th St. Apt. 3, New York City. She did most of her graduate work in the Dublin High School and then was transferred to the Booker Washington High School, Atlanta, Georgia, where she studied at night English and History under Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Martin. She was graduated in June 1939. She wishes a certificate to that effect so that she can enter schools in New York City.

I have already sent one dollar to the principal of the Booker Washington High School but have been unable to hear from him. May I ask your good offices to obtain this certificate? I am enclosing a stamp addressed envelope.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

[Atlanta University]

PHYLON

A Quarterly Review of Race and Culture
Atlanta University
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Editorial Office

January 6, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Wilkie House
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

22-14-27

I'm enclosing a note that came from Mr. Cedric Dover, 3 St. Peter's Square, London W. 6, ~~enclosed~~ with an article for PHYLON entitled "Our Creative Problem: The Problem in Coloured Writing." Since the note had several personal references, I'm sending it on to you. The article was addressed simply to The Editor of PHYLON, and therefore we opened it here.

In Ira's absence this year I'm trying to hold PHYLON together. I certainly hope he comes back. Under separate cover I'm sending you complimentary copies of the last two issues in the hope that you will find them at least not too disappointing.

We have lost track of Miss Diggs. Please send us her address if you have it.

I was very happy at seeing the announcement of your new book on Africa which is to come out soon. It is good to know that all goes well with you and that you're producing at good speed.

I hope that you will have a very happy and fruitful New Year. As always, you have my best and most personal good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Tillman

N. P. Tillman
Managing Editor

P.S. — I haven't had a chance to read the article, and I'm passing it on to her.

NPT:JPC
Enclosure

[Atlanta University]

10 January 1947

22-14-28

Dear Mr. Tillman:

Thank you for forwarding Dover's letter. The address of Dr. Irene Diggs is: Yacht Club Uruguayo, Puerto de Buceo, Montevideo, Uruguay. I thank you for your kind words and have every sympathy for the great burden that is being placed upon you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. N. P. Tillman
Managing Editor
PHYLON
Atlanta University
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Atlanta University

16 June 1947

22-32-30

My dear Mr. Huth:

I am sorry to trouble you, but I am writing again with reference to my manuscript of BLACK RECONSTRUCTION. Miss Diggs has at last located her memorandum of my things. According to this memorandum the manuscript marked "Box No. III" was first stored in the Administration Building. However, she seems to remember that during the war when there was need for space you came and asked if this box might be stored in the Knowles Building on Chestnut Street.

Would you be so kind as to look again? If this box cannot be found in the Administration or Knowles Buildings, is there any other place where it might have been put? How would it be for Miss Diggs to come down to Atlanta to help look?

With kind personal regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. A. S. Huth
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

[Atlanta University]

PHYLON
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF RACE AND CULTURE
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

EDITORIAL OFFICE

October 22, 1947

22-19-35

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Hugh:

Phylon would be very much interested in having a summary on the NAACP petition. If you would let us have this before November 1st, we will run it in the December issue of the magazine.

My very best wishes to Doctor DuBois and the Smythes.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Editor

IDR:b

P.S. Why not do an article of 2500 - 3000 words for the first issue of 1948. We will run it as a lead if —

[Atlanta U. - Phylon]

Hugh Smythe

October 27, 1947

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ira: Here is the abbreviated article on the NAACP petition to the United Nations. Please feel free to change the title or shorten it to suit your needs--but retain the meaning.

Thanks for the offer for a long article, but I thought this material would be better. I plan to go abroad next year and then hope to send you a full length article on the result of my field study.

Hope all is going well with your work. Mabel joins me in best regards and best wishes.

Cordially,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

Enclosure

88-3

[Atlanta University]

PHYLON
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF RACE AND CULTURE
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

EDITORIAL OFFICE

November 4, 1947

22a-19

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Smythe:

Thank you ever so much for the article on the NAACP petition to the United Nations. We are publishing this in the December issue of Phylon with a very few changes. A galley proof will be sent to you shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Editor

IDR:b

[Atlanta University]

PHYLON
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF RACE AND CULTURE
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

EDITORIAL OFFICE

December 6, 1947

22a-14
OK
Returned Dec. 12 1947
Signed

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We would greatly appreciate your endorsement on the enclosed check.

Sincerely yours,

Jeanette P. Cameron

(Mrs.) J. P. Cameron
Secretary

Enclosure

[Atlanta University]

PHYLON
The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture

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Education—

KEUKA COLLEGE
KEUKA PARK, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

October 21, 1947

Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

22-5-27

As part of my Sociology course in Community Trends, I am making a study of the Trends in Negro Higher Education. I am trying to see the trends primarily from 1900 through the present time. Some of the things that I am interested in are the opportunities for Negroes in higher education, whether there is more or less segregation in this area, and Negroes in white colleges.

If you have any material, annual reports, catalogues, or anything else on this subject which would be of help to me, I would appreciate them very much. I feel that you would have some first hand information.

Thank you for your kind consideration.

Yours truly,

Jean Atwell

October 28, 1947

22-5-28

Miss Jean Atwell
Department of Sociology
Keuka College
Keuka Park, New York

My dear Miss Atwell:

Answering your letter of October 21, I would advise you to write to Dr. Ambrose Caliver, specialist in Negro education, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. Also examine the annual Education numbers of the CRISIS published usually in August of each year. They give data as to Negro students in white and Negro colleges.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

3-0056

WEBD:lm

Lectures

22 January 1947

My dear Mr. Potts:

I am proposing to arrive in Charleston February 15 and leaving the 17th for Tallahassee, where I speak on the 18th. Could you secure for me Pullman accommodations for that trip if it is any way possible?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-11-134

Mr. John S. Potts
Avery Institute
Carleston, South Carolina

Avery Institute

CHARLESTON 16, S. C.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

An
American Missionary Association
School

January 25, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 1 8, New Nork

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In compliance with your request, I have secured reservations for you to Jacksonville, Florida. The train leaves here at 8:43 P. M. and arrives in Jacksonville about 2:00 o'clock in the morning, but since you have a pullman you may sleep until 7:30 that same morning. You will have to change in Jacksonville for Tallahassee. The train leaves at 10:10 and arrives in Tallahassee at 3:30 in the afternoon. The ticket agent here said that you will have to buy your ticket for Tallahassee when you get to Jacksonville.

22-11-127

You did not say what time you were to speak in Tallahassee but I assume it is that night and this schedule will enable you to get there in plenty of time for your speaking engagement. You could get an earlier train out of here for Jacksonville but it does not carry pullman and you would arrive in Tallahassee in the early hours of the morning, and I did not think you would want to do that. Let me know if these arrangements meet your approval. I did not ask the ticket agent if the Seaboard train, leaving Jacksonville, had pullman accommodations or not. If so, do you want me to try to secure pullman accommodations from Jacksonville to Tallahassee? It is approximately a five hour ride. You will go from Charleston to Jacksonville by way of Atlantic Coast Line, from Jacksonville to Tallahassee by way of Seaboard.

If there is anything I can do further, Please do not hesitate to let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

John F. Potts
Director

JFP:DEMcD

Lecture

January 29, 1947

Dear Mr. Potts;

Please have this chart made for use in my lecture. It should be large enough for the students to see.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. John F. Potts
Avery Institute
Charleston 16, South Carolina

Lecture 19

January 29, 1947

My dear Mr. Potts;

I have your letter of January 25, 1947. Your arrangement as far as Jacksonville is all right but I shall be under great obligations if you could secure pullman accommodations from Jacksonville to Tallahasse. Pay for this railroad accommodation and take it out of my fee.

Thank you very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. John F. Potts
Avery Institute
Charleston 16, South Carolina

[Azikiwe Testimonial Dinner]

African Academy of Arts and Research

and

Lincoln University Alumni Association

Cordially Invites You To Attend A

Testimonial Dinner

honoring

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe

NIGERIA, WEST AFRICA
PUBLISHER, AUTHOR, LEGISLATOR
President, National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons
Member of Nigerian Legislative Council

at

HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA
Thirty-Third Street and Seventh Avenue

on

FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1947

7:30 p.m.
Reply Card Enclosed

Cover $7.00
Dress Informal

MAYOR WILLIAM O'DWYER
Honorary Chairman of Dinner Committee

'I am pleased to greet Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe upon his arrival in the United States.

"His work as editor, legislator and representative of the Nigerian people is known to us here in America. His election by an overwhelming majority as the First Lagos Member of the Nigerian Legislative Council is a tribute to the leadership which he has given to the vast membership of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons.

"I trust that his stay here will be pleasant and that he will take back with him memories of the friendship and cordiality of the people of the City of New York."

MAYOR WILLIAM O'DWYER, *stated in his welcoming address to Dr. Azikiwe at City Hall, June* 11, 1947.

Program

COM. MAURICE P. DAVIDSON, TOASTMASTER

STAR SPANGLED BANNER

REV. CHARLES Y. TRIGG
PASTOR, SALEM METHODIST CHURCH
Invocation

MAYOR WILLIAM O'DWYER
Welcome Address

DR. HORACE MANN BOND
PRESIDENT, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
Remarks

REV. JAMES H. ROBINSON
CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS
AFRICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND RESEARCH
Remarks

BENJAMIN COHEN
ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL, UNO
Remarks

K. OZUOMBA MBADIWE
PRESIDENT, AFRICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND RESEARCH
Introduction of Dr. Azikiwe

DR. NNAMDI AZIKIWE
GUEST OF HONOR
President, National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons

"DREAM COME TRUE"
Motion Picture Preview, including guest of honor in reception at City Hall and Hyde Park. This is a portion of a more complete movie.

REV. ASABANSA JOHNSON
PRESIDENT, INTERDENOMINATIONAL MINISTERS ALLIANCE
Benediction

LOUVINIA WHITE, *Songs* — EVERETTE LEE, *Violin*
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[Azikiwe Testimonial Dinner]

23 June 1947

22-7-12

Dr. Du Bois regrets that he will be unable to attend the Testimonial Dinner honoring Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe because of the annual meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Washington.

African Academy

6 May 1947

22-7-17

My dear Pearl:

I am proposing to have dinner with you Sunday, May 11th and, if there is a vacant couch, to stay to breakfast, Monday May 12th. Please think up your best excuses and write me. Of course perhaps you have already departed for Jamaica. My best regards to you and the doctor.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Pearl Bailey
212 West Penn Street
Germantown, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania

22-7-18 [? 1947]

No. 209
Sea and river meet to make this spot the most alluring holiday resort in the world.

Here's where we went sea bathing the other day. We are certainly enjoying this lovely country and its hospitable people. They have been so kind in inviting us to their beautiful homes. And the Myrtle Bank Hotel where we are stopping is the height of everything one enjoys in the line of luxury and comfort. Love, Pearl + Dr. B.

65633

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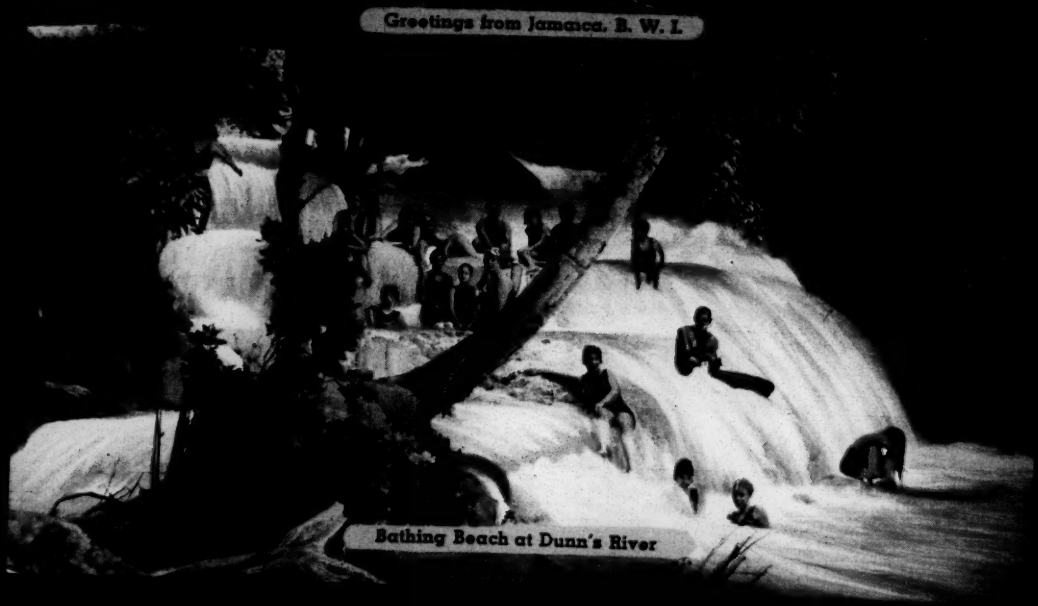
POST CARD

Pearl Bailey

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Ave.,
New York City.
New York.
U.S.A.


Greetings from Jamaica, B. W. I.
Bathing Beach at Dunn's River

2 June 1947

22-7-16

My dear Pearl:

Enclosed is a book which you so kindly loaned me. I hope that I have not kept it too long. I enjoyed it very much. I have just returned from visiting my granddaughter in school in Northfield, Mass. and also from a trip to Arkansas where I spoke in Little Rock and Pine Bluff. I hope you are better and that I shall see you again soon. Best regards to the doctor.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Pearl Bailey
212 West Penn Street
Germantown, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania

Lecture

December 18, 1947

Mrs. Pearl Bailey
212 West Penn Street
Germantown, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania

My dear Dr. and Mrs. Bailey:

22-12-43

I have not heard from you recently but I imagine that you are both lying naked under banana trees in Jamaica, without a care in the world. However, if by any chance this should happen to find you in Philadelphia, I write to say that I shall be in the city a few hours the day after Christmas or the Saturday following. I shall call you up and if you are there, come out and visit for an hour or so. I'll be careful not to put the burden of dinner upon Pearl or to re-open that sky bedroom. Do not bother to answer.

With all good luck.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[B.I.M.A. News]

File P.V

B. I. M. A. News Magazine

Official Organ of the Baltimore Institute of Musical Arts, Inc.

811 West Lanvale Street - MA dison 10222 - Baltimore 17, Md.

December 8, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Peoples Voice
210 W. 125th Street
New York 27, New York

22-11-20

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I read your very fine article on African Ballet in London, which was carried in the People's Voice magazine, and liked it so much that I am writing you for permission to reprint it in our magazine, BIMA News.

If you and People's Voice will grant me this permission, and lend me the mat, or the picture to use with the article as you were run in People's Voice, you can rest assured that it will be returned to you exactly as sent.

Of course, as the custom is, you, and People's Voice will be given proper credit for your article.

Our deadline for copy is December 15th for the January issue, and if you can possibly get the pictures and the permission to print same here by the end of this week, it will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Clarence L. Carter

Clarence L. Carter,
Managing Editor,
BIMA News Magazine.

CLC/dmj

yes
WEBD

mat to be sent by Voice
Dec. 12 Smythe called. Mr. Brooks secretary took info. and promised to send mat at once.

December 12, 1947

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Clarence L. Carter
Managing Editor
B.I.M.A. News Magazine
811 Lanvale Street
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Mr. Carter:

Thank you for your letter of December 8, which has just reached this office. Dr. DuBois is away on a lecture tour of the Middle West, but we have contacted him in regard to your request to re-run the article on the African Ballet in London, which appeared in the PEOPLE'S VOICE. The Doctor has granted his permission for you to use this, and we assume that the paper has already contacted you in regard to the mat or picture. If not, a letter to them asking for it should bring a positive reply.

Thanking you for your interest and hoping that this will reach you in time, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

State College
Prairie View, Texas
October 31, 1947

Dear Dr. DuBois:

First let me tell you that Mr. Banks was in a train wreck and got a head wound that had to be sewed up, but that he is up and about and well on the way to his usual tasks. He was hospitalized in Marshall, Texas and you know how I felt, but JohnRice went to see about him and Robert Jefferson a former A.U.man, my cousin, at present teaching here comforted me and now he is here with me. Mr. Banks came home alone Monday Oct. 27 morning.

Second, please send us two (2) copies of your document for U.N. titled "An Appeal for ~~Redres~~ Redress."

Always praying for you and always so proud of you and with prayers for your dear ones, I am

Sincerely yours,

Lovinia Virginia Perry Banks

22-15-3

November 6, 1947

Prairie View

Mrs. Glovina V. P. Banks
State College
Parairie View, Texas

22-15-2

My dear Mrs. Banks:

I heard through the papers that Mr. Banks was injured, and was about to write him when I got your letter. I am glad he was not more severely injured.

Why on earth will he persist in riding on Jim-Crow cars, especially over long distances! It could be arranged for him to ride comfortably and safely, and he is reaching an age when that is absolutely necessary. Give him my best regards and hope for complete recovery. If possible I may drop down that way in February or March.

I am sorry not to be able to send you copies of the United Nations Petition. The mimeographed copies are all exhausted; but the Appeal will eventually be published as a book and I will send you notice just as soon as I know when it is going to be out.

I am well, but Mrs. Du Bois is quite ill and probably will not ever get better; she is,however, fairly comfortable. Give my best regards to all my friends and my love to you and Mr. Banks.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lectures

22-26-61

6 January 1947

My dear Mr. Banks:

I have not heard from you or the president since you last letter, but may I add this information: to date my last engagement before Texas is at Southern University, Louisiana, February 24th, I shall therefore be free to take other engagements from the 25th to March 7th. Dallas is trying to find a February date but I doubt if she will. I am due in Langston, Oklahoma March 8th.

I am going to be engaged in writing a novel on this trip so that if I am marooned at Prairie View from the 24th to the 8th, it will be quite satisfactory to me, even if it is hard on Mrs. Banks. Yours with best regards and wishing you a happy New Year.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. W. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

73 High Street
Ipswich, Mass.
April 9, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Ass. for Advancement
of Colored People
Washington, D. C.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

22-3-19

I am a student at Ipswich High School and have been given a graduation essay. My subject will be the contribution to culture of the American Negro. I do not want to go into the discrimination angle too much except as a sub-idea.

I have happened on your name many times in my research and thought you might have some interesting material on the subjects. I should appreciate

your sending me any information just as soon as you possibly can.

yours truly,
Anne Barry

17 April 1947

22-3-20

Dear Miss Barry:

Dr. Du Bois regrets that he does not have the time to answer your letter of April 9th but suggests that you search the bibliographies in some of the following books:

Du Bois, W. E. B.: Black Folk: then and now
Herskovits, The American Negro
____, Myth of the Negro Past
Klineberg, Otto, Racial Differences
Johnson, Charles S., The Negro College Graduate
Hare, Maud, Negro musicians and their Music

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Miss Anne Barry
73 High Street
Ipswich, Massachusetts

Director, MELVIN ARNOLD Editorial Director, ALBERT C. DIEFFENBACH Production and Sales Director, IRENE NUTE

THE BEACON PRESS

25 Beacon Street Boston 8, Massachusetts

22-17-09

March 5, 1947

Dr. W. E. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The other day, I remarked to my colleague, the Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Editor of The Register, that a quotation from an article by you in The Register some months ago had been made into a Wayside Community Pulpit "sermon".

The Rev. Dr. Scribner of the North Avenue Methodist Church in Baltimore had written me about it. He said that a graduate student, working on his thesis, wished to make use of your saying in the frame-work of the Pulpit on the gounds of Dr. Scribner's Church. The sentence as adapted from your Register article, was as follows: "We have enough for all; why, in God's name, is the problem of poverty still unsettled?"

We have heard from many quarters with approbabion about this trenchant statement. It was submitted by one of our contributors who adapted it, from several places in your article, into a unified whole.

I thought you would be pleased to know about your "message" which appeared in some hundreds of Wayside Pulpits in various parts of the country.

I had the pleasure of meeting and speaking with you in Hartford a good many years ago. My home, through college, was Baltimore.

With distinguished regard, I am

Faithfully yours,

Albert C. Dieffenbach

Albert C. Dieffenbach

[Beacon Press]

25 April 1947

22-17-10

My dear Mr. Dieffenback:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 5 which on account of lectures in the West I have not until now had chance of answering. I am very glad that any word of mine has been of use and I appreciate what you say.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Albert C. Dieffenback
The Beacon Press
25 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

ROYAUME DE BELGIQUE
DÉLÉGATION PERMANENTE AUPRÈS
DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES
BUREAU 3001, 630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

[BELGIUM]

NEW YORK, N.Y.
OCT 30
8 30PM
1947

3 CENTS

NATL ASSN FOR ADVANCEMENT OD COLORED PEOPLE
20 W, 40 Street
New York City

21-222

[BELGIUM]

ROYAUME DE BELGIQUE

DÉLÉGATION PERMANENTE
AUPRÈS DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES

D.1024 - S/1274 - sp

NEW YORK 20, N.Y., le October 30, 1947
BUREAU 3001, 630 FIFTH AVENUE
TÉL. COLUMBUS 5-2377

34830 OCT 31 47

22-13-56

Gentlemen :

I would appreciate very much your forwarding me a copy of the document your organization recently submitted to the United Nations Organization.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I remain

Very truly yours,

I. Smets.

NOV 6 1947

NATL ASSN FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 w, 40 Street
New-York City,

22-17-29

3 February 1947

My dear Mrs. Bell:

I am off to the South and West for two months this is just a word of greeting. Mrs. Du Bois is improving and will go home from the hospital in a week or so. My love to you and the girls.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Thomas Bell
340 Belmont
Newark, New Jersey

BENNETT COLLEGE

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 8, 1947

22-11-30

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is a matter of sincere regret to me that the dates which you have suggested are not possible for us here at Bennett. Our program had been lined up for some time, and the dates in and around the early part of February are filled to capacity.

If it is ever possible for you to offer us another date I hope you will do so, for our students need to hear you.

I sincerely hope that the year will be good to you in every way. Hope you are getting more sleep than you got at camp this summer.

Very truly yours,

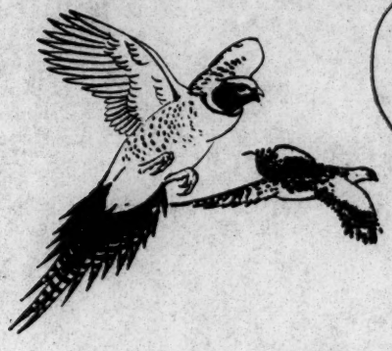
David D. Jones

David D. Jones
President

ddj/g

LICENSED SHOOTING PRESERVE
1482 ACRES IN THE FOOTHILLS OF THE BERKSHIRES

QUALITY GAME BIRDS
PHEASANTS-MALLARDS-QUAIL-CHUKARS



Berkshire Game Farm

DON SPENCER. OWNER
271 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
PHONE: MURRAY HILL 7-6464

Circ. B.

For a Glorious Easter Dinner

--- ROAST PHEASANT, A LA BERKSHIRE

We made a harvest of young pheasants in the deep winter when they were at their best — plump and tender from heavy feedings of corn and other fattening grains. Then they were plucked and fast-frozen. We are ready to send them to you now, packed with dry ice, to arrive in perfect condition for a distinctive Easter dinner.

Berkshire Game Farm pheasants have won first place among connoisseurs for their delicate flavor and tenderness. Our customers include many famous families in all parts of the country.

Besides ordering pheasants for your own Easter dinner, consider what a novel and appreciated gift a brace of these magnificent birds would make for a dear friend, relative, or business executive whom you would especially like to please.

All birds are shipped as a brace (2 birds) and regular express or parcel post charges are prepaid. On air express shipments to distant points, you are billed for the difference between regular and air express charges. Safe arrival is guaranteed.

Our pheasants and other game birds are bred for size and table use, and are as simple to prepare as chicken. There can be no doubt of the results, for detailed, easy-to-follow cooking instructions which offer you a variety of recipes, each equally tempting, are included with every order.

If you wish to keep a substantial quantity of game birds in your deepfreeze for dinner parties and special occasions, take advantage of these low quantity rates *now*. This is our last offer and your last opportunity to buy Berkshire game birds until next Fall.

Pheasants, by the brace, $12.00
6 brace or more, $10.00

Mallard Ducks, by the brace, $8.00
6 brace or more, $6.00

Bob White Quail, by the brace, $6.00
6 brace or more, $5.00

Chukar Partridge, by the brace, $14.00
6 brace or more, $12.00

(The lower rate also applies to mixed orders for six brace or more.)

Quail and Chukar Partridge are shipped *in feather only*. Pheasants and Mallard Ducks can be ordered dressed, if preferred — ready for the oven. There is no extra charge for dressed Pheasants or Mallard Ducks.

BERKSHIRE GAME FARM

* * * *

Easter is only a few weeks away—April 6—so make up your Easter list NOW and forward it to us.

30 April 1947

Gentlemen:

If you still have a brace of Bob White Quail please send them to me at 409 Edgecombe Avenue, New York 32. Otherwise return the check. Enclosed is $6.00.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Berkshire Game Farm
271 Madison Avenue
New York City

131 Edgecombe Ave. Apt. 15
New York City N.Y.
8. 14. 47

Mr. W. E. B Du Bois,
c/o Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill,

22-22-39

Sir,

I am compiling an "International Colored Who's Who" so as to enable Colored people the world over to know more about each other.

You are included in this "Who's Who" and I am asking your kind co-operation. Would you please accommodate me with the following as early as possible.

1) a mat of yourself
2) a short Auto-biography
3) Permission to publish.

Please let me hear from you very early.

Thanks.

I remain
Sincerely Yours
Ferdie H. Bernard

Copy for Senator Davis

21 August 1947

7-8-22

My dear Sir:

I have your letter of August 14th and other people to whom you have written have written me concerning your proposal. I should like to ask, who you are, what preperation you have for the undertaking which you propose and who is going to publish it? May I suggest, that unless you furnish information of the sort, to the persons to whom you write you are not apt to get favorable response.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Perdie H. Bernard
121 Edgecombe Avenue
Apartment 15
New York 32, New York

210 East 31 Street
New York 16, N. Y.

September 4, 1947

My dear Dr. Dubois:

Do you ever have occasion to require professional assistance in

research and analysis
manuscript editing
German translation?

If you do, I should like to call your attention to the fact that the undersigned, a mature woman, Barnard Phi Beta Kappa, social science interests, has just opened her own office at the above address, to provide professional service in these fields, in which she has had extensive and successful experience.

For your information, I was employed as an official German translator by the United States Department of Justice, and articles translated by me have appeared in The Nation and other publications. In addition, I refer by permission to the following individuals and organizations among those who have used my services:

Edward L. Bernays, counsel on public relations
Commission on National Policy in International Economic Relations (Rockefeller-financed)
Joseph D. McGoldrick, former Comptroller of New York City
Irene S. Seipt, Director, Child Research Clinic, Langhorne Pa.
Political Science Quarterly, Columbia University
Lennig Sweet, ProgramDirector, United Service to China
W. G. Welk, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington DC.

"NO JOB TOO LARGE OR TOO SMALL."

The telephone number is LExington 2- 9756. I hope you may be able to use me, or to refer me to your associates when the need for such services arises.

Sincerely yours,

Hella Bernays

Hella Bernays

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

P.S.- You may recall me from the old days at the Civic Club (pre-1923) where I was executive secretary.

22a-7

29 September 1947

My dear Miss Bernays:

I received your letter of September 4th. There is a great deal that I would like to have done but nothing that I have funds for now. I have some help in my office. If I find need of more help and ability to pay, I shall be glad to get in touch with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Hella Bernays
210 East 31 Street
New York 16, New York

3 February 1947

My dear Mr. Berry:

You remember that you installed for me six sections of steel shelving in my office, room 402 at 20 West 40th Street. I need two more sections to supply space for all my books. Will you kindly let me know, first, what the cost of doing such sections would be, 42inches wide, and ceiling height; and also how soon they could be installed. I shall be greatly obligedd

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Berry, Dickie and Stettler
38 Warren Street
New York 7, New York

6 February 1947

Dear Mr. Berry:

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois is on a lecture tour in the South and West. Your communication will be forwarded to him.

Very sincerely yours,

Clementine Hercules

Mr. Richard J. Berry
Berry, Dickie & Stettler, Inc.
38 Warren Street
New York 7, New York

JOHN J. DICKIE
PRESIDENT

CHARLES STETTLER
VICE-PRESIDENT

RICHARD J. BERRY,
SECRETARY AND TREASURER

BERRY, DICKIE & STETTLER, INC.

Office Furniture

Filing Equipment

TELEPHONE
RECTOR 2-1477

38 WARREN STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

May 12, 1947

National Association For The
Advancement Of Colored People,
20 W. 40th St.,
New York 18, N.Y.

att.:Dr. DuBois

222-7

Dear Doctor DuBois:

Last February we placed an order for some additional shelving for your room and as you know, we never proceeded with it because we couldn't get the right thing and we find that it is still not manufactured the way you want it and it is very uncertain as to when it will be.

I think the best thing to do is to cancel this out and as soon as we are able to obtain what you want, which we hope will be before the end of this year, I will get in touch with you again.

Yours very truly,

BERRY, DICKIE & STETTLER, INC.

RJB:VD

Sec'y. & Treas.

Civil Liberties

6674 Yucca Street
Hollywood, 28, California
December 29, 1947

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The enclosed statement has been addressed to one hundred leaders of American thought.

We most respectfully request that your response be addressed to us, together with permission to release it to the press, the radio and to secure for it the fullest possible circulation.

22-9-166

Most respectfully yours,

Herbert Biberman

Herbert Biberman
for the "Ten"

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

I am in complete sympathy with your statement & from Hollywood and share in your apprehension at the record of this deplorable witchhunt on liberty in America

[Marshall Bidwell]

THE CARNEGIE MUSIC HALL
DEPARTMENT OF
THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTE
PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

MARSHALL BIDWELL
ORGANIST AND DIRECTOR OF MUSIC

December 12, 1947

Dr. Wm. E. Burghardt Du Bois
20 W. Fortieth Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Dubois:

It has occurred to me that possibly the enclosed program might be of some interest to you. We feel that it is a step in the right direction in fostering better understanding between nationality groups in our midst.

22-11-119

You will be amused when you read the rather flowery paragraph by Elsa Eliot on the front page. We have long way to go to achieve democracy in the United States, and any such claim will be met with some degree of cynicism. Mrs. Eliot's enthusiasm is, I fear, only wishful thinking.

Yet I like to think that some progress is being made toward the breaking down of racial prejudice. My wife and I are vitally interested in this subject. I cannot say that we have made any real sacrifices, but we have been vocal in expressing our disapproval of discrimination. Just as an example, last year we refused to donate to our Presbyterian Hospital because the board continues to discriminate against colored nurses.

It is easy enough to boil with indignation when some injustice is perpetrated in the South and yet right here in Pittsburgh there is plenty of racial discrimination.

It would please you to know that the head of our Carnegie Library, Mr. Ralph Munn, is doing his bit by placing colored librarians in prominent positions at the front desks in our library here. Of course, these girls have to be twice as smart as the white librarians to get such jobs. Yet it is a step in the right direction.

I hesitated to speak of such things with

THE CARNEGIE MUSIC HALL
DEPARTMENT OF
THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTE
PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

MARSHALL BIDWELL
ORGANIST AND DIRECTOR OF MUSIC

you on the train. I feared that it might seem presumptious on my part.

I have just finished reading your record in "Who's Who" in order to check up on your address. I am greatly impressed with what you have contributed and am ashamed to admit that I have not read your books. Perhaps you could suggest which ones might be the most helpful.

22-11-120

I hope you arrived home safely. Again, I feel fortunate to have had the opportunity to talk with you.

Cordially yours,

Marshall Bidwell

[Enclosure 3]

CARNEGIE MUSIC HALL

PITTSBURGH

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 14, 1947

MARSHALL BIDWELL

Organist and Director of Music of Carnegie Institute

Eleventh Christmas Carol Festival

TWO PRESENTATIONS

2:00 o'clock and 4:00 o'clock

IN PLACE OF THE 3868TH FREE ORGAN RECITAL

Co-ordinator: MRS. SAMUEL ELY ELIOT

Musical Director: DR. MARSHALL BIDWELL

Assisting Organist: MR. HOWARD L. RALSTON

Today the "United We Sing" Festival inaugurates its second decade. Glancing back over the story of its progress, what happy experiences enliven our memories! Thus, as we consider our future, the vistas ahead are filled with promises of even better things to come. Assuredly the wonders worked by the Christmas Spirit will never cease! "And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God—". Suddenly, every Christmas, here in the Workshop of the World—there throngs this multitude of an earthly host, likewise praising God—and praising Him with a grateful fervor which only free Americans can in some measure possess and enjoy nowadays. In many other parts of the world, differences of race, creed, culture, or language breed hate and flaming disaster; while in the United States, genuine as may be the differences amongst us,—whether of belief, or background, we can all share the spirit of our common Democracy which transmutes these differences into bonds of fellowship, understanding, and trust. As an expression of this great American inheritance with its promise for the eventual Unity of Mankind, our Pittsburgh Festival will, we pray, continue over the decades to flourish and bear good fruit.

The United Nations now has a flag of its own. When this announcement was made at Lake Success only a month ago, Mr. William Frew, the President of Carnegie Institute, immedately made an effort to obtain one in time to display it in the Music Hall in honor of Pittsburgh's eleventh "United We Sing" Festival. What occasion could be more appropriate for the first displaying of this significant flag in Pittsburgh? And what other symbol could better interpret for every one our unique intercultural celebration of Christmas!

ELSA ELIOT

"United We Sing"

Fantasy on Christmas Carols
DR. BIDWELL

Adeste Fidelis — Old Latin Hymn
CLAN DOUGLAS BAGPIPERS
LEWIS W. DAVIDSON, *Pipe Major*
AUDIENCE AND CHORUSES

Lullaby on Christmas Eve—F. Melius Christiansen — Norwegian
SCHENLEY H. S. A CAPPELLA CHORUS
PAUL BRAUTIGAM, *Director*

Go Tell It on the Mountain—John Work — Negro
EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH CHOIR
W. A. JONES, *Director*

Coventry Carol (1591) — English
CALVARY EPISCOPAL CHURCH BOYS' CHOIR
DR. J. JULIUS BAIRD, *Choirmaster*

Midst the Silence of the Night—When Christ Was Born — Polish
SOCIETY OF OUR LADY CHOIR
HENRY GRZESKIEWICZ, *Director*

We Are Bringing You Good Tidings, Listen — Czech
What New Tidings Does This Mean?
Merry Christmas Day
Hear Ye, Hear Ye Little Shepherds—Christ the Lord Was Born
ST. GEORGE'S H. S. GLEE CLUB
SISTER REGINA MARY, O.S.F., *Director*

Jesu Bambino—Yon
COMBINED CHOIRS
Solo Voice—IGOR SOROKA

Proclaim Ye His Name—Alfred Judson — Scotch
WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA SCOTTISH CHORUS
ADAM C. HOOD, *Director*

O Glorious Event, O Happy Season — Slovak
ST. GABRIEL'S R. C. CHURCH BOYS' CHOIR
SISTER M. BERNARD, O.S.F., *Director*

The Shepherds and the Inn—Adapted by Harvey Gaul — Mexican
FRICK JUNIOR CHORUS
MARJORIE ELOISE SWEET, *Director*

In the Manger — Lithuanian
Solo Voice—JULIANNE ANDRULONIS
ST. FRANCIS ACADEMY CHOIR
SISTER DE SALES, O.S.F., *Director*

You Came Down from Heaven — Italian
ST. PETER'S R. C. CHURCH BOYS' CHOIR
ROBERTA FRIEND, *Director*

"United We Sing"

Joy to the World — Chinese

PROVIDENCE MISSION SINGERS
MABLE VOELZKE, *Director*

O Little Town of Bethlehem — American

The First Nowell — Traditional English

AUDIENCE AND CHORUSES

Shepherds in Bethlehem — Spanish

ST. JOSEPH'S H. S. GLEE CLUB
Accompanied by tambourines, maracas and castanets
SISTER M. JOHANNA, O.S.F., *Director*

Noël Nouvelet — French

WINCHESTER-THURSTON CHOIR
ALICE LONG, *Director*

"Hail, O Virgin, Birth-Giver of God!"—Rachmaninoff — Russian

HOLY GHOST RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH CHOIR, AMBRIDGE
WALTER SOROKA, *Director*

Glorious Yuletide — Swedish

BARCY MEMORIAL CHOIR OF McKEESPORT
KATHRYN HILL RICHARDS, *Director*

Glorification of the Holy Mother — Bulgarian

ST. NICKOLAS SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH CHOIR OF WILMERDING
EVAN GEORGIEFF, *Director*

While Shepherds Watched Their Sheep — XVII Century

ANTIPHONAL CHORUS, BELLEFIELD CHOIR
WITH COMBINED CHOIRS

Mary on the Mountain (Silesian)—Lo, How a Rose — German

SCHWAEBISCHER SAENGERBUND
RICHARD KARP, *Director*

Shepherds on this Hill — Greek

HOLY TRINITY GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH CHOIR
Solo Voices—KATHERINE KARRIS, BETTY COCHERES
GEORGE CHRIST, *Director*

Ecce Nomen Domini—Gregorian Hymn — Latin

ELIZABETH SETON H. S. GLEE CLUB
SISTER CECILIA, S.C.

Veruju — Serbian

Solo Voice—STELLA DOBROVOLSKY
PHILIP VISNICH CHOIR
BORIS DOBROVOLSKY, *Director*

Abiding in the Fields — Old Welsh

BELLEFIELD CHURCH CHOIR
HOWARD L. RALSTON, *Choirmaster*

Hallelujah Chorus (The Messiah) — Handel

COMBINED CHOIRS

Silent Night — Austrian

AUDIENCE AND CHORUSES

ADESTE FIDELES

O come, all ye faithful, joyful and triumphant,
O come ye, O come ye to Bethlehem;
Come and behold Him, born the King of Angels;
O come, let us adore Him, Christ the Lord.

Sing, choirs of angels, sing in exultation,
O sing, all ye citizens of heaven above:
Glory to God all Glory in the highest;
O come, let us adore Him, Christ the Lord.

Yea, Lord, we greet Thee, born this happy morning;
O Jesus, to Thee be glory given;
Word of the Father, now in flesh appearing:
O come, let us adore Him, Christ the Lord.

O LITTLE TOWN OF BETHLEHEM

O little town of Bethlehem,
How still we see thee lie!
Above thy deep and dreamless sleep
The silent stars go by;
Yet in thy dark streets shineth
The everlasting Light;
The hopes and fears of all the years
Are met in thee tonight.

For Christ is born of Mary,
And gathered all above,
While mortals sleep, the angels keep
Their watch of wondering love.
O morning stars, together
Proclaim the holy birth,
And praises sing to God the King,
And peace to men on earth!

How silently, how silently
The wondrous gift is given!
So God imparts to human hearts
The blessings of His heaven.
No ear may hear His coming,
But in this world of sin,
Where meek souls will receive Him, still
The dear Christ enters in.

THE FIRST NOWELL

The first Nowell the angel did say
Was to certain poor shepherds, in fields as they lay,
In fields where they lay a-keeping their sheep,
On a cold winter's night that was so deep.

CHORUS

Nowell, Nowell, Nowell, Nowell
Born is the King of Israel.

They looked up and saw a star
Shining in the east beyond them far,
And to the earth it gave great light,
And so it continued both day and night.

This star drew nigh to the north-west,
O'er Bethlehem it took its rest,
And there it did both stop and stay
Right over the place where Jesus lay.

SILENT NIGHT

Silent night! holy night!
All is calm, all is bright,
Round yon Virgin Mother and Child,
Holy Infant so tender and mild;
Sleep in heavenly peace,
Sleep in heavenly peace.

Silent night! holy night!
Shepherds quake at the sight,
Glories stream from heaven afar,
Heavenly hosts sing Alleluia;
Christ, the Saviour is born,
Christ, the Saviour is born!

Silent night! holy night!
Son of God, love's pure light,
Radiant beams from Thy holy face,
With the dawn of redeeming grace,
Jesus, Lord, at Thy birth,
Jesus, Lord, at Thy birth.

TAYLOR ALLDERDICE H. S. TROMBONE QUARTET

OSCAR DEMMLER, *Director*

FRED SMITH JULES FELDMAN SAUL GREEN FRED CRISSMAN

HELEN BRINNER, *Announcer*, Magyar Heritage
ROSE FABEC, LARRY CANJAR, BERNARD GASPER, *Assistants*, Slovene Heritage

[Enclosure]

CARNEGIE MUSIC HALL

PITTSBURGH

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 15, 1946 at 4:00 o'CLOCK

MARSHALL BIDWELL

Organist and Director of Music at Carnegie Institute

☆

Tenth Carol Festival

IN PLACE OF THE 3791ST FREE ORGAN RECITAL

☆

Co-ordinator: MRS. SAMUEL ELY ELIOT

Musical Director: DR. MARSHALL BIDWELL

Assisting Organist: MR. HOWARD L. RALSTON

"I HEAR AMERICA SINGING"

From the beginning, the purpose of this Festival has been to provide opportunity for the varied cultural groups of our community to come together in one place and share each other's cherished Christmas music—which might otherwise continue to be sung and enjoyed only by the members of each particular heritage.

In the midst of a war to free and unite the world, this "made-in-Pittsburgh" Intercultural Festival furnished such a striking demonstration of our democratic principles, that it was twice broadcast on international networks. With what amounted to prophetic vision, the participants in this Festival built far better than they knew; because even today and doubtless for years to come our diversity of population must continue to be a source of strength. Only thus can our country bring decisive and disinterested leadership to the world's critical struggle for peace.

The civic, religious, educational, business and cultural organizations, as well as the many kind persons unselfishly cooperating in this undertaking, are far too numerous to cite individually. Their interest and devoted efforts are most gratefully acknowledged.

"United We Sing"

Two Chorale Preludes on "From Heaven Above to Earth I Come" — Bach
Dr. Bidwell

O Come, O Come Emmanuel — From French Missal—Ancient plainsong
ST. GEORGE'S H. S. GLEE CLUB
Sister Regina Mary, O.S.F., *Director*

Adeste Fidelis — Old Latin Hymn
CALVARY EPISCOPAL CHURCH BOYS' CHOIR
Dr. J. Julius Baird, *Director*
AUDIENCE AND CHORUSES

Rosa Vernans — (Gregorian Chant) — Latin
ELIZABETH SETON H. S. GLEE CLUB
Sister Cecilia, S.C., *Director*

Hymn to the Holy Mother — Serbian
PHILIP VISNICH CHOIR
Stella Dobrovolsky, *Director*

Thou Comest From the Stars — Italian
ST. PETER'S R. C. CHURCH CHOIR
Roberta Friend, *Director*

Christmas Nightingale — German
ST. JOSEPH'S H. S. GLEE CLUB
Sister M. Johanna, O.S.F., *Director*

Angels We Have Heard On High — Old French Melody
COMBINED CHORUSES

Today in Bethlehem — Lithuanian
ST. FRANCIS' ACADEMY CHOIR
Sister de Sales, O.S.F., *Director*

Silent Night. Gloria
ST. CASIMIR R. C. CHURCH CHOIR
C. Bazys, *Director*

The Angels' Song — Slovenian
ST. MARY ASSUMPTION CHURCH MALE CHOIR
Frank Lokar, *Director*

Sweet Little Boy Jesus—John Jacob Niles — American
FRICK JUNIOR CHORUS
Marjorie Eloise Sweet, *Director*

O Little Town of Bethlehem — American
AUDIENCE AND CHORUSES

When Christ is Born — Polish
CHOPIN SINGERS
Milton Czyzewski, *Director*

December 18, 1947

22-11-121

Mr. Marshall Bidwell
The Carnegie Music Hall
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

My dear Mr. Bidwell:

It was very pleasant meeting you in Ann Arbor, and I thank you for your letter of December 12. I am safely at home and just back from a lecture at Princeton. I think that probably this is the first time that Princeton University ever had a Negro lecturer.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Bidwell.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

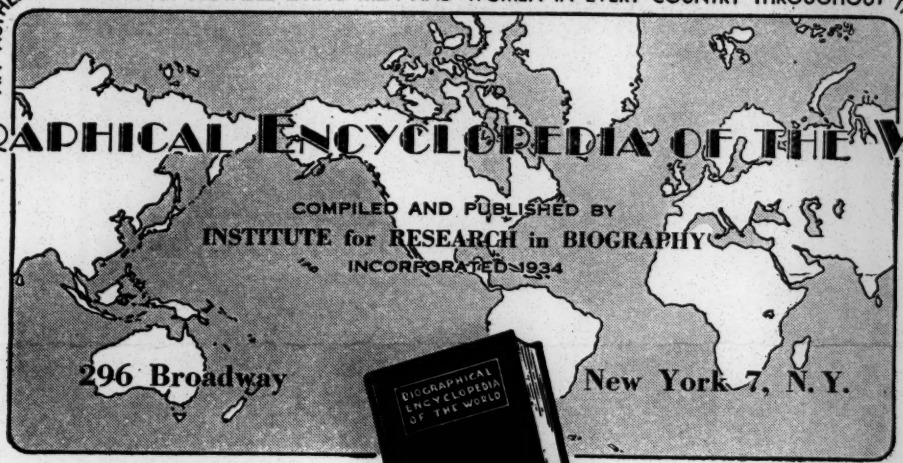
WEBD:lm

AN AUTHENTIC RECORD OF NOTABLE LIVING MEN AND WOMEN IN EVERY COUNTRY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE WORLD

COMPILED AND PUBLISHED BY
INSTITUTE for RESEARCH in BIOGRAPHY
INCORPORATED 1934

296 Broadway New York 7, N. Y.



Office of the Editor

January 7, 1947.

Dr. William E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Ave.
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am very pleased to inform you that your biography has been prepared for publication in the 1947 (Fourth) Edition of the BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE WORLD.

The enclosed sketch, which was published in our 1946 Edition, is now set in type. Please go over this proof carefully, making any corrections or changes you desire, and then return the sketch to me with your personal signature of approval.

Should you like to possess a copy of this volume, containing your biography, you may take advantage of the pre-publication offer enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

S. A. Kaye, Editor.

P.S. Please return this proof, even if no changes are to be made.

October 23, 1947

Mr. Bertram C. Bland
128 Market Street
Newark 2, New Jersey

22-7-2

My dear Sir:

I regret that a previous engagement will make it impossible for me to attend the dinner on October 30.

I should like, however, to express to you and Mr. Randolph my appreciation of his notable career.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

xxxxxxxxxxxx

October 30, 1947

Mr. J. B. Blayton
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Blayton: First of all, how are you and the family, and what have you been doing? This is a big order, but it is something Mabel and I both like to know. You realize you are our prize people, and even though it is difficult to write often, we always have you in mind and find out things concerning you from Mums and Dad from time to time.

I am writing now because I need some information that possibly only you can furnish. We are working up some material and need incidents relating to the difficulty that Negroes in business incur in trying to secure licenses, loans, mortgages, supplies, etc. from white banks, officials, and the like. If you have any data on this score that you can send, for either the North or the South, or can refer us to any place we can secure such information, you will be doing us an immense favor. Do let me hear from you at your very earliest convenience.

Mabel joins me in love to all of you.

Cordially,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

159 Second Ave.,
New York, N.Y.
Sept. 9, 1947.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I have not seen you since the evening of your lecture in Los Angeles. At that time I was doing research and lecturing on historical criticism at U.S.C. Last year I received a University of Minnesota Press Fellowship for a study of the war-time F.E.P.C. I came here to work a year ago and have been at the Hotel Albert until lately.

22-15-13

I am so glad to hear that you have the Negro Encyclopedia well along. I have not seen any of it but I would like to. I understand that my friend Herbert Aptheker is working with you. I wonder if there is anything that I could contribute. I have done quite a lot of original research and have some entirely unused material.

I am enclosing an article that I wrote last winter that I think might interest you a little. I don't think it is publishable, though when I wrote it I thought it would be. I know you are interested in the Party. I do not think a communist is necessarily a

member of the Communist Party, but rather, one who believes in that cause for the furthering of which the Party was founded. I have been interested in the Party line in regard to the Negro and hope the discussion of that will be re-opened for I think it needs further discussion.

22-10-14

I am also going to enclose two articles which I would like to place if I knew a magazine for which they would be suitable. Perhaps you will know of one. I would like to come in to see you some time if you will let me know when it would be convenient. I can be reached here by telephone, Gramercy 5-1652; or by letter at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Boardman

Negro Encyclopedia

22 September 1947

22-15-12

My dear Miss Boardman:

The two articles which you sent me are very interesting and I shall try to place them for you, if you will give me some little time. You are wrong about the Negro Encyclopedia being "well along;" all we have been able to do is to publish a preliminary volume, with subjects and bibliography. The main work has not yet obtained funds enough for its plans, I soubt if it will be begun in my day.

very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Helen Boardman
159 Second Avenue
New York, New York

Hampton

409 Grand Avenue . Brooklyn 16, N Y . 31 October 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18
New York

22-12-62

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am trying to write a paper about Hampton Institute, tracing the development of its program in terms of the educational philosophies of its administrative staff and its outside supporters. I am greatly interested in the discussions on the merits of training in the classics as opposed to industrial education which, I believe, took place between yourself and Booker T. Washington about the turn of the century.

No doubt Mr. Washington's opinion was in large measure a product of those current at Hampton. It is my thought that these in turn reflected the philosophies of those in whose mind the Negro still occupied an inferior (or slave) status.

It would be a great favor if I could come and talk with you for ten or fifteen minutes, or if that is not convenient, to get from you some suggestions as to where I might find some of the original sources here in New York, or in Washington or Atlanta. I shall telephone your secretary early next week to find out your decision.

Very truly yours

Robert Bonner
Robert Bonner

P S Last spring when I applied to the United Nations you were kind enough to let me use your name as a reference. More recently I took the liberty of using your name in connection with a job I was seeking at the Pepsi-Cola Company.

RB

Hampton

XXXXXXXXXXX

November 7, 1947

Mr. Robert Bonner
409 Grand Avenue
Brooklyn 16, New York

22-1-59

Dear Bonner:

I am writing in reply to your note to Dr. DuBois and our telephone conversation relative to some information about Hampton Institute. I hope the following will prove of some help.

Some material of use may be found in THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH, by Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois.

Probably the best discussion of the controversy between DuBois and Washington is to be found in the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, 1935 edition. See Booker T. Washington article written by DuBois, page 365. Also, consult the later edition. Both are brief but pointed artides.

See BOOKER T. WASHINGTON: Builder of Civilization, by Emmet J. Scott, and Lyman B. Stowe. Check TUSKEGEE: Its Story and Its Work, by M.B. [redacted] in CAUSES AND THEIR CHAMPIONS, by M.A. DeWolfe Howe. For some personal information consult DuBois autobiography DUSK OF DAWN--check the index for material relating to your subject. For some bibliographical material on Washington see ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA, 14th edition. For some direct material on Hampton see reports of the Hampton Conferences, some as early as 1901 or a little before. They are published. For some pertinent material see early issues of THE CRISIS--the material written by DuBois is quite trenchant. See SOULS OF THE BLACK FOLK, DuBois. Check particularly the Hampton Conference Reports, 1906. It should contain DuBois' biting analysis of Hampton entitled, "The Hampton Idea." We have a copy of it here in the office. There are some materials here in the office on the strike of 1927 which you might find useful, things such as personal letters from students and some material from a few officials.

You might talk to Mr. Townes of Atlanta, or write him; or see Mr. W. L. Brownlee of the AMA, 287 Fourth Avenue. Also, perhaps Dorothy Maynor may have something to say--her married name is Rooks and her husband pastors at the Presbyterian Church, corner St. Nicholas Avenue and 141st Street, New York City. Currently, if you know Hugh Gloster, head of the Department of English there, you might find it profitable to consult him. Then too, it might prove advisable to talk to the Board members of Hampton who are located here in the city. I believe you can find them through calling Smith, Barney & Company, lawyers of

this city. You will want to get all sides of the question covered and it would be good to see what they have to say. Also, consult Dr. Channing Tobias of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York City, whose home address is 35 West 110th Street. Dr. Tobias may be able to steer you into other channels which may develop to be quite useful.

I hope the above will prove of some value, and if we can help further we want you to feel free to call on us. Meantime, if anything new comes up or we come across anything you can use, we shall get in touch with you.

With best wishes for success in your undertaking, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

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1299

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DL = Day Letter
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N49D465 8M NL PD

NEWYORK NY DEC 10 1947

Civil Rights

W E B DUBOIS N A A C P

20 WEST 40 ST NYK

WILL YOU JOIN WITH US IN SIGNING CALL TO STATEWIDE LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN ALBANY SATURDAY JANUARY TENTH WHICH WILL DISCUSS AND FORMULATE PROGRAM ON ISSUES OF RENT AND HOUSING, STATE-CITY FISCAL RELATIONSHIPS, CONSUMER AND FARM PROBLEMS, LABOR AND CIVIL RIGHTS. CALL WILL BE SENT TO TRADE UNIONS, CONSUMER, VETERAN, RELIGIOUS AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS. PLEASE SEND REPLY TO FREDERICK BORDEN, 205 EAST 42 STREET, NEW YORK CITY, ROOM 1515.

O JOHN ROGGE
PAUL ODWYER
EWART GUINIER
ARCHIE WRIGHT

1030P

22-6-1

yes
DWEB

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

December 12, 1947

Mr. Frederick Borden
205 East 42nd Street, Room 1515
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Borden:

I am writing in reply to your wire of the 10th which has just come to my attention, since I have been out of the city on a lecture tour.

I shall be glad to join you in signing the call to the statewide legislative conference to be held in Albany, January [redacted].

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

webd;hhs

[Boston Chronicle]

6 May 1947

22-26-13

My dear Mr. Harrison:

Thank you for your review of "The World and Africa". One of your criticisms however is wrong. Al Jahiz, whose full name is Abu Uthman Amr ibn Bahr Ul Jahiz died in 1869 and was, as I have said, a writer of the nineteenth century; and not as Mr. Rogers says a writer of the ninth century. You will find a notice of him in Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edition, page 867. I find no proof that Jahiz was a Negro, although he may have been.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. William Harrison
Editor
Boston Chronicle
Boston, Massachusetts

[1947?]
Elizabeth A Bonder]

22-7-1

223-Blvd. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. Sept 9th

Dear Dr Dan Bain.

It was so nice to see you and we enjoyed our visit with you in your apartment and the Champagne was

most enjoyable. Doctor
Iro enjoyed New York.
Only sorry we could not
keep him there longer, but
he happy, now that he
back at work.

We are in our 13th day
of a heat wave, which
has not let past our not
commission.

Thanks again for
your kindness.

With best wishes
Sincerely,
Elizabeth A. Brooks

Reg Info 1947

William Boyer
108 Monroe Park
U. of W.
Madison, Wisconsin
November 29, 1947

W.E.B. Du Bois
Director of Special Research
NAACP
20 W. 40th St.- N.Y.(18),N.Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I have been referred to you by Pauline and Ted Coggs. They inform me that you may help me acquire information concerning my M.A. thesis subject "CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS OF THE UNITED STATES". I have enclosed the general outline of my thesis so that you may more readily know the type of information I am seeking.

I have read your book "COLOR AND DEMOCRACY: COLONIES AND PEACE" wherein you emphatically state:

"Despite a vast literature on colonial peoples, there is today no sound scientific basis for comprehensive study. What we have are reports of officials who set out to make a case for the imperial power in control ....In few cases is there testimony from the colonial peoples themselves, or impartial scientific surveys conducted by persons free of compulsion from imperial control and dictation."

22-3-39

You therefore understand the nature of my problem in acquiring reliable information about civil liberty violations in the Virgin Islands. I am not a stranger to the West Indies. I spent , as a serviceman, 17 months there, a year of which was spent on the island of Antigua of the British West Indies. There I saw, at first hand, that citizenship in a"democracy" doesn't guarantee freedom from slavery.

You will notice that the criteria for my inquiry is the same as that used by the president's committee on civil rights. It includes"the right to equal opportunity" the part of my thesis which probably will be the most difficult to complete.

Pauline and Ted Coggs tell me that you will help me in my undertaking. I write to you in hopes that your interest, access to data, and capacity to understand these problems will serve to extend your aid to me.

Respectfully, William Boyer

December 3, 1947

Mr. William Boyer
108 Monroe Park
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Boyer:

Your letter of November 29, to Dr. DuBois, has come during his absence from the city on a lecture tour of the Middle West. However, since I knew you would want to get started on your thesis, I have taken the liberty of writing and sending a suggestion or two.

22a-3

Since your work is on the Virgin Islands, it might pay you to write to Mr. Ed Dudley, Special Counsel of the NAACP, at this address. Mr. Dudley formerly served as a federal attorney in the Virgin Islands and would seem to have the material you want. I shall tell him you may write him in regard to your thesis.

I am sure Dr. DuBois would be glad to help you all that he can. But for the next three or four months he is going to be quite busy, most of the time being away from the office. Consequently, rather than hold up your work waiting for him to find a chance to get around to your request, it would seem advisable to contact Mr. Dudley. However, we shall be glad to do all we can to help you in your research and please feel free to call upon us for any specific information you feel that we can supply.

With best wishes for success in your work, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

William Boyer
108 Monroe Park
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin
8 December 1947

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Dept. of Special Research
NAACP

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Let me thank you for your courteous reply of December 3. I have written to Mr. Ed Dudley, as you suggest, and I am sure his past experience in the Virgin Islands will serve to help me in my thesis work.

It might be helpful to Mr. Dudley to have forwarded to him my letter to Dr. DuBois of November 29 because I included therein an outline of my thesis which should clarify to Mr. Dudley the type of information I am seeking.

As I wrote Mr. Dudley, I hope that my thesis may someday be of value to your organization for which I have much respect.

Again my thanks and best wishes for a happy holiday season.

Respectfully,
William Boyer

[BREWER]

Fayetteville State Teachers College

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.

ESTABLISHED 1877

24 Feb 47

22-26-103

Dear Sir:

Recently I had occassion to read your book, "The World and Afrca," which I feel revealed to the young historian more aspects of Negro History that need additional research. I am an instructor of Western Civilization here at this College. My purpose in writing you is to secure some idea as to a good Ph.d. thesis on some phase of Negro history. I realize you have a full schedule. I have considered many topics but somehow I just haven't had the necessary feeling one likes to have when writing a creating historical material to give to the world.

22-26-104

Fayetteville State Teachers College
FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.
ESTABLISHED 1877

For practical purposes I should like to limit myself to American history as I know one needs to travel before attempting to write on matters outside of this country.

To be honest I feel that a good thesis could be written on your life or certain phases of your work and philosophy that is revealed in your writings. If you would consider this kindly let me know. I received my Master's Degree from the University of Pittsburgh in 1941. I wrote on the life and political career of Robert L. Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier for my thesis. I was then inducted into the army & received my discharge a few months ago as a Captain in the Intelligence and Security Corps of the Hampton Roads Port of Embarkation. I also served as Provost Marshal of a Negro

22-26-105

Fayetteville State Teachers College
FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.
ESTABLISHED 1877

camp + the negro section of Newport News, Virginia. I am now completing work on my Ph. D. in History at the University of Pittsburgh. Dr J. W. Oliver the head of the History department of the University of Pittsburgh can give you any information as to my ability.

I would appreciate any consideration you might give to the matter of my writing my thesis for my Ph. D. on your life or any aspect of your writings.

Sincerely
James H. Brewer

Reg: White Race

22-26-102

29 August 1947

My dear Mr. Brewer:

I am sorry to be so late in answering your letter of February 24th 1947, but sickness in my family and great press of work have hindered me. Several people have used my life as basis of theses the only help that I can give you would be to recommend you to read my "Dusk of Dawn" published in 1940. There and in my other writings I have set down all the available information which could guide you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. James H. Brewer
Fayetteville State Teachers College
Fayetteville, North Carolina

[British Guiana Co-operative and...]

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BRITISH SOUTH AMERICA,

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25th July 19 47

Dr W.E.B.DuBois
Dreictor of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
Washington. D.C.

Dear Mr DuBois,

Your book COLOR AND DEMOCRACY has been read by several of our executive officers,and we feel that a visit by you to the West Indies and British Guiana will do a lot toward our economic and political freedom.

The colored people of these parts are now united in their desire for greater enjoyment of life, but their desires are thwarted not so much by their oppressors, as by colored officials and employers who, because of the opportunities socially which they enjoy, would keep the masses down for the benefit of their tutors.

This organization is a very young one, we are only a year old, but we can do much to improve living conditions in this country,we find however that our efforts will take years and years to bring about any appreciable change, for the reason that the leaders of the race are not with us,they are either with government,or ashamed to distinguish themselves with movements of the masses, we find that even the labour leaders seek rather the favor of Government than the betterment of the workers.

If however, a leader like you could find it possible to come out to Guiana and identify yourself with the working mans movement, there can be no doubt that thousands would come into it, strengthen it and bring about within a year or two, what would ordinarily take five or ten years to accomplish.

We feel confident that such a visit will amply cover whatever it will cost, as for instance it will be possible to sell not less than 1000 copies of Color and Democracy, and the profits of that alone may cover the cost.

The late Leader of the League of Colored Peoples of England ,visited the colony about a month before his death, and over two thousand dollars was raised in public subscriptions by him, we feel confident that a militant leader like yourself would be able to take a collection of much more than than, in fact, we are quite confident that such a visit if even only to B,G. and if the total cost would have to be borne locally, would be met comfortably.

We shall be very glad to learn from you if such a visit is at all possible, whether it would be part of a West Indian tour, or directly to B.G, whether a stay here of one week can fit in, and what time of year such a visit would suit you.

With this information in our possession we would begin to work to that end,

Please let us hear from you as early as possible, and also send us copies of any literature that could be introduced as part of the programme,whether 1000 copies of Color and Democracy would be available and the cost.

yours very truly Sml. F. Collymore
Secy

22-4-4

~~Boy~~ Jan 28 - 31

1 - ~~Bahamas~~ - ~~Jan~~ 1-7
2 - Jamaica ~~Guadeloupe~~ - 8-14
3 - ~~Martinique~~ — 15 - 21
4 ~~Barbados~~ - 22 - 28
5 ~~Grenada~~ 29 - Feb 6
6 ~~Trinidad~~ Feb 7 - 13
7 ~~British~~ Guiana Feb 14 - 20
Relay 21 - 25

Bahamas Feb 1-7
Jamaica - 8-14
~~Barbados~~
~~Martinique~~
Canal Zone 15-21
Trinidad - 22 ~~Feb~~ 28
Guiana 29 - Feb 6
Barbados 7 - 13
Martinique 14 - 20
Porto Rico 21 - 25
~~Bahamas~~

Tel. 2622

[Encl.]
detached from 7:25 - 7 Dec
B. G. Competitive & Credit
Union League

224-4

Cleveland H. Reeves

Government Official

P. O. Box 544 Nassau N. P. Bahamas

Hon
J. A. Forte
Nassau N. P.
Bahamas

[British Guiana Co-operative and Credit Union League, Ltd.]

October 15, 1947

22-4-5

My dear Sir:

I have had your letter of July 25 for sometime and have been considering the possibility of making a trip to the West Indies, chiefly for observation, but also with the idea of giving a few lectures. My present idea would be to go to the Bahamas, then to Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guiana; and finally to come back by the French West Indies and Puerto Rico. I might possibly take such a trip in Feburary or March of 1948. In that case I would be prepared to deliver perhaps a half dozen lectures, and would charge enough to meet the expense of the trip. I would not want to take up any general collections, but must have the expenses underwritten before I started.

I shall be glad to have a word from you concerning this plan, so far as British uiana is concerned. The total cost of the trip, using the airplane for most part, would be about $1,000. Do you think that enough lectures could be arranged to meet this expense? I would not be able to take a large number of lectures or to enter into other activities.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Emil F. Collymore
230 Camp and South Streets
Georgetown 10, Demerara
British South America

WEBD:lm

[British Guiana Co-operative and...]

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22/10/47 19....

Jamaica - 2
Trinidad. 2
Guiana - 2

150
3
1050

Dr W.E.B.DuBois
Department of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18. N.Y.

22-4-1

Dear Doctor DuBois,

Your letter of October 15th reached me this morning and I take opportunity to reply as early as possible.

It is indeed gratifying that you have decided to pay a visit to the West Indies and Guiana,and I have not the slightest doubt that such a visit will tend to improve the peoples of these parts in many ways.

Your letter however is not sufficiently clear for me to get ahead on the project,and I will be glad if you will clear up certain phases of it,by return air mail.

When a definite date is arranged for your departure,it will be necessary to inform me as thex to the dates and periods of your stopping places,so that definite dates can be arranged for Trinidad and B.G., and it is hoped that if possible you will also include Barbados.

You state that the total cost of the trip will be about $1000.00,which is $1200.00 West Indian currency,if this is correct, then you will no doubt apportion the cost to each country of your visit,and I do not think it will be very difficult for me to get the expenses underwritten both here and in Trinidad.

Of course, it would be a question of how much time you will spend in each place, but Trinidad could take two lectures, while B.G. could take two in Georgetown, and one in New Amsterdam.

If you will get from the air line people the itenerary, and actual cost,as early as possible,and send me along with whatever publicity material you can place at my disposal for Trinidad and here,I would be able to get ahead.

There is one difficulty,American Dollars,for as you know we are in a currency crisis,but this can be avoided,as we could deposit the passage money with the local Agents, instead of your having to pay it in New York,and thus avoid the entanglement.

Another point,during your stay in the colonies referred to, would you prefer to stay at private homes or at a hotel,or would you want Governmental quarters.

I look forward to a very early clarification of all these points, and in my next letter would be able to tell you the exact possibilities.

In the meantime I shall contact all interested associations here and in Trinidad,and sound them out.If you can possibly include Barbados, please let me know, also how many weeks will be devoted to the entire trip.

As for B.G. it could be arranged this way,you could arrive here by P.A.A on Sunday morning,have your first lecture the same evening,travel to New Amsterday on Wednesday,lecture the same night,return to town and Lecture on Saturday evening and leave on Sunday morning.-one week-

yours very truly Ivml. D. Bollymore

[British Guiana Co-operative and Credit Union League, Ltd.]

West Indies

October 29, 1947

Mr. Emil F. Collymore
230 Camp and South Streets
Georgetown 10, Demerara
British South America

22-4-14

My dear Mr. Collymore:

Answering your letter of October 22, I am enclosing a rough outline of what I have in mind for a lecture tour to the West Indies. It amounts to seven lectures occupying about six weeks. I do not want to lecture more than twice a week, and usually only once a week; and I want some time for leisure to learn about the West Indies.

I am suggesting, therefore, ten days in Jamaica, the same time in Port-of-Spain and in Guiana, and a week in Barbados. I am proposing also, to stop at Martinique and Puerto Rico, but not for lectures.

I find by consultation with the Pan American Air Lines that the total cost of transportation will be $536.00. I imagine that I would have to pay about $10.00 a day for board. I would prefer a hotel or a private home , certainly not governmental quarters. To cover the total expenses and leave me something for my work would amount as you see to about $1,300, which I would expect to be allocated among the different places where my lectures are given. If they each wished themselves to furnish board and lodging in a private home or hotel, this would reduce the charge. This I realize is a considerable sum of money and I am not at all sure that you will think it is worth the expense, but it is the only calculation that I can make now which seems reasonable.

The subject of my lectures would be, AFRICA, COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, and THE UNITED NATIONS.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Enclosure:

WEBD:lm

Enclosure for Mr. Emil F. Collymore

October 29, 1947

Leave	New York City	February	1	1948
In	Jamaica, BWI	"	1-10	2 Lectures
In	Port-of-Spain, BWI	"	10-20	2 Lectures
In	Guiana, BSA	"	20-29	2 Lectures
In	Barbados, BWI	March	1-7	1 Lecture
				Total....7 Lectures

22-4-15

Cost of transportation.....	$ 536.00
Cost of board and room for 37 days.....	400.00
Fee for 7 lectures.....	350.00
Total.....	$1286.00

Lewis New York - February 1, 1948

In Jamaica, BWI - " 1 — 10

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CONSUMER SERVICE
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W557/Index

18th November 19 47

Dear Dr DuBois,

Please excuse my delay in replying to yours ofx undated in reply to mine of Oct 22, but I must explain that the general elections are now on, and I have been engaged in the supporting of five candidates, so have had a very busy time in the several constituencies.

I have however discussed the matter with several prominent people, and we all are satisfied of the success of your tour,

In your letter you did not state whether you are making your own arrangements with reference to Trinidad and Barbados, or whether you will need my help in this direction.

22-4-6

Insofar as B.G. is concerned if we are to meet one fourth of the total expenses, we have no cause whatever to be anxious, and have also been able to get Dr Nicholson, to undertake to provide his home for your convenience.

I will be glad if you will send me as early as you can do so, some advertising material, and we notice also that you will only be able to give two Lectures here, that would mean one in Georgetown, and one in New Amsterdam, while we would have preferred two in Georgetown and one in N/A.

Awaiting with interest your further news.

yours very truly

Sml H Moore.

[British Information Service]

22-17-16

25 April 1947

My dear Miss Hayes:

My friend Mr. Rushton Coulborn of Atlanta has written me concerning Mr. Idwel Glyndwr Jones who is visiting in this country. I shall be very glad indeed to get in touch with Mr. Jones and talk with him. Will you kindly let me know where and when I can find him?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Barbara Hayes
British Information Service
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

[British Publications, Inc.]

THE NEW
STATESMAN AND NATION
The Week-end Review
10 GREAT TURNSTILE · LONDON W.C.1
Holborn 3216

24th October, 1947

Dear Sir,

I am writing to you for two reasons. Firstly, because I believe that more than ever before British journals should be freely circulated and read in America and that American journals should be freely circulated and read in Britain; secondly, to tell you how easy it is for you to get THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION and to say that if you are going to read a British journal, which I hope you are, it should be THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION.

Here are some facts about the paper which I think will interest you:

It was founded in 1913 and to-day it sells more copies than any other British weekly review. This large sale has been attained almost entirely by readers recommending the paper to their friends. Can you think of a better testimonial to any paper?

It deals with politics and public affairs in Britain and overseas and enjoys a world-wide reputation for foresight, knowledge and fearless independence. It is one of the most widely quoted papers in the world. For years before the late war, it led the fight against the Nazis; indeed, its Editor, Kingsley Martin, had the honour of being included in the famous "black-list" discovered after the fall of Berlin. It does not set out to give backstair gossip, but trenchant, disinterested comment by acknowledged experts. That is why your leading columnists and radio commentators who deal with Europe rely upon the paper. One of them says "it is indispensible to me in my capacity as a news analyst"; another: "I need THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION to be well-informed."

The paper, however, is not devoted exclusively to politics, as the latter half of it, known commonly as the 'literary side', contains general articles, occasionally a short story, and deals with books, the theatre, films, music, radio. This section of the paper has gained a reputation on its own merits through the brilliance of the distinguished group of writers contributing regularly to its pages. Many of the world-famous literary figures of to-day were recognised first and encouraged by

THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION in their early days. Successive literary editors have been Sir John Squire, Desmond MacCarthy, David Garnett, Raymond Mortimer, V. S. Pritchett.

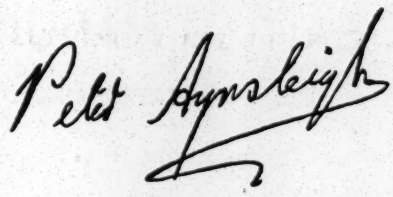
Our arrangements in America are very complete. Our representatives, British Publications Inc., 150 East 35th Street, New York, 16, N.Y., receive subscriptions and arrange for delivery to start without delay. (A reply envelope is enclosed).

By surface mail you would receive the paper within ten or fourteen days of publication, or alternatively, by air express each Monday, i.e. within forty-eight hours of publication date (except in the far West).

A year's subscription by surface mail costs only $7 (or $3.50 for six months).

A year's subscription by air express is $15 (or $8 for six months).

Yours very truly,



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November 6, 1947

British Publications Inc,
150 East 35th Street
New York 16, New York

Gentlemen:

I subscribed for the NEW STATESMAN AND NATION, in 1946, after returning from England. I received a few copies and then the issues stopped coming. I complained twice but received neither answer nor further copies.

I should like to read this publication and am sorry not to be able to get any satisfaction even after subscribing.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Reply to
Miss Bice

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK
11-A Mower Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

December 21, 1947

22-26-100

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Two of us here at Harvard have done preliminary studies of your ideas and your influence on American thought in preparation for what we hope to expand into a full-length intellectual history of your career. Sam Spencer studied your work last year as a seminar topic for Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger (I believe you had one exchange of letters on the subject), and before the war, I did a little preliminary work on your career as the first step in my doctor's thesis on the early part, at least, of your life. As I say, we plan to elaborate these projects as a long-range process over several years into what we hope will be a full book.

I am at the very initial stages of my thesis (extensive reading will start in January), but we would be very grateful if you would allow me to talk over the project with you in a general way with a view, perhaps, of enlisting your cooperation and assistance, if it does not conflict with other commitments which you may have made.

Spencer is away for the holidays, but I shall be in New York from December 22nd to December 30th, and I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to have a brief chat with you. Would it be possible for me to call on at your office at anytime during that period?

My address in New York is 16 East 96th Street, New York City 28.

In the meantime, may I wish you a very Merry Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Broderick

Francis L. Broderick

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

2264-80 Street
Brooklyn 14, New York
October 31, 1947

[Brooklyn College - Karl Marx Society]

Dear Mr. DuBois.

The Karl Marx Society of Brooklyn College would be highly honored if you would consent to address our group.

The meeting will be held on either December 1, 3 or 8, as suiting your convenience, and will take place at the College from 12-2 P.M.

22-12-16

We feel that the choice of topic should be yours, but feel that the question of colonial freedom or the recent petition which you had the honor to present before the United Nation might provide appropriate subjects.

The Harriet Tubman Society of Brooklyn College has pledged its co-operation if you

would agree to speak.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to be present.

Very truly yours.

Ralph Schiller - Pres.

22-12-17

[Brooklyn College - Karl Marx Soc.]

November 13, 1947

Mr. Ralph Schiller
2264 80th Street
Brooklyn 14, New York

Dear Mr. Schiller:

Your letter of October 31 to Dr. DuBois, which you sent to THE PEOPLE'S VOICE, has just come to our attention. We appreciate your interest in desiring Dr. DuBois to address the Karl Marx Society of Brooklyn College.

Unfortunately, during December at the time you specified Dr. DuBois will be away lecturing in the Middle West. Thus in spite of his interest in such groups as yours, he will be unable at this time to appear before your group.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

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440

A P Randolph

October 9, 1947

22-23-53

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Color and Democracy
Colonies and Peace
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks for your letter of September 11th and statement in behalf of the American Negro which you have sent to the United Nations.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Pr Ha

17 July 1947

22-12-22

My dear Mr. Browder:

This will be handed to you by Mr. Neal Burroughs concerning whom I wrote to you today. I shall be obliged for any advice which you may give him.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Earl Browder
575 6th Avenue
Jefferson School of Social Science
New York City, New York

17 July 1947

22-18-23

My dear Mr. Browder:

I am venturing to send to you, with a letter of introduction, a young Negro who went to Europe as an infant and has returned to the United States for one or two years' study. He has been a student at the University of Moscow studying history, literature and economics. He wants to perfect his English here and of course he faces the problem of earning a living. I am wondering if there is any work in translation that you could direct him to? At any rate I am venturing to send him to you and I shall appreciate any advice you may give. His mother Willianna Burroughs, now dead, was during the war one of the chief Russian radio speakers for broadcasting to the outside world.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Earl Browder
Jefferson School of Social Science
575 6th Avenue
New York City, New York

Reg. Info. 1947

HELEN BUCKLER
405 WEST 54 STREET • NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • CIRCLE 5-8946

14 June 1947

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N Y

My dear Dr. DuBois: I am indeed indebted to you for your interpretation of the notes I sent. They help me greatly in weaving my way through that ancient morass.

I suppose Fortune's unreliability (from Washington's viewpoint) is shown by the fact he used the money got from Moore to buy the Voice and then asked Niagara men to join him in the project.

Do you happen to know whether Madden and Bentley did join with Fortune in this project, as Fortune told Williams?

When Fortune failed to make a go of the Voice and left Chicago, did it die completely, or did Washington later buy it?

You will note that Barbour was installed as editor of the Conservator when Anderson, Trice, et al took it over. Barbour told me in Philadelphia that he was dropped within a few months from the Conservator because he printed only a few lines about Washington's speech in Chicago before the Negro Business Men's League.

He did not say that he was ever connected with the Voice when owned by Fortune. In fact he said, "Washingtonbought the Voice,* and that left me out of a job." If by that he meant that it was Washington money from sale of the Age that Fortune used to buy the Voice, then surely Williams was wrong in reporting that Fortune was being backed on the Voice by three Niagara men, Barbour, Madden, Bentley. Or perhaps, he was omitting the attempt of Niagara men through Fortune to run the Voice, and referred to a later purchase by Washington?

It is true Williams was trying to get Washington to persuade Sec'y of the Interior Garfield to get him appointed to the Advisory Bd of Freedmen's where he could influence its policy and get his candidate made Chief Surgeon.* He did not want the job of Chief Surgeon at this time; it did not pay enough.

If this is troubling you too much, please ignore me. But you are tremendously helpful!

Very sincerely yours,

Helen Buckler

* While points up your contention that Washington was politically naive!

22-9-136

November 6, 1947

Miss Phyllis Burghardt
26 Hall Street
Williamstown, Massachusetts

22-7-3

My dear Phyllis:

I am very sorry indeed that I could not see you when you were in New York, but I was out of town lecturing and could not get back before you had gone. We will hope for better luck next time. I should really like to see and talk with you. I think I will keep the snapshot!

With best regards to your family and love to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

22-24-02

29 July 1947

My dear Mr. Burroughs:

There is another place where you might make application for work as a translator, and that is The National Council of American Soviet Friendship. 114 East 32 Street. I am enclosing a letter of introduction to the executive director, Mr. Richard Morford.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Neal Burroughs
114 East 123 Street, Apartment 5-E
New York City, New York

311 W. 112th Street
New York 26, N. Y.
February 28, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
%N. A. A. C. P.
20 W. 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

22-26-41

Under the supervision of Professor Sterling A. Brown I am writing a thesis on the portrayal of Negro character in the works of George Washington Cable. In connection with this thesis, and a more ambitious study of Cable which I plan, I am interested in your meeting with the author at his home in Northampton, Mass.

The only reference I have seen to the effect that such a meeting took place is on page fifteen of an article by Isabel Cable Manes titled, "George W. Cable, Fighter for Progress in the South," in the pamphlet, A Southerner Looks at Negro Discrimination issued by International Publishers, New York, 1946.

I find no mention of Cable in your autobiography. Could you direct me to any reference to Cable in any of your published works or to any source which would elaborate on your association with him? I would be deeply appreciative of any information you might furnish on source materials and would be especially grateful for any additional comments you might make from your memory of Cable.

May I take this opportunity to say how much I enjoyed your excellent study, The World and Africa. I was especially pleased at the inclusion of material furnished by Professor Hansberry, under whom I studied at Howard University.

I am aware that you are very busy and I hope this request for information puts you to no inconvenience.

Sincerely yours,

Philip Butcher

Philip Butcher

22-26-1/2

25 April 1947

My dear Mr. Butcher:

I am late in answering your letter of February 28 because I have been out of town on a lecture tour. I remember meeting George W. Cable in Northampton, but I do not remember the details. It is quite possible there is something on the matter among my papers and letters. Possibly Herbert Aptheker, 1015 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn, New York could tell you about that as he is going over these papers. I regard George W. Cable very highly and believe that he did a great deal for the progress of America and the American Negro. Thank you for your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Philip Butcher
311 West 112th Street
New York 26, N. Y.

CALIFORNIA COUNCIL

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

Los Angeles 3, Calif.

August 1, 1947

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22-21-3

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Gentlemen:

In the April 1947 issue of "Economic Notes" there is a reference to a statement issued by your organization on the denial of human rights to Negro citizens of the United States, with an indication that the statement was prepared under the editorial supervision of Dr. Du Bois.

Your local office was unable to place this document, and they suggested that we communicate with you.

We have frequent occasion to supply information on social and economic discrimination, so we try to have as complete a file on the subject as possible. Therefore, we would appreciate it greatly if you would send us a copy of this statement, and of any other similar material you have available at this time. We would also appreciate being placed on your mailing list to receive any future publications you have for general distribution.

We thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Sanford Goldner

Sanford Goldner
Assistant Research Director

lj

UN Petition

[California CIO Council]

22 September 1947

My dear Sir:

In answer to your letter of August first. I am sending you a copy of the statement and petition addressed to the Assembly of the United Nations concerning the denial of civil and political rights to Americans of Negro descent. This document has not yet been formerly presented to the Assembly and has not been published. I send it for reference purposes only.

22-21-2

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Sanford Goldner
Research Department
California CIO Council
Los Angeles 3, California

california labor school, inc.

240 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA • GRAYSTONE 8601

DAVID JENKINS, Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS, Educational Director
IRWIN ELBER, Trade Union Director
DAVID HEDLEY, Associate Trade Union Director

101

November 13, 1947

Mr. William B. DuBoise
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18

22-26-A

Dear Mr. DuBoise:

The California Labor School, of which I am the Director, would like to invite you to be our guest of honor at the School's annual banquet on Sunday, March 7th, 1948. The theme of our banquet is civil liberties and the fight for full social, economic and political equality for the Negro people.

A word or two about the work of the California Labor School which, I am sure, would be a factor in your decision as to whether you will make such a long trip. The School is now in its sixth year and is the largest workers' educational center in the history of American education. Since the School's beginning, some 40,000 students have streamed through our classes and extension schools, a large percentage of them Negroes and other minotiry peoples here on the West Coast. As the only workers' educational center under the G.I. Bill, some 250 Negro students attended our full time program. They came from all over the country--from as far South as Florida, as well as from Mississippi and a dozen other Southern and mid-Western states.

Malcolm Ross, Chairman of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, chose the School as the outstanding school in the West for its role in promoting good race relations and we were awarded a share in the profits of the Frank Sinatra picture, "The House I Live In".

From the very inception of the School, our fundamental orientation has been to especially offer our facilities and program to the minority communities as a program of action as well as a program of education.

At the present time we are attempting to secure a grant which would make it possible for us to become a center of Negro culture in this area, with as complete a collection of the work of Negro writers as we can secure and representative collections in the field of art and music. Much work has already been done on this.

Mr. Paul Robeson has spoken at the School many times, as have other leading members of your race. Perhaps Paul could tell you in more detail of the School's work. We are endorsed locally by the N.A.A.C.P., as well as by over 100 other community, union and veterans groups.

We expect 1,000 or more people at our banquet, representing the trade unions and the minority communities, as well as the white section of progressive community organizations in Northern California. The co-speakers on the program will probably be Bartley Crum, who is on our Board of Directors, and Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

22-26-20

The reason I am asking you so far in advance is so that we might do an excellent job on promotion and publicity for your arrival here. We would also like to arrange meetings for you in Los Angeles and Oakland. We know that the people of those communities would be tremendously interested in hearing you and in meeting such an outstanding scholar and great American as you are.

May I hear from you?

Sincerely yours,

David Jenkins

David Jenkins
Director

uopwa
we-179

xxxxxxxxxxx

November 17, 1947

Mr. David Jenkins, Director
California Labor School, Inc.
240 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco 2, California

Dear Mr. Jenkins: Your letter to Dr. DuBois, concerning his possible appearance before the Labor School, has come during his absence from his desk. He is lecturing in the Middle West and will not return to New York until the latter part of December. However, your correspondence shall be brought to his attention at that time.

Thanking you for your interest,

I remain

Very sincerely yours

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

california labor school, inc.

240 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA • GRAYSTONE 8601

DAVID JENKINS, Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS, Educational Director
IRWIN ELBER, Trade Union Director
DAVID HEDLEY, Associate Trade Union Director

November 25, 1947

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We are very pleased to know that you can be with us on March 7th. Your fee of $500, while high, is certainly not exhorbitant for a speaker of your caliber and a trip of such distance. We shall proceed to line up three other engagements for you, one of which will probably be across the Bay and one in Los Angeles. We shall let you know exactly what they are in plenty of time so that you may make your travel reservations in line with the dates and places of these engagements.

With real anticipation of your visit,

Sincerely yours,

David Jenkins

David Jenkins
Director

uopwa
34-179

Lecture

December 17, 1947

22-26-22

Mr. David Jenkins, Director
California Labor School, Inc.
240 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco 2, California

My dear Mr. Jenkins:

With regard to your letter of November 25, may I ask that if you make an engagement in Los Angeles, that it will be the last of the series, so that I could return to the East from there. I should want to make my appearance in San Francisco, March 7, 1948, the first of the series.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

lecture

california labor school, inc.

240 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA • GRAYSTONE 8601

DAVID JENKINS, Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS, Educational Director
IRWIN ELBER, Trade Union Director
DAVID HEDLEY, Associate Trade Union Director

101

December 30, 1947

22-26-23

Mr. William E. B. DuBoise
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBoise:

As your letter requested, we are arranging your first speaking date in San Francisco on March 7th. We would like you to speak in Oakland and Los Angeles as well. The dates have not yet been arranged, but they will be within a compact schedule.

I would also like to tell you that Mr. Bartley Crum, leading San Francisco liberal and member of the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine, is chairing the meeting in San Francisco.

Leaders of the Negro community and the trade union movement here, as well as many of the outstanding men at the University of California, who have been told of your speaking dates on the West Coast, are most enthusiastic and are very anxious to participate in welcoming you.

The season's greetings.

Sincerely yours,

David Jenkins

David Jenkins
Director

uopwa
34-179

318 West 53rd. Street
New York 19. N.Y.

August 1, 1947.

Dear Dr. Dubois-

Because of an accident which confines me in wheel chair I have not been able to listen to you for several years, so of course it was a pleasure to hear Miss Deane introduce you on her program a few morning's ago. I enjoyed every word of your interesting talk - a kind of a "Literary Bath", and I have asked Miss Deane to persuade you to fill a return engagement. Thank you again for such a pleasant surprise.

22-23-11

Very sincerely yours,

Lucy Calloway

Lucy Calloway.

A life long admirer and friend of the late Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook.

22-22-13

4 August 1947

My dear Madam:

I appreciate very much your kind letter of August 1st.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Lucy Calloway
318 West 53rd. Street
New York19, New York

REPORT of THE
CARIBBEAN LABOR CONGRESS
JAMAICA, B.W.I.
SEPT. 1947

extracted from Report made by A.A. Austin American delegate.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

The British Possessions in the Caribbean and on the mainland of South and Central America comprises: (1) Jamaica with the Turks, Caicos and Cayman Islands: (2) Trinidad and Tobago; (3) Leeward Islands- Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat and Virgin Islands: (4) Windward Islands- Barbados, Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica; (5) British Guiana; and (6) British Honduras.

The total area of the islands is about 12, 227 square miles; British Guiana on the mainland of South America, 89,48- and British Honduras in Central America, 8. 098- a total of 110,305 square miles, an area nearly as large as the State of Arizona.

The Bahamas which lie to the northeast of the Windward and Leeward Islands, and Bermuda farther north in the West Atlantic, while British possessions, are not included in the area described above.

The population of the British West Indies, including the mainland territories is approximately 3,000,000; nearly half of which are in the island of Jamaica.

When you look at the map (see Appendix C) you will see over what vast distances the West Indian Islands are scattered in the Caribbean, and how difficult it must be to unite them under one system of control. Each island is isolated and self contained. Each maintains a certain a c nt of isnularity and different historical backgrounds, national and religious traditions tend to keep its people apart.

The islands of St. Lucia and Dominica with their French Creole patios differ considerabley from Barbodos with its unbroken British tradition, British Guiana and British Honduras on the mainland with their vast and varied resources are all factors that play an important part in the social and economic life of the three million inhabitants of these colonies.

The main industry of these islands is agriculture, chiefly on theplantation system, the owners of which reside in Great Britain. The wages paid to the laborers on these plantations have always been on a starvation scale; the profits invariably large, do not remain in the islands but are deposited to the owner's account in Great Britain.

The laboring elements throughout the West Indies are relatively less able to sustain themslves during this present perood than they were shortly after they were emancipated over one hundred and thirteen years ago. They have lived this way for so long, that years of habit have made it comfortable for them. There are some Negroes who have rise , but even they do not identify themselves with the down-trodden from whom they have made their escape.

The standard set for these unfortunates is not in the future but in the past; they are underfed, badly housed, unemployed, and under-employed.

The census of these island continues to calssify the population as white colored and ~~xx~~ black. The whites are in control of the economic resources with a few colored and black filtering in. There are signs that this infultration is on the upward trend.

Commercial enterprises and the civil service are for the most part adminsitered by colored, but in recent years many of the black population have been given opportunities in these fields; whenever this occurs these blacks invariably assume an air of superiority over their former friends and associates.

To be a clerk, an office worker, or a graded civil servant is considered quite an achievement and sets the social standard. These false concepts have been a retarding factor to racial uplift throughout the West Indies.

LABOR ORGANIZATION IN THE CARIBBEAN

The impact of returning relatives and friends who have lived in Panama, Cuba, and especially in the United States, coupled with the trend of workers the world over to organize for the protection of those who toil, have inspired the workers in these areas to do like wise.

Aroused from their lethargy, they embarked upon a program of educating the workers as to their elementary needs; emphasizing that food, clothes, and shelter are minimum requirements and essential factors in the life of any people. There is an awareness that a vast majority of the workers are in relatively the same economic condition as they were in the first few years after they were emancipated, and that this is not so by accident but by design.

The condition of the workers is so deplorable that they are incapable of manifesting their real worth in the performance of tasks to which they are assigned. As a result, they are constantly referred to as being lazy, indolent, and unproductive; but the truth is, they are so badly underpaid that it is impossible for them to obtain the necessities of life, and they areforced to work on a virtually empty stocach. The av rage worker is niether lazy nor unskilled, but is more starved than he hi self is conscious of. His is a case of malnutrition and slow death.

These samepeople when able to le ve the West Indies and go to other parts of the world, and earn wages that enable them to obtain the necessities of life prove themselveshonest, efficient, hardworking, and a credit to their community.

In order to improve their lot and remove these iniquitous conditions, they h ve organized as labor has done elsewhere. Their leaders are determined to remove all the restrictions of the past which have hindered the free development of the individual and kept him in a state of life to which he had been assigned by birth and by tradition.

The labor movement received its first impetus as a result of an uprising in the island of St. Kitts, in 1919, in which there were blood-shed and the loss of human lives. These riots spread to British Guiana, Barbados, Trinidad and to Jamaica where the most serious one occurred in 1938. As an outgrowth of this ferment, labor began to organize. Subsequently, the Caribbean Labor Congress was formed to coordinate the work of the unions in the various islands. This Congress held a series of meetings, the Most comprehensive of which was in Jamaica in September 1947.

AMERICAN HELP

In June of this year, Messrs. Norman Manley of Jamaica and Grantley Adams of Barbados came to the United States, representing the Caribbean Labor Congress, and asked for financial help. They expressed the view of the Congress that the attitude of the people in the United States is invaluable in any movement to improve the condition of the people of the West Indies. They also indicated that the Congress and its component units were larg ly responsible for the change in the attiutde of the British Colonial Office in favor of self-government and other favorable changes in the British West Indies. In support of their appeal, they emphasized that the workers in this area are poor and are unable to finance this movement in their own behalf; that the capitalist and vested interests, as elsewhere, ~~xhiix~~ will not contribute anything to labor movements. For this reason, they came to the United States as the place where help can be found for any worthwhile movement.

We received assurances that the labor and political leaders in the West Indies have exhausted nearly of their resources for the uplift f the people. An appeal was made for $10,000 to further the work of the Caribbean Labor Congress, for the special purpose of paying the expenses involved to hold a conference and bring delegates from various parts of the Caribbean to Jamaica during the latter part of August of 1947. The immediate purpose for which the Conference was called was to formulate plans for self-government to be presented to the Secretary of State's Conference on Closer Association of the British West Indies scheduled to be held at Montego Bay on September 10th.

Messrs. Manley and Adams were warmely received by a gr up whcih had been assemble d for a week-end conference at the invitation of the West Indies Conference Committee. The sessions of the Conference were held at the Abyssinian Baptist Church and St. Ambrose Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City, and were attended by persons interested in West Indian af airs, from the Metropolitan Area, Chicago and Detroit. A public meeting held at Abyssinian Baptist Church on Sunday, June 8, 1947, endorsed the appeal for funds and the conference set up a committee to initiate the appeal.

Representatives of the conference approached me and I agreed to assist in evey way possible to raise at least ten thousand doll rs. In an effort to obtain the widest possible support, I got in touch with Mr. Walter White, Executive Secretary of the NAACP and he assembled a representative gr up of Negro leaders who pledged their support and discussed formation of an association in aid of Caribbbean advancement.

Everyone whom I approached responded so generously that the ten thousand dollars was raised and forwarded to the Carribbean Labor Congress within the desired time. An additional amount was subscribed at the last minute to defray part of the cost of sending an observer and making a report on the conferences in Jamaica. (See pp1-9 and Appendix AO. A memorandum on federation and self-government of the British West Indies, addressed to the Caribbean Labor Congress, was prepared by a committee of the subscribers for presentation by its observer. I take note, here, of the earnest work done over a period of years by a group who organized the West Indian Federation of America on March 10, 1933, and other movements including the West Indies National Council who followed in its trail.

CARIBBEAN LABOR CONGRESS

The Congress opened on the morning of September 2nd at Coke Memorial Hall in Kingston. The following recommendations were submitted for consideration of the Congress as set forth in our memorandum:

"Federation should be based on:

1. Full, responsible self-government based on free elective institutions and adult suffrage.

2. Complete control over external and internal affairs.

3. Wholly elective federal and local legislatures, functioning through ministers wholly responsible to the legislatures and the people.

4. The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia appears to be most suitable with modifications in keeping with conditions obtaining in the West Indies.

5. A wholly elected bi-cameral federal legislature should be duly considered.

6. The principle of including nominated members in the federal and local legislatures is considered inconsistent and unacceptable.

7. The principle of appointments of administrative officers by the Crown should not be admitted.

8. The provision for reserved powers, which may be employed to negate self-government and to override the will of the people, should be uncompromisingly rejected.

9. The suggestion to use the present Jamaica constitution, with its broad reserved powers as a model for a federal constitution cannot be entertained.

10. Every effort should be made to secure the adherence of the Bahamas and Bermuda to the Federation.

11. A definite date should be set for the recognition of the Federation Caribbean Commonwealth as a free nation, as in the case of India.

12. Any such federation should be included as a member of the United Nations."

The Congress declared unanimously in favor of the establishment of a federation of the British Caribbean Territory and of the immediate initiation of all practical steps that must be taken to secure it. They also declared that Federation must involve three basic essentials:

"1. That each of the territories of the Federation must, simultaneously with the creation of a Federal structure, be granted constitutions substantially similiar in character, providing for internal self-government.

2. That the Federal Constitution must provide for responsible government, equivalent to Dominion Status.

"3. That basic elements of the Federal Constitution and the constitution of

each of the territorial units be as follows:

" A. FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

The Federal Constitution shall provide for:-

(a) A Governor General for the Feder ation and Lieutenant-Governors for the Federal units, these to form gr ups for the purpose of sharing the Lieutenant-Governors between the members of each group.

(b) A Federal single Chamber legisl ture, wholly comprised of persons elected on the basis of Universal Adult Suffrage.

(c) Each territorial unit to be allotted seats on the Federal Legislature on a sliding scale proportionate to the populat on, wach unit to decide by what method its allotment of seats will be filled provided that they be filled by popular election.

(A populat on sliding scale for representation in the Federal Parliament is attached for considerationas Appendix 1.)

(d) A Federal Cabinet of Ministers appointed out of and responsible to the Federal Parliament with complete executive authority over the affairs of the Federal Administration, the Governor-General to act only in accordance with the advice of the Federal Cabinet.

(e) The Chairman of the Federal Cabinet, who is to be the Prime Minister in the Government, to be elected and removable by a simple majority of the members of the Federal Parliament.

(f) Other members of the Cabinet shall be selected and removable by the Prime Minister himself from out of the members of Parliament.

(g) Parliament to be dissolved:-

(i) By the Governor-General on the advice of the Executive Council.

(ii) On a vote of no confidence carried by a simple majority of the Parliament.

(h) The Governor General to have a veto power exercisable only on the advice of the Cabinet.

(i) No Administrative official of Government are to have a right of seat in Parliament.

" B FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

The conference recommends the creation of a Federal C vil Service Commission under a Statute of the Federal Parliament setting up a unified Caribbean Civil Service with authority to contract the services of experts. The extent to which such unified services might embrace, not only the Federal Civil Service, but, also the higher levels of the local Civil Services is a matter requiring detailed and expert consideration.

" C POWERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. The general principle shall be that the powers of the Fedral Legislature will be stated and specified, and all other powers shal remain in the local Legislatures, the Constitution to provde for amendment as and when necessary.

2. It is not considered advisable to state in detail what the specific powers of the Federal Parliament shall be since this is a matter requiring detailed study with the assistance of experts.

3. Broadly speaking, the following matters shall in principle be considered as within the province of the Federal Parliament:-

(a) Trade and Commerce.

(b) External relations.

(c) All services that can advantageously be unified for the territories as a whole.

(d) Matters relating to social security and affecting labor and the general welfare of the people as a whole.

(e) Regional planning and economic development.

NOTE: While it will be necessary in considering the details, to refer to the provisions of the Australian and Canadian Constitutions and the matters dealt with in the Memorandum on Closer Associations (C 20197), special regard must be given to local needs and the particular circumstances of the Caribbean area.

"

D LOCAL CONSTITUTIONS

Local Constitutions shall provide for:-

(a) Lieutenant-Governors for Groups of territorial units.

(b) Each unit to have--

(i) a single Chamber Parliament, wholly elected on the basis of Universal Adult Suffrage.

(ii) each unit to determine the number of its members and the method of their election.

(iii) a Cabinet similar to that of the Federal Government.

(iv) no Administrative officials of Government areto have a right to sit in Parliament."

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

The Hon. Arthur Creech Jones arrived in Jamaica on September 2nd. Among his first public utterances, he made it unmistakably clear that while Britain was battling with her difficulties, colonial policies were not being neglected, and that the Labor Government is seeking to end the worst features of the old imperialism. Which he said he was conscious of the squalor and insecurity which remained unsloved; the improvidence, the indefference, underemploymnet and unemployment which remained as difficult social legacies of the past.

Speaking to a packed audience in three woar's Theater, at a meeting held in his honor, he showed a great familiarity with the needs and the problem existing in the West Indies, and, said he, "If there has been a marked change in the approach to colo ial prblems in Great Britain it is largely due to the fact that the people in Jam aica and in ther parts of the West Indies have been awakened to a sense of their own dignity and that they have veen xm demanding social justice. The advancement of the sta dards that the people seek depends almost entirely upon their own effort and their organizations, on their ability to run their own institutions and their ability to assume public responsibility and render social service among their people.

In another instance, he called attention to the fact that there was a time when the Secretary of /State was not called the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but Secretary of State for the Plantations, and said he , "I would ask you to appreciate the fact that since that day, over three hundred years ago, these areas have gone throuh all the changes of imperial policy through the stages of sla very, indentured labor, sometimes absentt landlords ism through periods of great commerical prosperity and of diminishing presperity as well. All the while a deeper sense of re sponsibiitity has grown until the old indifference and negligence are things of the past, and we now approach our colonies ove seas not in terms of estates to be exploited for the advantage of alien interests, but as human communities entitled to live lives of their own in which, in their development we can play the part of partners helping forward the great work of human welfare and progress; and taking a part with them in genu ne comradship for the achievemeny of their self-responsibility."

In his closing remarks at the Ward's Theater, he states, "I want the conference to succeed; but I close on the note that these affairs are not merely the affairs of government, your government, or the government in London. These affairs are your personal responsibility."

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MONTEGO BAY CONFERENCE

Held at the Fairfield Country Club

On September 10th, the delegates left for Montego Bay to attend the Secretary of Stat'es Conference. There were representatives from the following: Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Trinidad, and Windward Islands,.

Greeted with prol nged cheers, the Hon. Creech Jones opened the British West Indies Closer Association Conference on Spetember 11th, at which twenty-two leading persoraltiits from the British West Indies were meeting for the first time to plan Federation of this area.

The Most Rev. Dr. W. G. Hardie, Archbishop of the West Indies, accompanied by the Venerable Archdeacon E. S. Harrison, attired in their white, purple and crimson ecclesiastical robes, were in attendance at the openinr of the Conference.

Sir John Huggins, K. C. M. G. Governor of Jamaica, was accompanied by his A.D.C. Inspector Crosswell.

When the delegates were seated the Secretary of State called upon the Archbishop to ask God's blessings on their deliberations.

Mr. Creech Jones declared the Conference opened. He then asked the Governor to convey his welcome on behalf of the Jamaica Government to the delegates and their advisors. In his address the Governor referred to Trinidad as follows,"although Trinidad has been in existance as a colony for some one hundred and forty years, it apreared that it was still regarded as some sort of upstart sister Colony which had not yet succeeded in cutting her wisdom teeth." He concluded with best wishes for the success of the Conference.

Mr. G. G. Steel, Permanent Assistant Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies acknowledged the greeting by Sir John Huggins.

The Secretary of State then made his opening address to theCnference. Among other things he said, "We are here to see whether the time is ripe--and believe it is --for a new step to be taken in thepolitical life of the West Indies. Not only a new step, but a great step, and not only a new and a great step, but a step which has been long honed for by well wishers both in side and outside the West IndianConlonies."

He spoke of a world-wide interest in this Conference, not peculiar to the pwople of the West Indies, bot of interest to the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth, and throughout America.

He said it was the task of the British Government to create as far as it can, the conditions which are essential for good nationhood in all the territories under its control, and that latterly they have been trying to apply these liberal princio;es in al the territories inside the Empore.

For example, he continu d, it is not practical politics to suppose that communities of 200,000 sousl, or in some cases even less, should paly an independent part in international discussions. On the other hand, a communot/ of well over 2,000,000 people, as in the Caribbean area, with much that is homogeneous in their culture, could reasonably hope to achieve real self-government and to be strong enough to stand against economic and cultural presures, and to formulate and car ry through a policy and a way of life of their own.

Sir Eustace Gordon Woolford of the British Guiana delegation responeded to the addresses of welcome by Sir John Huggins and by the Secretary of State/

Dr. Jung Bahadur Singh of British Guiana was first to speak on the subject of Closer Association. He favored the idea but with many reservations.

Mr. H. A. Cuke of Barbados spoke next. His attitude towards the question of Federation was not in accord with the attitude of Mr. Grantley

Adams or Mr. W. A. Crawford. He thought that the question of Federation is one for future consideration. In the course of his discussions, he spoke ofthe great and many blessings which the British Administration in the West Indies had conferred upon the people, such as freedom of speech and freedom of worship. Nevertheless, he said that the desire for nationhood should be kept within reasonable bounds, and that the people's emotional display should be controlled.

Mr. Douglas Judah of Jamaica followed and detailed a number of ways in which federation could be achieved. With him, it is a question of how, and when.

Mr. W. A. Bustamante then addressed the Conference, and said that the first thing that struck him was that, althought this conference concerns each and every person in all the British West Indies, he noticed that no seats had been reserved at this conference for what he termed the masses. He understood that this was a democratic set-up, that he was disappointed, and was registering his disapproval.

He then accused the Chairman of coming to the Conference with his mind absolutely made up to "pitchfork something down our throats."

He did not share the Chairman's prophesy that unless we accept Federation it will be a calamity or disaster. He referred to himself at this point as a matter-of-fact speaker, who rose from the gutter. He said he was not the type to be intimidated, that he was usupicious of the British motives behind the Federation of the West Indies, and tha he had never seen anyone sent from abroad who knows more about the science of governmentor of running the government than the people in Jamaica did. Mr. Bustamante repeated--"I want to speak frankly. I want to speak from my herar. I came from the gutter and I have reasons for speking frnkly. Now that you have seen the squalor and filth is it your intention to return to England and say to your government: 'I have seen these things,' and then forget that you have seen them? After 200 years of British rule, England continues to keep us as subjects instead of giving us our freedom. You gave us what you call an improved Constitution but in that Constitution you reserve for yourself the majority of votes in the Executive Council."

Directing the greater part of his speech to the Secretary of State he said, "Why is it, Sir, I want to ask you as Chairman of the Conference, that instead of offering us that to which we are entitled, that which is our heritage our right--'Freedom'--you strongly suggest, not alone suggest, but recommend Federation with almost a threat that unless we accept it there will be calamity and disaster for decades to come. We feel, I feel speaking on behalf of Jamaica almost in its entirety now, I feel that the time has come not just for Federation, but for self-government.

Among his many statements, he requested a change of the new Constitution before the end of the present five year period, a majority in the Executive Council, and abolition of the Legislative Council.

He charged that "we were just slaves of Great Britisn"but thought the British the best of a bad bunch. Bustamante siad that he did not think any one nation is better able to govern than others; that it was hin "considered opinion" and his deep-rooted feeling that wise men did not come from Africa or England alone, and that Jamaicans would not sink into nothingless if England id not govern them. Said he,"I want to become Governor of my colony I want to prove to the world that men who rise from the gutter can do the things like those who did not."

He provoked laughter when he compared the revenue of the Virgin Islands of thirteen thousands pounds to that of Montserrat which he said did not have as much as Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation in Jamaica.

Mr. Bustamante wanted to know just what Federat on entailed financially He was not troubled by people calling him a dictator, and he ciertainly did not want to be a comrade. He had no fears when people talkedabout coming to Jamaica to destroy Bustamante.

To illustrate the lack of Knowledge on the part of highly paid English specialists, he directed attention to the fact,

"that on one occasion an Englishman was sent to Jamaica as a bannana expert, and while this Englishman stood under a banana tree, he called a native boy and asked the name of the tree under which he was standing. He did not even know a banana tree when he saw it."

In closing he made a demand for immediate self-government for Jamaica, and declared that there would be no Federation for Jamaica at the present time.

When, however, the delegates resolved that they go into a committee to pass upon upon the question, Bustamante voted for theprincirle of Federation along with the other delegates.

Mr. W. A. Gomes of Trinidad followed and declared that he regareded that the speech of Mr. Creech Jones "as the most courageous and enlightening statement of Colonial policy that has eminated from the Colonial Office." He further warned against the monied interest in the West Indies who are reactionary because they think that they will loose their priviliges in the wider field; and that kxxkxdxxxxfxxxxxxkxixxxxxin itself was an argument for Federation. As for himself, he had no fear whatever, suffered from no vexations, nor was he reticent in his support of immediate Federation with Dominion status for the West Indies.

Mr. J. B. Renwick of Grenada said that his colony is, and always was strongly in favor of Federation, and that they have always been the vanguard.

The Secretary of State called on Mr. Grantly Adams of the Barbados delegation who prefaced his arguments by stating that the view he was presenting was his own, and was coincident and identical with that of the Caribbean Labor Congress.

He presented the Conference with a statement issued by the Congress and a resolution asserting the wish of the people of the Caribbean for immediate Federation with Dominion status with self-governing units.

He made it clear that there is unmistakably an upsurgence of the people of these colonies; and "for its form and its mouth piece it has the Caribbean Labor Congress. It is not to be mistaken as a mere mushroom growth; but as the result of years of study, and the resolution and statement of the Congress that he was about to present were the authentic voice of the West Indian People."

Mr. Adams then read the memorandum and resolutions on behalf of the Caribbean Labor Congress. In conclusion he said, he only wished he had the oratorical gift and power of the Chairman and of the wartime leaders to reduce his feelings into words befitting the occasion. "Looking out as upon the beauty of this setting," he said, "we are standing on the mountain-top facing a new dawn."

Mr. V. C. Bird of Antigua said that the terms of reference were not the first of the kind with which human bingse had been confronted. Canada, Australia, South Africa and the American Colonies have faced a similar situation and that "today other peoples are laying down their lives for the very same cause with which the West Indies is confronted."

Mr. A. M. Lewis of St. Lucia stated that "St. Lucia is 100% for Federation with one reservation, that in St. Lucia we have a system of civil laws which is based upon the French-Canadian system, which in turn is based upon the old French laws in several respects. We desire that no change should be made in that system without our consent; and I have been charged to ask this Conference and the delegates who meet to consider that aspect in Committee, to bear in mind that on the question of property, especially successiton, marriage, divorce, civil procedure, and also in respect to education, we desire that the constitution sh uld be so framed that no law affecting these matters should come into operation in St. Lucia until they are adopted by our local legislature.

Mr. F. S. Bonadie of St. Vincent said "I want to be honest from the outset. I do not intend to go into a detailed analysis of Federation, but throughout the length and breadth of my country, there is an intense desire that this Conference will be successful in evolving a formula which will make West Indian

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Federation a living reality."

Mr. C. M. Staine of British Honduras commended the observations of Mr. Adams, Mr. Gomes and Mr. Bustamante, and assured the Conference that he is a federalist at heart and it was pleasing to think that the majority of the speakers so far had given similar indication . He urged that the reference to West Indians be dropped as such references often omitted British Honduras and British Guiana. The use of Caribbean would be more appropiate.

Mr. F. A. Pixley, of Jamaica among other things made it very clear that he is not in favor of Federation at this time, and that he was expressing his personal views and the views of the majority party in Jamaica.

Mr. W. A. Griffin of Montserrat pointed out that there exists in the West Indies a Federation known as the Federat on of the Leeward Islands, and the fact that the people of these islands would not give it up was in his opinion something to the credit of the principle of Federation.

Mr. N. W. Manley rising amid cheers, siad, he was grateful to the Conference for the privilege of addressing it, not being a member of an official delegation. He attended the Conference as an observer, being a member of the British section of the Caribbean Commission, along with Mr. Garnett Gordon.

Among other things, he said that he was too well known as an uncompromising opponent of Imperialism for him to repeat it; and that he welcomed those whom his own teachings and time have converted to the cause he held so dearly, He siad it was not so many years ago when cerain voices spoke another language. He was glad of this partial triumph and accepted it he hoped, "with becoming humility, but overwhelming gratitude,"--and that he did not despair that the same process may eventuate on the larger issues of Federation. Continung Mr. Manley said "I am an unquenchable optimist, but let me say this, our House of Representatives debated this issue of Federation, and my recollecti on is that the House went on record unanimously, not only as favoring this conference but also as accepting in princi;e the goal of Federation for the West Indies and I say, despite any other voice in this Chamber, that there is a large and growing sentiment in favor of Federaton now in Jamica."

"I say more, that given the right direction by those who comprehend the aims of Federation and know the aspirations of our people, we could be the leaders of that movement, and the persons as fit as any other to make that goal come and come quickly."

"I distrust, sir, the use of analogies when people x talk about the unseemly and slow method of progress that is involved in creeping. I cannot but feel that, slow though it may be, if you know where you are creeping, you may get there. On the other hand, mounting the horse of power and galloping in every direction is an unpredictable mode of progress."

Referring to vested interest, he said "there is a third root of opposition and it is not easy to detect it when it is praded before our eyes; and that is the opposition that springs from vested interests."

"A large number of people always have a vested interest in the status quo and one can not blame them for being alarmed at anything that disturbs the pond in which they swim about in pleasant security."

He made a most powerful appeal to the delegates to drop out of their minds the reminders of their own security, real or apparent, and tenures of position and power in their own lands, and see that this large objective opened new horizons and gave a wider opportunit y to all.

In conclusion he said, "Here we havi it in our grasp. Dare we refuse it and condemn ourselves for all times at the bar of history? Here are we on the sea of destiny, some of us in vessels of a certain size, some cuddled in a little craft, a few have accomplished a rudimentary sail to take them along and here we are offered a boat seaworthy, manned by our own captains and our own crew. If we won't leave our lettle boats and get into the larger vessel which moves towards the haven we seek, because of our personal ambitions; then I say we are condemned and purblind, and history will condemn us."

The above are only excerpts of his speech. The speech was published in full in the JAMAICA GLEANER of Saturday, September 13th, and I regret my inability

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to give the full text, as I believe it to be a document of rare excellence and that it should be read over and over again.

Mr. W. A. Crawford of Barbados was interrupted on several occasions during his speech by delegates correcting statements attributed to them. There was a storm of protest by nearly all the delegates when Mr. Crawford said, "if Barbados were to remain a colony and not have full self-government, she would prefer to be a colony under the United States and not under Great Britain."

Mr. Crawford spoke at great lengh, in course of which he made reference to the economic development of the African colonies and the Brtish Governments proposal to spend 200,000,000 pounds in their promotion. He said he understood from the British press that these plans were concerned with providing food for the British Isles and not for the benefit of the native population.

At this point, Mr. Creech Jones interrupted Mr. Crawford and said "Mr. Crawford is now dealing with an important point on which there has been a great deal of misrepresentation," and he felt the observations of Mr. Crawford on this matter might here be set right. "I have, in a number of interviews since I have been in Jamaica, made it perfectly clear that the statement which Mr. Drawford has just made is not correct. Those of us who were responsible for conceiving a Colonial Development Corporation did not have in our minds merely the problem presented to Europe and our own coutry at the present time, but the desirability of making possible stable economies in the various colonies of the Empire."

"We are just as concerned about building up sound enterprise in the Colonies for their economic progress as we are in expanding production of these goods in short supply in Europe; and I do want to make it perfectly clear that our primary consideration is the economic development of the Colonies, and it is only incidential that the Colonies are equipped thereby to meet some of the shortages which Britain and Europe are suffering from at athe present time."

Mr. Crawford, after repeated corrections of statements he attributed to many of the delegates, made it very clear that he supported the draft bill submitted to the Conference by the Caribbean Labor Congress; that bill represented, in his considered view, the best contribution they could make on the matter, and both the bill and the statement which accompanied it, would further the aims and objects of the people they represented and the attainment of decent standards of civilized existence.

Mr. Timothy Roodal of Trinidad stated that he is an East Indian of Trinidadian birth and represented 190,000 East Indians in Trinidad, and on their behalf thanked the British Government, through Mr. Creech Jones, for the restoration of India's freedom. He said that Federation debate in the Trinidad Council ended with divergent views, but, said he, "I want it to be made extremely clear that I am definitely in favor of Federation."

Mr. Garnett Gordon thanked the Chairman for suggesting, and the Conference for accepting the suggestion, that as a member of the British Caribbean Commission, he be afforded the opportunity to speak. He referred to the Marshall Plan and its proposal to give assistance to Europe, and he did not think a number of small Colonies which were depressed for so long a time should be unduly sensitive were they to ask for financial aid while asserting the right to self-government.

There was no greater need, he siad, than there should be in this area, the fullest recognition of human rights, and the people's right to a decent living and of their right to govern themselves, and to develop thier own way of life. He also observed a great feeling of respect for the United States of America as a "friendly country with the most lofty sense of duty and obligation"

In closing he said that "theydynamic for Federation is now inherent in the West Indies. It has become a part of the people."

Mr. F. J. Seaford of British Guiana said "There are many people in British Guiana who feel that they are a little bit nervous of colser union because they feel that the Colony is on the threshold of a large development." He sopke

of the mining activities in the Colony which were attracting capital from abroad and the investment of local capital.

"Now, Sir," said he, "we have listened to some very fine speeches, but I do feel that we have not got down to fundamentals. I cannot help thinking that there has been a lot of wishful thinking and pious hopes, and that will not satisfy me, not satisfy the people of the Colony of British Guiana."

He further states, "I have been told here, Sir, that if we accept this political Federation with responsible government all our difficulties will disappear. It seems to me, Sir, that it is considered by some that this political Federation is the panacea for all evils. It may be so, though I cannot help feeling that we must give due consideration to the factors involved."

He suggested a BritishCaribbean Union operating through the Caribbean Council, and the utilization of the Colonial Development Corporation.

Mr. W. H. Courtenay of British Honduras stated the positionof his colony with regard to Federation. Said he, "we in British Honduras acknowledge with humble ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ gratitude the great privilege which has been given to us to take part in this historic meeting; to make our humble contribution to the great cause which is the purpose of this momentous occasion. Since you have heard my brother delegates from British Honduras, there can be no doubt as to the unanimity of the Conference; that the economic and social salvation of the people of the Caribbean lies in the union of the separate component units. Nevertheless he said, "British Honduras, like the timid and unsophisticated bride is hesitant to enter into this Union with what appears to us to be unseemly haste. We feel that the Union should be delayed for just a little while longer. You must continue to woo us. We want to know you better before we inter into this Union 'for better or for worse, till death us do part'. That I repear, Sir, is the stand which British Honduras takes."

He pointed outsome of the difficulties involved; that thier finance was based on the American dollar; that their best trade is with America; and that thier dollars were not West Indian dollars, but are on par with the American dollar. He drew attention to the fact that unequal representation in Federation would not be acceptable to his government; and that his people were not ready for Federation at this time.

Sir Eutace Woofford, leader of the British Guiana delegation said he apologized for not having indicated his readiness nor willingness to speak before this time. He said he is a lawyer by profession, a politician by instinct, training and long experience; and it was difficult for him at the moment to deal adequately with the argument so far advanced.

He felt that British Guiana has the most advanced political constitution in the area; that they are in a position to get self-government if they ask for it; and that they would not be denied. He never thought it possible that he should have lived to see the day when men who had not had long and constant advantages of public life could come together and pool such views as had been advanced in the Conference. Sir Eutace observed he had detected such a wide rangeof knowledge, such activity of mind, such a natural gift of making their contribution with telling emphasis, with charm and good humor, that he had not fear whatever that, if and when a federal government was estabilished there would be lacking the necessary material to perform those duties which government entails.

Sir Eustaceconcluded by saying "public opinion in the Colony, as expressed by the three daily organs there, has been against the idea of Federation or even closer union to some extent." He felt that they would examine the proposals minutely and, at some later time would consider whether they could be a party to this enterprise.

Mr. Clinton Dupigny of Dominica stated that he was in favor of Federation, but requested that the delegates return to their Colonies and get instructions to take a definite decision for Federation.

The Secretary of State announced that as all the delegates had expressed themselves on the question of Federation, it would be well for the conference to resolve itself into a Committee to examine in the light of the discussion how the difficulties may be overcome, and what form of Closer Association should emerge.

He also recommended that out of the main committe there should be a continuing body to proceed with further study of the whole question of Federation after this Conderence should have been dissolved.

He also suggested that the rork of the Committee might exclude the press and public.

After tow days of deliberation, the delegates went into a Committee of the whole, to examine the political and economic implications of Closer Association of the British Caribbean territories and to make recommendations in the form of draft resolutions for submission, if approved by the Conference, to the Legislatures of these territories.

The following Resolutions were adopted by the Conference:-

35-1-128.

63-1-94

THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS WERE ADOPTED BY THE CARIBBEAN LABOR CONGRESS

JAMAICA, B. W. I.

SEPTEMBER, 1947

"1. RESOLVED: That this Conference, recognizing the desirability of a political federation of the British Caribbean territories, accepts the principle of a federation in which each constituent unit retains complete control over all matters except those sepcifically assigned to the Federal Government.

"2. RESOLVED: That this Conference believes that an increasing measure of responsibility should be extended to the several units of the British Caribbean territories, whose political development must be pursued as an aim in itself, without prejudice and in no way subordinate to progress towards federation.

"3. RESOLVED: That this Conference believes that the provision of adequate inter-Colonial and external shipping services and other commucications is essential if progress is to be made towards federation, and recommends that in the meantime, and until a federal authority exists, a British Caribbean Shipping Committee should be set up as recommended in paragraph 27 of the Report of the Fact Finding Meeting on Shipping held in Barbados in July, 1947.

"4. RESOLVED: That this Conference recommends:-
(1) the immediate constitution of a Standing Closer Association Committee composed of delegates appointed by the Legislatures of each unit in the British Caribbean area, not exceeding the numbers specified in the schedule to thie Resolution, and of a Chairman and Secretary appointed by the Secretary of State;
(2) that the terms of reference of the above Committee be to consider and make recommendations in relation to:-
(a) the assimilation of :-
(i) the fiscal, customs and tariff policy of the British Territories in the Caribbean area, so, however, that the committee shall have regard to any recommendations in relation to these matters which may previously have been made by any commission constituted for this purpose subsequent to the nineteenth day of September, 1947;
(ii) the legistation of such territories;

(b) the unification of the currency of such territories;
(c) the unification, so far as may be practicable, of the public services of such territories, so, however, tht the Committee shall have regard to any recommendations, in relation to such unification which may previously have been made by any Commission constituted for that purpose subsequent to the nineteenth day of September, 1947, and to which effect may not previously have been given;
(d) the form of a federal constitution and federal jusicary most likely to give effect to the aspirations of the people of such territories; and
(e) the means of financing the operation of all federal services, regrd being had to all proposals in relation to this subject made to the Conference on Closer Association of the British West Indian Colonies, held at Montego Bay, Jamaica, in September, 1947;
(3) that the headquarters of the above Committee be in Barbodos;

(4) that the Committee above referred to be requested to report to the Governments of the British Caribbean territories not later than the 30th of June, 1949.

"5. WHEREAS: progress toward federation will be accelerated by putting agriculture in the British Caribbean area on a more secure economic basis than now exists.
RESOLVED: that this Conference recommends that immediate steps be taken for the setting up of a central body of primary producers (representative of all British Caribbean Colonies) with a view to accelerating the development of agriculture throughout the area on a sound economic basis; and urges the respective Governments to ask the Comptroller for Development and Welfare to convene a Conference as soon as possible for that purpose.

"6. WHEREAS this Conference considers that immediate, direct representation in negotiations affecting overseas trade and commerce is essential to the economic advancement of the British Caribbean Colonies.

35-1-130

RESOLVED: That this Conference recommends:-
(a) that a British Caribbean Trade Commissioner Service should be inaugurated in the United Kingdom;

(b) that the Governments of the Colonies concerned should give immediate consideration to the selection of a suitable Trade Commissioner and a well qualified staff of assistants, and to the provision of adequate funds for this service from their currentxxxxx year's estimates; and

(c) that H.M. Government should accord to the British Trade Commissioner the fullest possible facilities for representation at Commonwealth conferences and discussions affecting the trade and commerce of the British Caribbean, on the lines of those accorded to the High Commissioners of the British Dominions in respect of trade affecting their territories; and should use their best endeavors to secure fully adequate representation for the British Caribbean Trade Commissioner at international conferences.

"7. RESOLVED: That this Conference recommends the appointment by the Secretary of State of a Commission to examine, in consultation with the Governments of the territories in the British Caribbean area, the question of the establishment of a Customs Union, and to make recommendations, with special regard to:-

(a) ensuring the uniformity in administration and customs practice;

(b) the selection and training of the necessary staff (including the staff for an adequate statistical service;)

(c) the preparation of a suitable tariff, having regard to the fiscal problems of the Governments whose revenue would be affected by the introduction of a Customs Union; and

(d) the special needs of the British Virgin Islands.

"8. WHEREAS the recommendations made in paragraph 21 of the Fiscal Sub-Committee's report have been accepted;
RESOLVED: That this Conference suspends judgment on the remainder of that report in so far as it relates to customs.

"9. RESOLVED; That this Conference recommends that the Governments of the British Caribbean territories should appoint a small regional committe to study and report upon matters of common economic significance, and to advise upon the merits of plans for economic development.

"10. RESOLVED: That this Conference endorsed the recommendations made in that part of the report of the Fiscal Sub-Committee which deals with currency.

"11. RESOLVED: That this Conference recommends that the Governments of the British Caribbean territories should agree, after consultation among themselves, to adopt a common financial year.

"12. RESOLVED: That this Conference recommends that His Majesty's Government should be invited to examine the possibility of effecting changes in the methods of Treasury control of grant-aided Colonies.

"13. RESOLVED: That this Conference recommends that His Majesty's Government shuld be further invited to consider, as an experimental measure, the advantages of sustituting a block grant for three years to aid such territories and freeing them from direct year to year budgetary control through the three year perciod covered by such a grant.

"14. RESOLVED: That this Conference recommends:-
(1) the immediate establishemnt of a Commission to enquire into and make recommendations in relation to the unification of the public servises of the British Caribbean area;

(2) that the terms of reference of the Commission be so framed as to permit of the Commission considering all branches of such public service;

(3) that the report of the Commission be laid before the Legislatures of the respectove territories in that area with the minimum delay, unless a standing Closer Association Committee shall have sooner been appointed, in which event the report shall be referred to those Legislatures through that Committee; and

(4) that the Commission be constituted in the manner suggested in paragraph 15 of the Secretary of State's draft despatch dated July, 1947, circulated to the Conference."

JAMAICA LABOR PARTY

William Alexander Bustamante, whose real name is Clarke, is head of the Jamaica Labor Party. According to "Who's Who in Jamaica," he is a product of the public school system of Jamaica.

He left the island in 1899 for Spain, where he lived for many years. He speaks Spanish and Portugese, and saw active service in various political disorders in Casa Blanca and Spanish Morocco. He lived in New York City for a short peroid and also in Cuba, where he served on the police force. He gained some experience in political and labor movements during the corse of his travels.

About the year 1934, he returned to Jamaica, and for a time, he was engaged in making small loans to necessitous borrowers. In 1937 he joined the labor movement, serving as treasurer of the Jamaica Workers and Tradesmen Union.

In the strikes and other labor disturbances in 1938, he was associated with Williamm Grant, a "soap box orator," a product of Lenox Avenue and 135th Street, New York City, and a member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Grant was, for a time, a champion of the union movement and the chief spokesman for labor in Jamaica up to 1938. I have listened to him many times while he was lectruing in Victoria Park in Kingston and at the Square in Montego Bay.

It was during this period that Grant and Bustamante were arrested on sedition charges by the local government. They were denied bail, but were subsequently released through the voluntary efforts of Norman W. Manley, who appeared before the Supreme Court in their behalf. The charges were eventually withdrawn. At present Mr. Grant is not associated with the Jamaica Labor Party.

Bustamante called an island strike in 1939, and Sir Arthur Richards, who was then Governor, declared an emergency defense regulation and silenced him for a short while. Immediately after the restriction was removed, he was detained under the Defense of the Realm Regulation at Up-Park Camp.

During his interrment, Mr. Norman W. Manley supervised the conduct of his union, and at the same time was instrumental in obtaining his release. Upon obtaining his freedom, Bustamante became the idol of the laboring class. His union membership grew by leaps and bounds into the tens of thousands until the year 1944, when through the efforts of the People's National Party, a new constitution with universal adult suffrage was granted to Jamaica.

Bustamante seized the opportunity to convert his membership into the Jamaica Labor Party, and thus won twenty-two of the thirty-two seats in the Island Legislature. This made him the most dominant figure in the political affairs of the colony. The growth of the movement was phenomenal. The maneuvers and devices by which he was able to win were not only strategic but as dramatic as his personality.

On public occasions he can be seen walking with both hands in his pants pockets, body erect, his eyes fixed in the skies with that nonchalance that would make one feel that the whole world was in the palm of his hands.

In an interview with Mr. Bustamante, he assured me that he was following in the footsteps of Marcus Garvey, the man, who, in his opinion, aroused the masses in Jamaica from their lethargy. When I asked him why the Bustamante ~~xxx~~ Industrial Trades Union did not cooperate with the Caribbean Labor Congress, his reply was that the Congress was held under the auspices of the Trades Union Council, which in his opinion, was not in truth and in fact a trade union organization.

There is a rumor that the people were devoted to him because of his ability to make small loans to relieve their disterss. He replied that he did not lend a cent to anyone in or out of the union from the day he started to organize the workers. He volunteered the statement that he has not changed his residence; that he is still living in the vicinity of Spanish Town Road; that it is his desire to be closely associated with the people he is trying to serve.

I asked him id he did not think that the movement had developed byond his control. He said he did not think so; that at the present time his services are indispensable; that the time will come when a person of more moderate approach will be of greater benefit to the people; and that during this period someone of his temperament is a vital necessity to the movement. This is his day, he asserted, later it will be for someone else.

Asked if he would cooperate with Mr. Manley, Since they wer both working towards the same end, he said it has always been his hope that some day the two of them would be able to work together, but, he said their methods of approach are different. Said he, "I preach the narrowing of the breach between labor and capit l. The People's National Party wants i mediate self-government, while the Jamaica Labor Party wants certa n immediate essential improvements.2

45-1-133

45-1-148

THE PEOPLES NATIONAL PARTY

Norman Washington Manley, K.C., B. C. L., LL D., a Rhodes scholar, graduate of Oxford and Gray's Inn is the leading barrister in Jamaica and head of the Peoples National Party. A man of positive ideas, his clear mind and practical thinking, backed by the quiet working energy of his nature, are factors that have brought about many changes in the political and social life of the Island of Jamaica.

The changes he effected and the reforms he inaugurated must ever rank his name high among statesmen. Although the losen in his first political conflict, even in defeat he emerged in the highest esteem of his fellowmen, and is regarded as the leading political figure throughout the West Indies.

The People's National Party which he formed is the first effective political organization of its kind in the West Indies. It gave West Indians their first lessons in representative government, and to its credie is the successful fight for universal adult suffrage which was given to the Island of Jamaica in 1944.

Mindful of the impact of labor upon the economics of these islands, the People's National Party encouraged the formation of trade unions and a trade council, all of which were organized along democratic lines. An allience has been kept up with all labor organizations in the West Indies.

The vested interests have supported the Jamaica Labor Party, fearing that the success of the People's National Party will mean the end of their iniquitous control. In the last election the conservatives gave their support at the last moment to the Jamaica Labor Party, notwithstanding the fact that Bustamante assumes the role of a dictator, names all candidates, determines all policies, has appointed himself head of the party and of the Union for life and has given himself power to name those who are to succed him.

The new Constitution, tiven to the Colony of Jamaica in 1944, was granted largely at the behest of the People's National Party. The unrest and riots throughout the islands aided the work of the Party. There is a clearly conceived political campaign being conducted to instruct the people in the working of a democracy based upon a two-party system in which the majority of the representatives are in control and the minority is known as the opposition The chief function of the leaders of the opposition is to dissect the government's basic policies and to criticize its administration. The minority is an essential part of any representative government and the recognized alternative to the existing ministry, ready to take office at a moment's notice if the government party fails.

In the United States and in Jamaica there has been a great deal of misapprehension on the part of the critics of the People's National Party. These critics disapprove an y opposition to the Jamaica Labor Party, notwithstanding the fact that the opposition is the main essential in any truly representative government.

CONCLUSION

Behind everything that is vital and honorable in a nation, thereis a history of the exercise of courage by men who acted in strict accordance with their convictions. The history of the West Indies records the names of such men, who have made great sacrifices for the betterment of their people.

Names like Manley and Bustamante of Jamaica, Bradshaw of St. Kitts, Marryshow of Grenada, Gomes of Trinidad, Critchlow of Demerara, and Crawford and Adams of Barbados will long be remembered for the sacrifices that they are making for the complete liberation of the people. The Caribbean Labor Congress has thus far proved to be a most effective medium to carry on to a successful conclusion the work for which these people have sacrificed.

The Congress aroused the people in the West Indies from their state of lethargy and made them aware of the iniquitous conditions by means of which they have been kept in economic slavery during the past three hundred years. The inference is unmistakably clear, that a more forthright group of men hsa never before met in the West Indies for ascertaining the needs, aspirations and will of the British West Indian people. We cannot adequately appraise the outlook, but aconference of this type certainly symbolizes the tremendous possibilities of the race, and should bring to an end the false concept of racial and native incompetence in the Caribbean area.

The leaders of the movement for Federation are faced with the most subtle opposition, not only from the whites who are in control of the economic resources of the various colonies, but also from within their own ranks, on the part of men whose African ancestry has been paled by the occasional honors conferred on them under the Crown Colony System.

There is a new nation in the making in the Caribbean; and it is only a question of time, as to when it will come into being fully and take its place in the world coucnils of the nations. The leadership is there; personnel to man the various services of government is already these; increasingly , the people are becoming aware of their destiny; and their determination to press for nation hood matures rapidly.

The British Government has disclosed that it is prepared to concede Federation at an early date. The implications of this facr have not been fully appreciated either here or there; but it is the only reasonable conclusion to draw from the Montego Bay Conference.

However, whether this new nation will be born sconer or later depends to a large extent on us here. The people in the British West Indies need our hielp . They need it urgently and regularly. This is not my view only, but it is the opinion of the leaders of the Caribbean Labor Congress and of others with whocm I conferred. They have asked that we se k to provide t at help in so far as we are able.

I assure you they will continue to tap every resource in the islands which they can command. Some of the men there have given of thier personal funds and time to the point of impairing their own security. They will not stop but what they have or can reasonably hope to get will not be be enough.

I believe we can and should give the help they have requested. I also believe we should give it through the Caribbean Labor Congress. My Close study of the situation there, of the organizationk of the leadership of the Congress and of the response of the people to what the Congress has been able to do-all these convince me that the Congress is the only organization now in existence in the British West Indies which is competent to unite the people behind the cause of Federation. Differences between leaders of the Congress and others, notably Mr. Bustamante, are not so wide nor so deep as some people would have us think. Basically they are all committed to the same high purpose. /That purpose and that devotion will bring them together.

During our last conferences, Congress leaders outlined some of their

specific needs in terms of funds and the use to which these funds would be put. They think it is absolutely essentila that we send them about fifteen thousand dollars a year for the next two years, to make it possible for them to do the job that should and indeed must, be done. The attached schedule would be apent. They have pledged themselves to raise a similar amourt, for it will take about $30.000a year to put over their program.

It is a modest amount for so great a cause and I am confident the people of the United States will respond generously to an appeal made by us on their behalf. I pray earnestly that you give this matter your serious consideration. I urge you to act without delay.

I WOULD RECOMMEND, THEREFORE,

(1) that the proposed Association in Aid of Federation of the British West Indies be given our most serious conisderation;
(2) that definite steps be taken to organize such an association at once;
(3) that the proposed Association accept responsibility for raising and sending at least fifteen thousand dollars a year for the next two years;
(4) that every effort be made to obtain the widest possible support for the proposed /Association.

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

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22-7-7

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1206

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TODAY

22-7-8

1 April 1947

Mr. W. ~~J. Stin~~ Justin Carter, Jr.
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

I HAVE JUST HEARD OF YOUR FATHER'S DEATH stop MY DEEPEST CONDOLENCE.

W. E. B. Du Bois

charge to Edgecombe 4-9837

[Roy Chaney]:

6530 Rhodes Ave
Chicago 37. Ill.
May 24, 1947

Dr. Dubois
Chicago Defender
Dear Dr Dubois:..

I have been one of your secret admirers for a long time. Never before, however, have I tried in any way to communicate with you. I have heard you speak a number of times including the one you made at Lincoln Center. Of all the speaches that I've heard in my life time; that one is the only one that I've been able to retain in toto. I can't forget the advice you gave those students on the development of a culture of our own and its retention. I've turned that topic over in mind a many a time since that day. Every time

22-22-15

I think of the stand you took and the certain public stands you had previously taken, your stature loom more magnificent in my mind. It took deep convictions and a lot of courage, and I for one appreciated it.

The purpose of this letter is to let you know how much in agreement I am with you when you suggest that we should have among us an organization to seek out talented young people and help to educate them. I have thought about it for some time and only about three weeks ago I visited my birthplace in the South and formed a club to foster just that - on a local basis. I proposed that we build a home near one of the schools and equip it inwith the latest household gadgets including a deep freeze Refrigerator. Most of the people are farmers who don't have much money but

22-23-16

who have food in abundance. We also set ourselves on a three year plan to raise the money. I have been having "brain storms" ever since and it is quite a coincident that you were involved in one of them, and I find you expressing exactly the same basic idea. Now since I find you already interested it isn't hard to bring up the subject.

22-22-17

There are many times more Negro youths who haven't heard your voice than who have. They would like to, but the opportunity does not exist. I had thought it would be possible to have recordings made of speeches by prominent Negroes like yourself and either selling them or renting them to that end. The intellectual element of the contents to be directed to the uplift of Negro Youth. I believe you have the means within yourself to accomplish your desire if you had the necessary co-

operation from others who have similar interest.

This is not a bid for publicity on my part. I don't want my name mentioned, but I am willing to do anything to aid you if you think that I might be of any use.

We need a lot of the type of articles you write. So keep up the good work.

Yours respectfully

Roy Chaney

22-22-18

[Charles]

Covered Bridge Farm,
Potter Place, N. H.
April 12, 1947

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois,
20 West 40th St.,
New York City

Dear Sir:

22-9-131

For some years now I have been gathering material for a life of Richard Potter, the remarkable mulatto for whom this village was named. I wonder if you have any information about him which might be of help to me. If so I shall be most grateful for it. If not perhaps you would like to have me write a sketch of his life for you for your Encyclopoedia on The Negro which I understand is forthcoming.

If you have no record of Richard Potter it will not be surprising since very little was written about him. But much has come down to us by word of mouth. Briefly, he was the reputed son of Sir Charles Henry Frankland, British Consul in Boston during Colonial times, and Dinah, the baronet's slave. Potter became perhaps the foremost magician, ventriloquist and juggler of his day. He died here in 1835, in a beautiful country estate which he had built from the proceeds of his showmanship. He was a philanthropist, and one of the first members of the Universalist church.

I hope I may have the pkeasure of hearing from you, and would like very much to know more about the Encyclopoedia.

Very sincerely,

Mary Grant Charles

(Mrs. R.S.) Mary Grant Charles

22-9-132

P. S. Have you any record on Louis Willis, the old-time colored circus rider? He was well known in the South in the seventies. I have tried everywhere I can think of for more information about him - but in vain. I would like to write a brief magazine article about him. I came across his name first while doing circus research in connection with Potter. Richard Potter traveled with the very first circus which moved about in the United States.

17 April 1947

My dear Madam:

I am sorry to say that I have never heard either of Richard Potter or Louis Willis; but I am much interested in what you say.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-9-183

Mrs. R. S. Charles
Covered Bridge Farm
Potter Place, New Hampshire

[Dec. 2 1947 - Stanley Chase]

What do you think of this?

I got it from a Philadelphia Negro who was well fixed financially. Altho he readily admitted that this New York City man was a nut, pure and simple, yet "Father Divine has done one good thing for our people. He tells them, 'Get all the white man's [wage] money you can, but spend it all in your own stores.'"

Were this policy followed out even seventy-five percent (75%) perfect, would not this bring thousands of merchants "to their knees?" Would they not fight all your non-segregation battles for you, this for purely selfish, financial reasons?

22-9-1947

"No! No! Perish the thought! this would be self-segregation," was the reaction of one to whom this solution was suggested.

Even so, might not this policy prove a blessing in disguise? It is "money that talks"; and the Negroes today in U.S.A. do not have their proportionate share of prosperous merchants and bankers.

What do you think of this?

At your leisure,
by mail,
it would interest me
to know your reaction
to Father Divine,
on reverse side of this sheet.

S.A.C.

Why
demand
what
you
can
compel?

Stanley
the younger son of
Professor Chase
of Ann Arbor
Plainfield

At your leisure,
by mail,
it would interest me
to know your reaction
to Father Divine,
on reverse side of this sheet.

S.A.C.

Why demand what you can compel?

Stamtes
the younger son of
Professor Chase
of Yale
Ann Arbor
Planned Parenthood

41-16-172

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

December 18, 1947

Mr. Stanley Chase
Rainey Hotel
Ann Arbor, Michigan

My dear Stanley:

I was very much pleased and surprised to meet you in Ann Arbor. I had entirely lost track of you and your family. In your note you touch upon a problem which is continually discussed among American Negroes. There is no definitive answer, but certainly self-segregation to a certain extent in economic and social lines is absolutely necessary in order to bring consideration from certain elements among the American People.

I trust I shall see you again sometime.

Very sincerely yours,

W E B Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

{Dear Sir —

12-28-47

Thanks for the kind greeting above.
Now can it be possible that there was, or could be, more, or other, to my "note" than was on the surface.
Is "non-segregation" an end in itself? Indeed, would not any kind or type of assimilation tend to be a curse? The "ghettoed" Jews, or Italians, or Poles down through the centuries were proud to be known as such. Here, of course, the Negro is handicapped for lack of similar "background."

Be the correct solution here what it may — if the Negro or any class of people have no racial pride; or, if you please, have no confidence in their inherent ability to stand alone to develop themselves unaided, are they not doomed? I think they are. Unfortunately, as I see it, the "paternalistic" government of late years has done much to becloud the issue, to ~~confuse~~ it, to prevent a "permanent" cure.* It lies deeper.

Your problem is a difficult one, and oftimes (is that spelt rite?) discouraging, no doubt. But I see I am getting garrulous, so will ring off. [Just a minute — some one is at the door.] It was the sand man. So long.

Cordially yours

Stanley A. Chase

Ann Arbor
Michigan

Enc.

* The aged, as you know, now 74 years old, I regard all government pensions as a curse rather than a blessing. The man who refuses to save for the "rainy days" deserves being sent to the poorhouse.

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

22a-19

December 10, 1947

Mr. R. N. Checker
Stienway Hall, Studio #619
113 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Checker:

Thank you for your invitation to Dr. Du Bois to hear Principal Ganga Singh speak on "The Present Political Situation in India," on December 10. I know Dr. Du Bois would like to have attended, but, unfortunately, he is still lecturing in the Middle West. However, I shall see that your announcement is brought to his attention upon his return.

Thank you for your courtesy. I am

Hugh H. Smythe
Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. Du Bois

HHS:lm

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

(41)

1947 APR 4 PM 2 41

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22-26-45

N141 PD=CHICAGO ILL 4 106P

W E BURGHARDT DUBOIS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE=DELIVER 20 WEST 40

THIS IS IN CONFIRMATION OF SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT IN CHICAGO APRIL 13TH AT COLISEUM. LETTER FOLLOWS WITH DETAILS=

EVE ABRAMS EXECUTIVE SECRETARY CHICAGO CITIZENS COMMITTEE 123 WEST MADISON ANDOVER 2640.

13 123 2640.

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
EVE ABRAM

•

TREASURER
BORIS R. STEINBERG

22-13-5

April 10, 1947

Please forward mail back immediately

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois;

I am enclosing the timing sheet for the Coliseum Rally, Sunday, April 13 at 2:00 P.M.

You are scheduled to speak briefly for fifteen minutes. You note that the program is crowded and we are allowing in with your speech the time necessary for applause and introduction. Therefore you understand why we ask you to confine your remarks to the relation of United States policy towards Greece and Turkey with a direct tie-in to our whole policy on the colonial question, exposing the anti-democratic role of American imperialism.

We are asking that all participants in the program meet at the Coliseum, 1513 South Wabash, in the chorus room which is on the west side of the building, north of the main entrance. Mr. Boris Steinberg, a member of our Arrangements Committee, will be on hand at that time to greet you.

I would appreciate it very much if you would call me at Andover 2640 or mail to me at the above address a short biographical sketch in order that the chairman may use them in his introductory remarks on the program.

We appreciate your co-operation and interest and we will be looking forward to seeing you on Sunday afternoon.

Yours most sincerely,

Eve Abram

Eve Abram
Executive Secretary

EA/ps

P.S. Please inform our office where we can reach you in Chicago

551

[Enclosure]

TIMETABLE

COLISEUM CRISIS RALLY

FDR MEMORIAL MEETING

SUNDAY APRIL 13 2:00 P.M.

Program	Concludes at
2:45 National Anthem - Shiloh Young Peoples Chorus	2:47
Invocation - In Memoriam, Franklin D. Roosevelt - Father Parker	2:50
Chairman - Opening Remarks	2:57
William Miller - Progressive Citizens of America -	3:02
Dr. L. S. Stavrianos - Authority on Greek Affairs -	3:07
Dr. W. E. DuBois - Noted editor	3:22
Peoples Songs	3:30
Recording of Wallace	3:45
Bid Ordower - Veteran - Tribute to FDR	3:55
Boris R. Steinberg - Chicago Action Council	4:25
Leo Krzycki - American Slav Congress	4:45
A. S. Gordon - First American Correspondent from Turkey - World News Service	5:15
Chorus - United Nations	5:17

282a-13

[Enclosure]

REVISED TIMING SHEET
COLISEUM RALLY
FDR MEMORIAL
SUNDAY APRIL 13 -2 P.M.

PROGRAM	Concludes at
2:45 National Anthem - Shiloh Young Peoples Chorus Robert MacKenzie, Director, 2 selections	2:51
Invocation- In Memoriam, Franklin D. Roosevelt Father Clarence Parker, Rector St. Mark's Episcopal Church	2:54
Chairman - Dr. A. Eustace Haydon Introduces co-chairmen and sponsors Opening Remarks	2:59
R. S. Gordon - correspondent with World News Service just returned from Turkey and Middle East	3:14
Dr. L. S. Stavrianos - Professor of Near Eastern History authority on Greek affairs, with OSS in 1944-5	3:24
Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois - noted editor and author Special Research Director on colonialism, NAACP	3:39
People's Songs - Bernard Asbel - 2 selections	3:47
Broadcast - Henry A. Wallace	4:03
William H. Miller - Director, Progressive Citizens of America	4:13
Boris Steinberg - collection	4:43
Sidney Ordower - veteran - tribute to FDR	4:53
Leo Krzycki - American Slav Congress	5:23
Chorus - United Nations	5:26

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

10 April 1947 night letter

22-26-58

Eve Abram
Citizens Committee for Rally
123 West Madison, Room 1400
Chicago, Illinois

PLEASE SEND COPY OF INSTRUCTIONS TO ME AT FORTY-EIGHT HUNDRED NINE INDIANA AVENUE IN CHICAGO stop ARRIVE VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES AFTERNOON APRIL TWELFTH AT TWO FIFTY-FIVE.

W. E. B. Du Bois

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

EVE ABRAM

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TREASURER

BORIS R. STEINBERG

lecture
Corr
1947

22-11-73

April 11, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
4809 Indiana Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Dr. DuBois;

I am enclosing the timing sheet for the Coliseum Rally, Sunday, April 13 at 2:00 P.M.

You are scheduled to speak briefly for fifteen minutes. You note that the program is crowded and we are allowing in with your speech the time necessary for applause and introduction. Therefore you understand why we ask you to confine your remarks to the relation of United States policy towards Greece and Turkey with a direct tie-in to our whole policy on the colonial question, exposing the anti-democratic role of American imperialism.

We are asking that all participants in the program meet at the Coliseum, 1513 South Wabash, in the chorus room which is on the west side of the building, north of the main entrance. Mr. Boris Steinberg, a member of our Arrangements Committee, will be on hand at that time to greet you.

I would appreciate it very much if you would call me at Andover 2640 or mail to me at the above address a short biographical sketch in order that the chairman may use them in his introductory remarks on the program.

We appreciate your co-operation and interest and we will be looking forward to seeing you on Sunday afternoon.

Yours most sincerely,

Eve Abram

Eve Abram
Executive Secretary

EA/ps

LOCHARD
OAK 4243

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EVE ABRAM

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TREASURER

BORIS R. STEINBERG

22-26-60

April 17, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th St.
New York, 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois;

Just a line to say thank you for your very fine contribution to last Sunday's meeting.

Many people have told us of their great interest in your talk and felt that the meeting was truly inspiring.

We all feel that your message helped to clarify many questions of those present.

With a great deal of appreciation and thanks, I am

Most sincerely,

Eve Abram

Eve Abram
Executive Secretary

EA/ps

551

22-26-59

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

Jne 3 Straight wire New York April 17, 1947

Eve Abram
Citizens Committee for Rally
123 Madison Street, Suite 1400
Chicago, Illinois

PLEASE FORWARD MY CHECK IMMEDIATELY.

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Chicago City-Wide Forum] [Feb. 13, 1947]

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22-13-32

CFV29 PD=WUX CHICAGO ILL FEB 13 240P
DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE DRCLINTON=
407 NORTH WHITE ST

lecture

HAVE ARRANGED FOR YOU TO SPEAK MARCH 28= CHICAGO FORUM SUGGESTS FOLLOWING SUBJECT: SHOULD THE NEGRO RETURN TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY? THIS WOULD DRAW IN THE OPINION OF THE FORUM COMMITTEE A CROWD LARGE ENOUGH TO ASSURE YOU A GENEROUS FEE= IF SUGGESTION IS NOT ACCEPTABLE WIRE ME COLLECT YOUR OWN SELECTION= WILL BEGIN PUBLICITY AS SOON AS SUBJECT IS CONFIRMED=

ETZ T P LOCHARD=

410P=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

28=

(Enclosure)

Du Bois

The Chicago Forum

Friday, March 28, 1947

"Should the Negro return to the Republican Party"

22-13-31

Lecture

[Chicago City-Wide Forum] [Feb. 14, 1947]

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CF51 PD=WUX CHICAGO ILL FEB 14 135P

DR W E B DUBOIS=

CARE OF DR CLINTON 407 NORTH WHITE ST

lecture

22-13-33

THE DATE FOR YOUR LECTURE IS MARCH 28 NOT 23= EVIDENTLY ERROR WAS MADE IN TRANSMISSIONOF WIRE=

METZ T P LOCHARD=

259P

28 23

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(Partial List)

22-11-79

November 1, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, will be the main speaker Sunday afternoon, November 23, at our meeting in Chicago's Civic Opera House commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the Soviet government and the 14th of diplomatic relations between our two countries. Our Board of Directors feels your presence at the meeting, as a distinguished student of world affairs, would be most fitting, and would like very much to have you speak on this occasion. The program would require your address to run between fifteen and eighteen minutes, as we must keep the total length of the meeting short to permit the Dean to return to New York by a late afternoon plane.

As you know, our Council must fight hard for the funds that keep it alive, and we must hold our budget to a minimum. We recognize, of course, that it is no easy matter for you to leave your other important work and come out to Chicago for a day. If you find yourself able to accept our invitation, what would be the minimum figure that would cover your expenses and fee for this appearance?

We sincerely hope you will find it possible to come to Chicago and share the platform with the Dean. As time is short, and we must complete program arrangements as soon as possible, could we hear from you by wire collect whether or not you will be able to be with us at this American-Soviet Friendship celebration?

Sincerely yours,

Martin D. Lewis

Martin D. Lewis
Secretary

551

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1947 NOV 3 PM 2 15

NEW YORK

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Per _____ Date 11/3/47

NEW YORK, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 3, 1947

Martin D. Lewis
Chicago Cou cil of American-Soviet Friendship
68 West Washington Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

CAN SPEAK SUNDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 23. CHARGE $150.

W. E. B. DuBois

22-11-80

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WESTERN UNION

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

NEW YORK, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 3, 1947

22-12-31

Martin D. Lewis
Chicago Cou cil of American-Soviet Friendship
68 West Washington Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

CAN SPEAK SUNDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 23. CHARGE $150.

W. E. B. DuBois

Lecture

Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship
68 WEST WASHINGTON STREET ★ CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS ★ ANDOVER 1878

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PROF. MAUD SLYE
SIMON WEXLER

(Partial List)

22-1-31

Lecture

November 3, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are very glad you will be able to be with us November 23, and should like to confirm the engagement with you. Unfortunately our leaflets are already printed, but we are including your name in advertising and other publicity. It would be very much appreciated if we could have a brief biographical sketch of yourself. Incidentally, I am enclosing a copy of our folder which you might be interested in seeing.

My understanding of your telegram is that the $150 will cover both your fee and travel expenses. If this is not correct, please let me know.

We are looking forward to seeing you on the 23rd, and appreciate very much your taking time from your other pressing duties to speak at our meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Martin D. Lewis

Martin D. Lewis
Secretary

551

November 5, 1947

Mr. Martin D. Lewis
68 West Washington Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Mr. Lewis: I am replying to your letter of November 3 to Dr. DuBois. This is to inform you that the $150 does include travel expenses and the fee.

In accordance with your request, I am enclosing a biographical sketch of Dr. DuBois and a photograph. If I can be of further service, please feel free to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

Enclosures

Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship
68 WEST WASHINGTON STREET ★ CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS ★ ANDOVER 1878

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PROF. MAUD SLYE
SIMON WEXLER

(Partial List)

22-1-78

November 11, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I imagine you have heard from the New York papers of the illness of the Dean of Canterbury, which has forced him to cancel his American tour. At his personal request, however, Konni Zilliacus, Labor Party member of Parliament, is coming to address the meetings already arranged in the United States.

In the necessary changes in publicity which had to be made here for our November 23rd meeting, we were very happy to be able to announce that you will also speak at the rally.

I am just writing you this note to confirm that our meeting will be held as scheduled, despite the unfortunate illness of the Dean.

Sincerely yours,

Martin D. Lewis

Martin D. Lewis
Secretary

Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship
68 WEST WASHINGTON STREET ★ CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS ★ ANDOVER 1878

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PROF. MAUD SLYE
SIMON WEXLER

(Partial List)

22-11-82

November 19, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Doctor DuBois:

As you requested, I have sent three tickets for the Sunday afternoon meeting to Mrs. Owings.

Briefly on our program: the meeting will begin promptly at 2:30 with introductory remarks by Dr. William Card, who will chair the meeting. The chorus will then sing two or three numbers, and your address will follow immediately after the chorus. Following your speech Mr. Boris Steinberg will give the collection talk; there will then be a group of Russian dances, and then the address of Mr. Zilliacus.

I believe in my invitation to you I suggested that your speech be from fifteen to eighteen minutes in length. Mr. Zilliacus must leave by plane for New York immediately following the meeting, and so we are being forced to hold our program quite closely to schedule.

As Mr. Zilliacus comes so recently from his interview with Premier Stalin and from foreign policy debate in the House of Commons, he will undoubtedly deal largely with the immediate problems of Anglo-American-Soviet cooperation and the general world situation today.

With our meeting marking the dual anniversary of diplomatic relations and of the establishment of the Soviet government, some discussion of what socialism, as a new form of social organization, and its consolidation in one country, has meant in the broad picture of world relationships would be most appropriate. Dr. Card suggested to me that you might touch on this in somewhat the same vein as in your address here last spring at the Coliseum at the Crisis Rally.

We would appreciate it very much if you could bring out as a central conclusion the importance of greater understanding of the Soviet Union by all sections of our people. We want to emphasize in our collection talk the need to support our Council's educational activities as a basic contribution to peace and progress, and in these times the message cannot be put across too strongly.

Dr. Card will meet with the speakers at the stage of the Opera House at 2:20 p.m. I am enclosing a card which will admit you.

Sincerely yours,

Martin D. Lewis

Martin D. Lewis
Secretary

561

[Chicago Defender]

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PRESIDENT

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1947 JAN 2 PM 8 01

Chicago Defender

DR W E B DUBOIS=

20 WEST 40 ST=

22-8-57

I HAVE INSISTED THAT YOU BE PAID FOR COLUMN USED WITHOUT YOUR PERMISSION. HAVE BEEN ASSURED BY BUSINESS OFFICE SENGSTACKE WILL SIGN CHECK WHEN HE RETURNS TO CITY MONDAY. YOU SHOULD HAVE IT BY WEDNESDAY. I SHALL SEE TO IT THAT PROPER SATISFACTION IS GIVEN YOU. I DEEPLY REGRET THE INCIDENT. YOUR COLUMN HAS HEIGHTENED THE PRESTIGE OF THE DEFENDER CONSIDERABLY. I HAVE THE HIGHEST APRECIATION FOR YOUR WORK. PLEASE ACCEPT BEST WISHES FOR HAPPINESS AND LONGEVITY=

METZ T P LOCHARD.

SENGSTACKE METZ.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

January 3, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

2-8-53

Dear Dr. DeBois:

This is to acknowledge with thanks your letter. Inasmuch as I have been out of the city, this my first notice of the difficulty.

I share your chagrin, however, we assure you that the error was inadvertent.

I understand that "Beg Pardon" was run in our issue of January 4. Your check is being prepared and should reach you early next week.

Thanks very much for your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Sengstacke

John H. Sengstacke
Editor and Publisher

9 January 1947

My dear Mr. Lochard:

22-8-47

I have received my check for $35 and the apology has been duly printed. So that's that.

Now the question comes with whom am I to communicate and to whom shall I address my articles? I understand that your status has been changed. I wish you would write me frankly and confidentially just what the present situation is. I will keep anything you say under my hat. Best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

PUBLISHED BY
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January 22, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

22-8-46

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It was gracious of you to inquire into my present status at the Defender. I shall go into the matter with you at length at the earliest opportunity. There are certain aspects of the situation which I am sure would be of interest to you. I am just now recovering from a dreadful head cold. I find it extremely difficult to take care of my correspondence.

Cordially yours,

CHICAGO DEFENDER

Metz T. P. Lochard

Metz T. P. Lochard
Chairman
Editorial Board

MTPL/n

P. S. I am still working on the arrangement for your lecture.

[Chicago Defender]

1947 FEB 23 PM 6 2[illegible]

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NEW YORK

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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22-1-16

N254 PD=CHICAGO ILL 23 446P

DR W E B DUBOIS=

1947 FEB 23 PM 6 21

20 WEST 40 ST=

HAPPY BIRTHDAY MAY YOU LIVE FOREVER SINCE YOU HAVE DISCOVERED THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH=

METZ T P LOCHARD CHAIRMAN EDITORIAL BOARD CHICAGO DEFENDER.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

3435 INDIANA AVENUE

"41 YEARS OF PROGRESS"

CALUMET 5656-7-8-9

THE Chicago Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

Published by

ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

Victory With Justice For All

Box 5528

CHICAGO 80, ILLINOIS

April 17, 1947

NOTICE TO COLUMNISTS

TO: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

FROM: Louis E. Martin
Editor-in-Chief

Defender - Wednesday
Courier - Monday

In order to expedite editorial work on our National Edition, it is urgent that we receive copy of all regular columnists by Friday of each week.

If you can keep one or two weeks ahead it would help us considerably.

Please address all columns to the Executive Editor.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Dr. Doxey A. Wilkerson
PEOPLE'S VOICE
210 West 125th Street
New York City

2 June 1947

Editor of the Chicago Defender:

I have received no copy of the Defender for the week April 26 and May 24th. Will you kindly see that the copies are sent immediately? I shall be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Editor
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

[Chicago Defender]

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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22-8-49

.CD813 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL 19 1947 OCT 19 PM 10 24

W E B DUBOIS

20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

EFFECTIVE AND BEGINNING OCTOBER 23 FOR OPERATIONS ISSUE DATED NOVEMBER ONE ABSOLUTE DEADLINE FOR RECEIPT ALL COLUMNS THURSDAY MORNING PLEASE CONFIRM RECEIPT THIS WIRE THANKS YOUR COOPERATION=

LUCIUS C HARPER EXECUTIVE EDITOR.

wire

Received Oct 20 1947 Y.T.

23.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

October 20, 1947

Mr. Metz Lochard
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 80, Illinois

Dear Mr. Lochard: In reply to and confirming your wire, which has just been received, this is to inform you that Dr. DuBois' material shall reach your office weekly in time for the Thursday deadline mentioned in your note.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:S

November 5, 1947

Editor of the Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana ~~Avenue~~
Chicago 80, Illinois

My dear Sir:

The copy of the Defender which goes to my home in Baltimore, 2302 Montebello Terrace, has not been coming lately. Will you see that it is delivered regularly hereafter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

November 18, 1947

Mr. Enoch P. Waters
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Waters:

For the past two weeks Dr. DuBois has not been receiving copies of the Defender. Will you please see that the issues of November 8 and 15 are sent to him for his files, and that he receives his copy regularly? With thanks, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

[Chicago Defender - Dec. 10, 1947]

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DEC 10 PM 11 55

WM E B DUBOIS=

20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

BECAUSE OF THE STRIKE OF THE CHICAGO DEFENDER PRINTERS WE ARE NOW PUBLISHING UNDER THE NEW PHOTO ENGRAVING PROCESS. AS A RESULT IN ORDER TO MEET MAKEUP DEADLINES WE ARE ASKING ALL COLUMNISTS TO HAVE THEIR MATERIALS IN THE EDITORIAL OFFICE NOO LATER THAN MONDAY NOON OF EACH WEEK=

ALBERT G BARNETT.

alc

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[Chicago Defender]

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DR W E B DUBOIS=

:20 WEST 40 ST=

Chicago Defender

22-852

:PLEASE SEND MATERIALS IN NO LATER MONDAY MORNING PLEASE CUT MATERIAL IN HALF: THIS ACTION NECESSITATED BY THE PRINTERS STRIKE WHICH IS AFFECTING ALL CHICAGO PAPERS THANKS YOUR COOPERATION:

=LUCIUS C HARPER:

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[CHINA]

Dr. DuBois

20 1947
493

CONSULATE GENERAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA
LOS ANGELES 15, CALIFORNIA

October 16, 1947.

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
100 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington D.C.

22-13-42

Dear Sir:

In reading the New York Times, Sunday, October 12, 1947, I took note of your document entitled "An Appeal for Redress" drafted under the direction of Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois and addressed to the United Nations. I would appreciate it greatly if you could send me a copy of this document to our office. The address is Room 682, 1151 South Broadway, Los Angeles 15, California.

Yours truly,

For the Consul General:

Albert Fenn

Albert Fenn
Secretary

[City Club]

THE CITY CLUB

712 VINCENT AVE. · CLEVELAND, OHIO

MAIN 0082

Photos

January 21, 1947

22a-14

Dr. Wm. E. DuBois
Atlanta, Gerogia

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The City Club of Cleveland is indeed grateful to you for your kindness in sending an autographed photograph of yourself for its historic walls on which will be hung those of many distinguished Americans and world citizens who have addressed its Forum.

On behalf of the members, I take this means of expressing to you the gratitude of all of us.

Sincerely yours,

Earl R Hoover

Earl R. Hoover
Chairman, Picture Committee

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[Civil Rights Congress]

22a-6

S U M M A R Y

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS NOVEMBER 21, 22 and 23, 1947

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS CHICAGO, ILL. NOVEMBER 21, 22 and 23, 1947

The call to the conference was sponsored by more than 300 leaders in all fields and included the following:

Prof. Thomas Addis, Stanford University; Judge William A. Anderson, Minneapolis; Prof. R. B. Atwood, Kentucky State College; Bishop George W. Baber; Elmer A. Benson; Leonard Bernstein; Judge Jane Bolin, New York; Dr. H. D. Bollinger, Secy., Dept. of Student Work, Bd. Ed. Methodist Church; Dean Brailsford R. Brazeal, Morehouse College; Prof. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, University of Chicago; Prof. Ernest J. Chave, University of Chicago; Prof. Walter R. Chivers, Pres., Nat'l. Conf. on Adult Education; Hugh De Lacy, Seattle; Olin Downes; Lion Feuchtwanger; A. A. Fisher, Secy-Treas., Washington State CIO Council.

Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago; Bishop J. A. Gregg; Uta Hagen; Charles H. Houston, Washington, D.C.; Robert Morss Lovett; Judge Stanley Moffatt, Huntington Park, Calif.; Grant W. Oakes, Pres., United Farm Equipment Workers; Clifford Odets; Max Perlow, Secy-Treas., United Furniture Workers; Prof. Frederick L. Schuman; Agnes Smedley; Ferdinand C. Smith, Secy, National Maritime Union; Prof. Colston Warne, Amherst College; Margaret Webster; Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr.

The conference opened with a public meeting at Orchestra Hall on Friday evening, Nov. 21, with an audience of 2,500 including delegates from across the country sitting in judgment on the evidence against the Thomas-Rankin Committee on Un-American Activities.

Father Clarence Parker, of the St. Marks Episcopal Church, Chicago opened the meeting and introduced as chairman Dr. Harry F. Ward, honorary chairman of the Civil Rights Congress.

The following witnesses were introduced by the chairman:

Harold Christoffel, honorary president of Local 248 (Allis-Chalmers) United Automobile Workers Union, Milwaukee. Mr. Christoffel is under federal indictment as a result of efforts of the House Labor Committee, headed by Rep. Fred Hartley, to break the Allis-Chalmers strike.

Helen R. Bryan, executive secretary, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Under indictment for contempt of the Un-American Committee. Executive board members of JAFRC are appealing convictions on the same count.

Refugio Ramon Martinez, field representative, United Packinghouse Workers, Chicago. A resident of Chicago for 23 years, he has been ordered deported to Mexico because of his political views.

Leon Josephson, New Jersey attorney, convicted of contempt of the Un-American Committee. His real crime in the committee's eyes was the help he gave during the war to the German underground movement against Hitler.

Gerhart Eisler, German anti-fascist refugee, convicted of contempt. His is the case created by the Un-American Committee to produce the current anti-red hysteria.

-MORE-

Carl A. Marzani. First victim of the loyalty purge among government employees.

These witnesses gave evidence against the committee.

In summing up the case against the witch-hunters, Dr. Ward declared that today is America's "Stalingrad" in the fight to preserve civil liberties.

Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, of Boston, and Paul Robeson concluded the program.

The audience rendered its verdict by adoption of a resolution (text attached) calling for abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee and by responding to a collection appeal in the amount of $1,500.

The regular session of the conference opened Saturday morning at Hull House, Dr. Harry F. Ward presiding.

The Credentials Committee report showed an attendance of 337 delegates and 12 observers from 23 States and the District of Columbia. Representation included 75 AFL and CIO local unions and district councils, nine international unions, three industrial union councils, 10 regional bodies, 50 national groups, 16 church organizations, 31 civic organizations and 11 cultural groups.

Joseph Cadden, CRC executive director, made this the keynote of his organization report:

"Our job at this conference is to organize now our resistance movement to preserve democracy. We shall save democracy. We shall defeat attempts at thought control, attempts to make of our United States a police state."

Mr. Cadden reviewed the formation of CRC 18 months ago. He reported on the successful Oust Bilbo campaign, CRC's defense of Negroes in southern lynch courts and the organization's activities in support of the Wagner-Case anti-lynching bill. He praised the highly successful FEPC state referendum campaign of Michigan CRC, its action in saving from death sentence a Negro GI, Lemas Woods, and the community campaigns of many chapters from coast to coast in fighting against police brutality and for labor's rights.

Mr. Cadden showed the role of the Un-American Committee in the general offensive of reaction, which helped spearhead passage of the Taft-Hartley law, the issuance of the President's Loyalty Order affecting 2,000,000 federal employees and the war hysteria directed against Russia.

He dwelt on the cases involving contempt of the Un-American Committee, and the particular meaning of each. He expressed the regret of Mr. George Marshall, chairman of the board, for his inability to attend the conference, due to illness. Mr. Cadden pointed out that the prosecution of Mr. Marshall by the Un-American Committee is due to the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, under his leadership, carried on a militant fight against the committee from its inception.

"Marshall made speeches, wrote articles and pamphlets, organized meetings and delegations, to protest the completely un-American actions of the committee," he said. "For this, they will try him. But he has not hesitated in his fight against

-MORE-

the committee's attempt to control the thought of Americans. Neither he nor the Civil Rights Congress will give up this fight until the committee is abolished."

In the case of Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist party, Mr. Cadden pointed to the special ground on which CRC is basing its legal defense. CRC attorneys in this case contend that John Rankin, a leading member of the committee, is a member of Congress in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, which requires a reduction of representation in Congress in proportion to the disfranchisement of citizens (there are 1,000,000 Negroes in Mississippi).

Following the report the conference elected four committees on Credentials, Nominations, Resolutions and Building CRC.

Committee personnel:

Resolutions Committee: Josephine Nordstrand, CRC Wisconsin, chairman; John H. Martini, Pastry, Cooks, Washington, D.C.; Robert Buse, UAW 248, Milwaukee; Gloria Fishkin, AYD, Chicago; Rieta Kochiat, IUC, Fort Wayne; Ill. State Senator, Christopher Wimbish, Chicago; S. Tarlowski, IWO, Chicago; Frederick Marrero, Farm Equipment 236, Louisville; Sam Rosenwein, CRC Counsel, New York; R.D. Dixon, CRC Texas, Waco; Tillie Carle, Nat'l. Comm. Protection of Foreign Born, Chicago; Louis Torre, UE 1114, Chicago; Lenore Kanat, American Veterans Committee, Women's Auxiliary, Detroit; Fred Steinmetz, CRC West Los Angeles, Los Angeles; Duncan Manning, Chemical Workers, Newark; Dorothy Fogel, Inter-Racial Ass'n., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; William Mulberg, UPW, Detroit; Christine Walker, UOPWA 26, Detroit; Elizabeth G. Flynn, Communist Party, New York; Charles P. Howard, Shriners, Des Moines; John Shaffer, Farm Equipment, Chicago.

Building CRC Committee: Arthur Price, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala., chairman; Cliff Davis, CRC N.Y.; William Haber, CRC Cleveland; William Bidner, CRC Los Angeles; Ann Shore, CRC Michigan, secretary; Eleanor Salkind, CRC Illinois; Samuel L. Neuburger, Attorney, N.Y.; Eric Strong, Shoe Workers District Council, N.Y.; Miriam Schultz, CRC Pittsburgh; Vera Brook, American Slav Congress, Pittsburgh; Irving Steinberg, AVC, Chicago; Robert Latham, FTA, Philadelphia; Rev. Frank O'Neil, FTA, Winston Salem; James Brown, UAW 600, Detroit; Bessie Iusechewitz, Congress of American Women, Milwaukee; Clinton Carleton, Steelworkers, Warren, Ohio; Edwin J. Knoska, UOPWA, Chicago; Ivan Woolworth, CRC Brooklyn; Nathan Daniel, UE Dist. 4, Newark; Russell Coppock, New World Bookshop, Omaha; Arthur Brown, CRC New Jersey; Evelyn Goldstein, CRC Bronx; Milton Reverby, Warehouse 65; Helen Nempzoff, AYD, Philadelphia; Saul Grossman, CRC Michigan; Mrs. Church, CRC Milwaukee; Edgar McCrae, UAW 134B, Chicago; H.B. McCormick, NMU, Chicago.

Credentials Committee: Abner Green, Nat'l. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, N.Y., chairman; Steve Rosner, UE, Pittsburgh; Harold Johnson, UAW, Milwaukee; William Hammond, UOPWA, Detroit; Geneva Kitto, Young Progressive Citizens of America, Michigan; Morris Planner, IWO, N.Y.; Winston McDaniels, YPCA, Madison.

Nominations Committee: Louis Colman, CRC N.Y., chairman; David Parr, Amal. Meat Cutters #48, Milwaukee; Dashiell Hammett, CRC N.Y.; Joe Braun, Farm Equipment, 105, Peoria, Ill.; Nicholas Blattner, United Furniture Workers, Chicago; Joseph Levy, UOPWA, N.Y.; Oscar Castro, United Furniture Workers, Los Angeles; Joe Jacobs, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Laredo, Texas; Matt Crawford, NNC, San Francisco; Rev. John Miles, Inst. Applied Relations, Michigan; Anthony Cascone, AYD, N.J.; Eugene Feldman, NAACP, Madison, Wisc.

-MORE-

CONFERENCE PANEL ON THOUGHT-CONTROL

Mort Furay, United Public Workers, Detroit, and Hilliard Ellis, President, Local 453 United Auto Workers, Chicago, co-chaired this major panel; A.J. Isserman, attorney, submitted the report of the panel to the general session on Sunday; Jack Raskin, CRC of Michigan executive secretary, acting as secretary.

The following presentations were made:

Samuel Neuburger and Mr. Isserman outlined the issues in the fight against the Un-American Committee and for the defense of its victims. Mr. Cadden presented the action program for the drive to abolish the committee.

Professor Colston Warne, Amherst College, dealt with the President's Loyalty Order, and William Bidner, Los Angeles CRC executive secretary, dealt with local loyalty orders.

Ralph Powe, CRC attorney, presented a paper analyzing the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights calling for the registration of groups seeking to influence opinion, and Elizabeth G. Flynn, Communist party national board member, dealt with the movement to outlaw the Communist party.

Ann Shore, of the Michigan CRC, described the fight against the Callahan Act and other state investigating committees, and reports were given on police and vigilante interference with civil rights in many states.

Complete text of the panel report and recommendations as adopted by the conference, are attached. Major decisions of the panel:

1. Petition drive for 1,000,000 signatures for abolition of the committee.

2. Setting aside the week of Dec. 8 to 15 to hold meetings throughout the country in the drive for petition signatures. Sending a delegation to Washington on January 9 to exhibit the petitions to Congressional leaders.

3. A campaign to win revocation of the President's loyalty order, and to safeguard the rights of political minorities.

CONFERENCE PANEL ON MINORITY AND LABOR'S RIGHTS

Rev. Charles A. Hill, Detroit, was chairman of this panel; Dr. Matt Crawford, West Coast vice president of the National Negro Congress, was reporter to the general session, and Alex Freund, Philadelphia CRC executive secretary, acted as secretary.

William Patterson, Illinois Communist party legislative director, discussed the meaning of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and the necessity for pressing for adoption of those recommendations affecting racial and national minorities.

Milas Stephens, Chairman, Citizens Committee Against Lynching, dealt with the campaign for enactment of anti-lynching legislation, and the next steps.

Ernest Goodman, attorney of Detroit, and Herman Rosenfeld, attorney of New York, described defense cases involving threats of legal lynching of Negroes

-MORE-

in which CRC has been directly involved (the cases of Lemas Woods, GI in the Philippines; Willie McGee and the Craft family in Mississippi).

Professor Edward Weaver, Alabama State College, and Percy Greene, Jackson, Miss. editor, described the fight against restrictive covenants, jim-crow, poll-tax and for a federal FEPC.

Samuel Neuburger, New York attorney, showed the relationship between the fight for labor's rights and the struggle for civil rights in general.

Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, Chicago, described the fight against rising anti-Semitism, and Pearl Hart, attorney and officer of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born dealt with the drive to deport almost 150 non-citizens in various parts of the country because of their real or alleged political views.

Full text of the panel report, as adopted by the conference, is attached.

Major decisions:

1. That CRC establish a permanent national committee to organize the steps necessary to carry out the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights regarding racial, religious and national groups.

2. A renewed drive, including a mass delegation to Washington in January, for enactment in the next session of Congress of the Wagner-Case anti-lynching bill.

Committee reports were submitted at the closing day's session.

BUILDING CRC COMMITTEE.

Structure. Recommended establishment of national commissions on labor, education and academic freedom to coordinate activities in these fields. Proposed structural organization of neighborhood chapters, local councils and state offices. Recommended issuance of charters to present and future affiliates. Urged periodic meetings of staff people throughout country and coordination of staffs, national officers and board members on matters of policy. Proposed establishment of a committee to re-draft constitution for submission to chapters within three months.

Membership campaign. Immediate launching of a membership campaign, utilizing national speakers and Un-American Committee victims for pre-arranged speaking tours. A policy of city and state concentrations was proposed, such as in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, Connecticut, with the national office sending field representatives to concentration areas.

Publicity and education. Issuance of national and local bulletins for leadership; wherever possible local organizations should publish action and news bulletins for its entire membership; a kit prepared by the national organization on Organization of CRC; urged use of labor press, national group papers and radio.

Finances. Establishment of fixed procedure on fees for affiliation of unions and other organizations, establishment of chapter budgets and finance committees was urged; and methods of money-raising were listed: socials, mass meetings, petitions, contributions, memberships, affiliations, etc.

Techniques. Procuring free legal advice and aid by the chapters was stressed as an absolute necessity in the development of local issues. Leadership institutes,

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the use of films and visual aid programs and songs, were urged in the building of chapters.

Periodic reports by local chapters to the national office, and providing the national office with bundles of all pamphlets and leaflets issued locally, it was pointed out, were basic requirements to enable all working units of CRC to profit from the general experience both from the point of view of organizing and of issues and campaigns. The closer the exchange of experience and the integration of work, the more quickly will the CRC develop as a truly national civil rights organization.

The committee report was unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE. The following resolutions were presented to the convention and adopted:

Discrimination in Armed Forces. "Every citizen regardless of race, creed or color should be permitted to serve his state and nation in the armed services without discrimination or segregation.....Therefore we urge the Secretary of National Defense to promulgate a regulation completely integrating Negroes in all branches of the armed services and all federally recognized national guard units.....and urge the cessation of the policy of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and the Veterans Administration in its relations with veterans in any of its facilities and its personnel practices."

Rights of Government Workers. Citing laws and executive orders "designed to create fear and intimidation among the government workers of this country" (the President's loyalty order #9835, Public Law 808 and the McCarron Rider, as well as the Callahan Act and the Los Angeles County Loyalty Check) the resolution demanded revocation of the loyalty order, repeal of Public Law 808 and the McCarron Rider to the State Department Appropriation Act, and urged all affiliates and local and regional bodies to campaign locally to these ends.

Make Washington a Democratic Capitol. ....."Whereas the Federal Government and its representatives are proclaiming to the peoples of the world the need for full democracy, and using America as a symbol of democracy; and whereas Washington, D. C.....is solely under the jurisdiction of Congress, the elected representatives of the people; and whereas there is a complete absence of democracy in Washington despite the provisions of the Constitution; and whereas segregation, discrimination and inequality exist and are fostered in housing, education, health, employment, professions, public accommodations and entertainment.....Therefore be it resolved that Washington, D. C. must first become a democratic capitol city in fact.....this democracy cannot be achieved without the complete abolition of inequality in the capitol; further that the Civil Rights Congress spearhead the drive to achieve democracy in the capitol, enlisting the aid of all organizations....."

American Press. Charging the daily newspapers, magazines, periodicals and farm publications with "poisoning the minds of the people against everything progressive," the resolution urged letters to editors, contacting advertisers, farm, labor, language and community action groups to protest against this "threat to our democracy" and that CRC "wherever possible publish the truth by leaflets, ads, and other publications."

War-service Seamen. That CRC "give full support to the efforts of these

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12,000 war-service seamen to gain the U.S. citizenship they have valiantly earned by their courageous service on American ships during the anti-fascist World War II, and that CRC supports the Cellar bill now before Congress which would enable these seamen to become American citizens."

North Carolina frame-up. Urged support to a nationwide campaign to win the release of three union leaders (Margaret Degraferee and Carl Jones, Negro members of Local 22, FTA, Winston-Salem; and Philip Koritz, international representative) now serving jail sentences for having defended picket line of striking tobacco leaf house workers against mass police attack; and that CRC "urge upon Governor Cherry of North Carolina that he take steps to secure immediate pardon for these framed-up union leaders."

Academic Freedom. Citing the drive toward thought control in the public school system, and attempts by law to purge faculties, students and text books, the resolution urges vigorous resistance to any attempt "by legislation or through extra-legal means to extend thought control into the public schools, universities, colleges, boards of regents and directors."

Under a special order of business, Thelma Dale, executive secretary of the National Negro Congress, informed the conference that the executive board of NNC at a meeting in Chicago the previous evening, had voted to accept the invitation previously extended by CRC for closer cooperation between the two organizations, offering to "consolidate its forces with that of the Civil Rights Congress." This NNC proposal was adopted unanimously and the conference voted to set up a joint committee of both organizations to arrange details of the merger with CRC, with respect to program and organization.

Robert W. Kenny, president of the National Lawyers Guild, and chief attorney for the 19 Hollywood writers and directors attacked by the Un-American Committee, addressed the conference Sunday afternoon. He characterized the debate in the House on the citations of the Hollywood figures as the "climax" and the "turning point" in the fight for civil liberties in America.

Hugh De Lacy, former congressman from the State of Washington, who also addressed the conference, spoke optimistically of the rapidly mobilizing forces of progress to defeat the trend to war, suppression of civil liberties and economic depression and chaos.

The report of the Committee on Academic Freedom was made by Lee Marsh, delegate of the national American Youth for Democracy.

The committee report declared that the Un-American Committee, the FBI, the Hearst press and the American Legion have spearheaded a campaign against faculty and student freedoms on campuses and in secondary schools, reaching the point where state "Un-American Committees" have been established to intimidate action groups in the educational system. It found that many boards of trustees and college administrations "have adhered to this campaign by using open and subtle methods of intimidating non-conforming individuals and groups."

"Jim crow continues in the educational systems of more than seventeen states and widespread discrimination in the admittance of students to colleges and widespread discrimination in the appointment of faculty members and in their advancement continues to exist," the committee declared.

-MORE-

The committee recommended:

"1. That the Civil Rights Congress undertake to help defend individuals and organizations in the educational system who are intimidated and repressed in violation of the Bill of Rights and the 14th Amendment."

"2. That the Civil Rights Congress form a national committee for democracy and education which will publicize through various means the attack now being launched against democracy in education."

The report was unanimously adopted.

NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE. Before submission of the nominations by the committee chairman, Louis Colman, New York CRC executive secretary, a motion was carried by acclamation commending Dr. Harry F. Ward, the "American dean of fighters for civil liberties" for the leadership and inspiration he had given the Civil Rights Congress in his capacity of honorary co-chairman.

The nominations committee report, adopted unanimously, embraced a slate of officers and 108 members of the Board of Directors. The list is not here recorded, and will not be published until all those elected have had an opportunity to accept.

The elected officers who accepted are:

Honorary Co-chairman:	Dr. Harry F. Ward	Elected by acclamation
Chairman of the Board:	George Marshall	Elected by acclamation
Executive Director:	Joseph Cadden	Elected by acclamation
Treasurer:	Raymond C. Ingersoll	Elected by acclamation

It was recommended that CRC organizations, including new chapters as they are formed, make proposals to the Board for additional nominations, so as to assure proper geographic and organization representation. (The Board has the power to fill vacancies, and within limits, add to its number).

After a summary of the actions taken by the conference, and the job to be done, the conference was adjourned at 5:20 PM.

COMMISSION ON LAW. A commission on law, consisting of 25 attorneys attending the conference, met Sunday morning, but no formal report was made to the general session. Martin Popper, vice-president of the National Lawyers Guild, addressed the group on the subject of the general attack on civil rights.

Samuel Rosenwein, CRC counsel, presented the need for organization of legal staffs in every community as an essential to CRC organization. Methods of organizing these staffs were discussed: conducting law forums, training them in trial work and constitutional law, the exchange of material and briefs, and developing specific approaches to constitutional questions involving the rights of Negroes, of labor, of political and national minorities. The national office of CRC, under direction of Mr. Rosenwein, will start at once to carry out these plans.

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[Civil Rights Congress]

Resolution adopted by Civil Rights Congress Meeting
Orchestra Hall, Chicago, Nov. 21, 1947

WHEREAS, witch hunting and the police state are unknown to our Constitution and abhorrent to our way of life; and

WHEREAS, the Thomas-Rankin Committee is successor to the infamous Dies Committee and Wood-Rankin Committee which received warm praise from the Nazis during the last war; and

WHEREAS, the Thomas-Rankin Committee has inquired into the personal beliefs and opinions of Americans, contrary to the provisions of the First Amendment to the Constitution; and

WHEREAS, the Thomas-Rankin Committee, unconstitutionally created, has engaged in illegal conduct since its inception in the form of political intimidation, terrorization of citizens, unlawful searches and seizures, and other characteristic lawless activities; and

WHEREAS, the Thomas-Rankin Committee has declared its purpose is to suppress political minorities, free speech and press, to censor ideas and to destroy the trade unions; and

WHEREAS, the Thomas-Rankin Committee has supported and received the support of such fascist groups in the community as the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirts, and other related organizations; and

WHEREAS, the Thomas-Rankin Committee has set up its own unlawful tests for Americanism while attacking and vilifying every idea and person in opposition to the Committee as subversive and disloyal;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the citizens here assembled at Orchestra Hall, Chicago, oppose and call for immediate abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by passage of the Sabath Resolution now pending in Congress; call for the freedom of Americans against whom criminal sanctions have been imposed because of their opposition to this Committee; for the cessation of any further prosecution stemming out of the activities of this Committee; and for the end of all governmental inquisitions into the personal beliefs and political opinions and affiliations of Americans.

CRC

Campaigns and Activities of the

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

205 EAST 42ND ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. - MURRAY HILL 4-6640

December 2, 1947

CIVIL RIGHTS WEEK (DEC. 15th to 22nd) - Fight for the Bill of Rights

CRC has set aside the week of Dec. 15 to 22nd (originally Dec. 8 to 15) as CIVIL RIGHTS WEEK, a week in which to concentrate on the job of getting 1,000,000 Americans to sign a petition to Congress demanding abolition of the Un-American Committee. December 15th is the anniversary of the adoption of the first ten amendments to the Constitution (the Bill of Rights) which provide the personal guarantees of freedom against unlawful search and seizure, punishment without jury trial, and freedom of speech, press, religion and assembly.

This is the week for every CRC local and state organization to:

1. Speed up circulation of the petition, badger the cooperating organizations, groups and individuals gathering signatures, in order to assure a maximum of effort and results.

2. Have a CRC speaker at every meeting of any and all groups taking place this week: local unions and CIO councils, fraternal clubs, neighborhood clubs, Negro and inter-racial organizations, religious and student groups.

3. Plan some kind of stunt (modest or ambitious, but in any event something you can carry through) that will bring the issue and the petition before the public. New York CRC will hold a "demonstration" in Times Square - marchers with picket signs working with signature-collectors.

4. Organize street meetings, shop meetings, shopgate meetings - door-to-door canvassing.

5. Send an announcement to the local press on what your local CRC organization is doing during Civil Rights Week, what Civil Rights Week means in the face of the threatening thought control drive of the Un-American Committee. New York CRC will have a radio program, in which the petition campaign will be highlighted. (Don't get the idea that only New York is doing things; New York CRC told us their plans - you haven't, yet.)

6. See that every conceivable local organization which has not yet adopted a resolution demanding abolition of the Un-American Committee does so during the week. If they have not received your draft resolution, get it to them.

ALSO OF IMPORTANCE: Send to the national office its share of the money so far collected on the petition, and the receipts on sales of the pamphlet. We are in urgent need of funds to carry the campaign through January.

Inform us at once of the number of signatures you have collected. Local CRC's are to hold signatures until Jan. 9 when you will send representatives to Washington and exhibit them to Congressional leaders. How many do you expect to have by December 30th, and what quota have you set yourselves?

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ARE YOU PREPARING FOR THE HOLIDAY RECESS OF CONGRESS? Are you ready to have delegations visit your local congressmen at their homes during the Christmas recess? You have a two-point program for them: to support and fight for adoption of the Sabath Resolution to abolish the Un-American Committee, and to sign Discharge Petition No. 9, which would force out for debate and vote the Wagner-Case federal anti-lynching bill.

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CONTEMPT TRIAL DATES. The Washington court trial of George Marshall, CRC head, is scheduled for December 15 - Civil Rights Day of all days. The Rev. Richard Morford, of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship goes before a jury on Dec. 10th and Helen Bryan of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee on Dec. 8th.

uopwa 16-47

[Civil Rights Congress]

STATEMENT BY GEORGE MARSHALL, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS ON THE LISTING OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS ISSUED BY U. S. ATTORNEY GENERAL TOM C. CLARK

222-6

The U.S. Attorney General's listing of "subversive"organizations, is the World War II version of the Palmer Raids of 1920.

Instead of J. Edgar Hoover sweeping down into organizations, and in the dead of night dragging to jail thousands of men and women without a semblance of legality, we have in the latter-day version the United States Attorney General issuing by ukase a list of "subversive" organizations from which the American people are expected to scatter in fear and revulsion.

This action by the attorney general, who is supposed to be the official defender of civil liberties and of due process, is a crude and open step to one-man dictatorship. It is the natural product of the unconstitutional loyalty order of the President. Without authority in American law or tradition it gives to one man the dictatorial power to establish an official way of thought.

The purpose of this entire move is to shut the mouths and minds of Americans to a discussion of the vital public issues involving peace or war, inflation and the solution of economic and social problems for the American people. It is aimed at stifling the growing movement among Negro-Americans for the free and equal exercise of their democratic rights. It is aimed at stifling the exercise of civil liberties.

It is also a warning, because the attorney general announces that his list of "subversive" organizations is by no means complete. He declares his readiness to pin the label on any new or future organization of dissent.

The Civil Rights Congress was organized to defend the right of Americans freely to associate, to talk and to assemble and its activities have consistently furthered this purpose. So was the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which merged with CRC in 1946. The Civil Rights Congress declares, in the face of the attorney general's edict, a rededication to these aims, more necessary than ever in our history. And we are confident of the outcome. For history shows that the American people from all walks of life, despite the hysteria after World War I, rose to strike down the Palmer raiders. There was a Senate investigation; there was condemnation by the courts and by America's leading attorneys. There was a return to sanity and due process.

We appeal to all Americans of good will, to all organizations to join in a common effort to wipe out in this period the budding menaces to the democratic way of life: the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee, the withdrawal of the President's loyalty order and of the Clark lists must be effected if dictatorship is to be kept from America's door.

Adoption by the United States Attorney General of the list prepared by the Thomas-Rankin Committee on Un-American Activities is persuasive evidence that the Administration has taken over lock, stock and barrel the whole technique of this discredited committee. The criteria for judging disloyalty and un-Americanism are as completely absent from one as the other. Guilt by association is the guiding theory of both; condemnation by hearsay, conviction without trial or the production of witnesses - these are the inquisitional tools of the Thomas-Rankin Committee which have been adopted by the Attorney General of the United States. These are the attributes of the police state.

Before the United Nations our country professes firm and unyielding adherence to the rights of the individual. The UN Commission on Human Rights is America's sounding board for a world bill of human rights. Yet at home, today, the American people face perhaps the most violent attack on their simple democratic freedoms.

December 5, 1947

Civil Rights Congress
205 East 42 Street
New York City 17

uopwa 16-47

[Civil Rights Congress, 1947]

Report of Panel on Thought Control

The CRC recognizes that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is the legislative spearhead of the most reactionary coalition in the United States consisting of the big monopolies, the NAM, the white supremacists and native fascists.

The Committee's purpose is to prevent the formation of the democratic coalition of all the progressive forces in America, and to paralyze through fear and persecution all progressive thought, expression and action.

It directs its force against labor, minorities - racial and political, progressive organizations and individuals who exercise their civil rights in behalf of improving the social and economic welfare of the American people.

Its methods are the methods of Goebbel and Hitler. By smears, red-baiting and false report it creates an atmosphere of hysteria and condi tions the American people to accept its anti-democratic policies of curtailing speech and expression, of thought control, of discrimination against organizations and individuals because of their beliefs, and the destruction of thelabor movement.

Its policy of discrimination includes not only an attack on the right of association and political action, but seeks to drive from public and private employment those individuals whom it smears and persecutes.

CRC recognizes that this committee, the most potent weapon now being used by reaction, represents the greatest single menace to the exercise of civil liberties in the United States.

The penetrating fear that this committee has engendered must be fully faced and destroyed, if America is to continue to solve its problems in a progressive way. The growing number of victims demonstrates the widening reach of the committee and shows that there are no limits to the efforts of the committee to destroy all dissent from its program of reaction and repression. To the committee it is un-American to be progressive, whether in the field of trade unionism, race relations, social welfare, foreign policy or domestic reform.

A united, concentrated and courageous effort to smash the committee and the fear it has produced is the prime and immediate task of all real Americans:

We recommend:

1. Obtaining 1,000,000 signatures within the next six weeks to the CRC petition to abolish the law under which the committee functions.

2. Setting aside the week of Dec. 8 to 15th to hold meetings across the country, attacking the work of the committee and developing the campaign for abolition; that the defendants in the contempt cases brought by the Un-American Committee be invited to participate in these meetings.

3. Street meetings, shop meetings, shopgate meetings, and door-to-door canvassing be utilized in the signature drive.

4. A maximum number of organizations adopt resolutions calling for

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abolition of the committee.

5. The sending of delegates from CRC chapters and other organizations, to Washington on January 9, 1948 for the purpose of presenting the petitions to Congress and visiting congressmen to get pledges of support. During the holiday recess that congressmen be visited at their homes.

DEFENSE OF VICTIMS

1. Publicize facts of the cases, showing the need to defend all victims: through holding meetings, distributing literature, sending letters to the newspapers, using local radio stations.

2. Raising money for defense of the victims.

LOYALTY ORDER

CRC recognizes that the Loyalty Order and other laws, both national and local restricting the rights of government employees, are another weapon to destroy progressive action. These measures seek to make second-class citizens of government employees because of their beliefs and threaten their right of livelihood. Such repressive measures against government employees will ultimately spread to cover everyone and foist upon us a police state.

We recommend:

1. The need to expose the pernicious meaning and effect of the Order.

2. A campaign directed to President Truman to revoke the Loyalty order, through petitions, meetings, wires, delegations, open letters.

3. Winning legislative protection for government employees in their right to employment and to obtain fair and reasonable standards and procedures in all cases where government employees are disciplined or discharged.

POLITICAL MINORITIES

We recognize that the attack upon political minorities, particularly the Communist party, has the objective of paralyzing all progressive action of any coloration. Second-class citizenship for any political group means the police state in the long run. The fight to protect minority political rights is therefore not only a fight for minority rights but a fight for the rights of all. The technique of red-baiting was the outstanding technique of Hitler.

The recommendations in the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights for the registration of organizations influencing opinion and the basis on which the proposal is made are the latest examples of red-baiting under official government auspices.

It is necessary for CRC and all other organizations engaged in the fight for civil liberties, to take a forthright position on this issue and positive

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steps to defeat the attacks on minorities.

On the national level all restrictive legislation must be fought and agencies of the federal government must be constantly urged to give real protection and to punish the violators of these rights.

On the local level local CRC chapters must be built and wide community activities instituted to resist encroachment on these rights by state legislatures, local officials, hall-owners and vigilante groups.

This fight must be conducted in court and out.

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[Dec. 12, 1947]

FROM: Civil Rights Congress
205 East 42 Street
New York 17, New York
MUrray Hill 4-6640

22a-6

CRC TO TAKE JOSEPHSON CASE TO SUPREME COURT

IN TEST OF UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE CONSTITUTIONALITY

The Civil Rights Congress announced today that an appeal would be made to the United States Supreme Court for a reversal of the conviction of Leon Josephson for contempt of the Un-American Committee on the ground that the Committee and its so-called investigations are unconstitutional.

The CRC decision follows the refusal of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit, to reverse the conviction. Judges Swan and Chase signed the majority opinion stating that "the Congressional power to investigate is as flexible as its power to legislate, once the latter power is established. That it is established, at least for purposes of this case, seems abundantly clear."

Federal Circuit Judge Charles W. Clark dissented in an historic opinion indicating that the Committee is acting in an un-American way and does not have the powers it pretends to have. (EXCERPTS FROM CLARK OPINION ATTACHED).

Barent Ten Eyck and Samuel A. Neuburger, Civil Rights Congress national board member, have been conducting this test of the un-American Committee's constitutionality. Amicus Curiae briefs were submitted by the National Lawyers Guild, through Arthur G. Silverman, and by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, through Osmond K. Fraenkel.

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12/12/47

[Dec 12, 1947]

FROM: Civil Rights Congress
205 East 42 Street
New York 17, New York

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS
For the Second Circuit

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United States of America,

Appellee

-against-

Leon Josephson,

Defendant-Appellant

* * *

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CLARK, Circuit Judge (dissenting):

"I find it neither easy nor pleasant to disagree on this issue, one of the more momentous which has come before us...

"Yet the precedents compelling scrutiny are precise and pointed, and the presence before us of one citizen deprived of his liberty and probably of his future livelihood makes it impossible to evade judicial responsibility to serve as that 'haven of refuge' which the courts must offer a dissident minority...

"It has always been recognized in this country, and it is well to remember, that few if any of the rights of the people guarded by fundamental law are of greater importance to their happiness and safety than the right to be exempt from all unauthorized, arbitrary or unreasonable inquiries and disclosures in respect of their personal and private affairs...

"The Committee is first authorized 'to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States.' Then continue further powers discussed below; even had these been more definite (as they are not), they would not have lessened the force, or the dangerous vagueness, of this initial broad grant. All attempts to explain the meaning of the key word 'un-American,' either on the original creation of the Committee or on its later renewals, have been avoided or opposed. On the other hand, there has been a definite and successful intent to continue this Committee without any restriction as to its scope, and hence, as characterized by one of its members, as 'the most powerful' committee of Congress...

"But the experience of this Committee's activities now for nearly a decade is instructive in the contrary direction, that is, as showing that there are no bounds to its asserted and exerted powers. A review of these activities need not be undertaken here, since it has been done thoroughly elsewhere and since the various committee reports, congressional debates, addresses and articles of members, and general publications are freely available. It has never made any secret of its strength and its intent to use that strength to the utmost. Suffice it to say here that its range of activity has covered all varieties of organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union, the C.I.O., the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Farmer-Labor party, the Federal Theatre Project, consumers' organizations, various publications from the magazine 'Time' to the 'Daily Worker', and varying forms and types of industry, of which the recent investigation of the

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movie industry is fresh in the public mind. While it has avoided specific definition of what it is seeking, it has repeatedly inquired as to membership in the Communist party and in other organizations which it regards as communist controlled or affected. It has claimed for itself the functions of a grand jury to focus the spotlight of publicity on those it considers subversive, in order to drive them from their jobs in private and government employment and their offices in the trade unions. It has gathered a file on over 1,000,000 persons and organizations, claimed to be a 'file on every known subversive individual and organization in the United States today', and has submitted lists of allegedly subversive government employees to the Attorney General for investigation. Generally speaking it has avoided the suggestion of legislation. (No legislation has come from the Committee itself.) Its activities, however, are considered to have led to the legislation held unconstitutional as a bill of attainder in the UNITED STATES vs. LOVETT...Hence neither the legislative authority nor the actions pursuant to it suggest or permit any limitations on the investigation of the spoken or written word...

"Perhaps the nearest to concreteness is in the emphasis made by certain leading industrial organizations and others upon what they like to call the 'American way' or the 'American theory of free enterprise.' It is not a strained interpretation to consider that the converse trend, strongly resisted by many of our citizens (as, of course, was their undoubted right), which led to increased governmental regulation a decade ago, could be included in the intended content of the investigation. As a matter of fact, the testimony at the recent movie investigation found the necessary un-American qualities for which the Committee was searching in films which placed bankers in an unfavorable light or talked 'against the free enterprise system.'...

"The freedom of amendment permitted by our Constitution makes possible advocacy of the most extensive changes in our governmental form...

"The Supreme Court noted the provisions for constitutional change by amendment, with the many changes since 1787, and held that these 'refute the idea that attachment to any particular provision or provisions is essential, or that one who advocates radical changes is necessarily not attached to the Constitution'. It suggested, indeed, that if any principle was essential, it was freedom of thought. Would not a suggestion by either an American or an English scholar in the field of government that the English parliamentary system or the present program of the English Labor party contained useful object lessons for Americans come within the broad language and the broad interpretation of the authorization? After all, 'subversive' means 'tending to subvert,' which, in turn, means 'to pervert or corrupt (one) by undermining his morals, allegiance, or faith; to alienate.'... But advocacy of a change in political thought is certainly an attempt to undermine the faith of the present. All of this points to and underlines the real vice of so vague and ambiguous an authority when so determinedly marshalled against minority views. It invites and justifies an attempt to enforce conformity of political thinking, to penalize the new and the original, to label as subversive or un-American the attempt to devise new approaches for the public welfare, in short to damn that very kind of initiative in experimentation which has made our democracy grow and flourish...

"I think we can say without reservation of any kind that, had legislation been actually formulated in the exact terms of the authorization quoted, its unconstitutionality would have been conceded. As has been often pointed out, that Amendment, in securing freedom of speech against any abridgment by the Congress, does not authorize a partial lessening of the freedom or anything less than

(more)

complete protection...

"For the First Amendment does not speak equivocally. It prohibits any law 'abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.' It must be taken as a command of the broadest scope that explicit language, read in the context of a liberty-loving society, will allow." Now, when this country is at peace, it is hard to discern such circumstances of 'clear and present danger.' Indeed, the teaching of experience, after nearly three decades of a well-nigh pathological fear of 'Communism', under constant investigation by Congress...might suggest that there was more to be feared from the fear itself than from the supposed danger...

"But when it attacks not merely dangerous propaganda, but in effect all argumentation departing from the then norm, there is no justification for the wide reaches of its claim of authority...

"That is a question of initial power, which should properly be raised at the outset of any inquiry by the person at whom it is directed. Logically he assumes the validity of the investigation if he starts to testify. Indeed, practically and legally there is a real question, under the extremely broad view of waiver developed with respect to appearances before congressional committees, whether he may not have waived any objection of validity by thus proceeding...

"Nevertheless where those issues are of vast importance they should be considered in the light of their broad significance, and not wholly in the narrow concept of the single individual who presents them as a kind of vicarious avenger for the public weal...

"This quite normal reaction that a Communist, as well as anyone else, should say what he is when the fact is of importance to the public good could be allowed its natural scope if, first, however, the investigating authority is properly limited to constitutional objectives. Indeed, given a search directed against propaganda for the overthrow of the government by force or violence, it would seem perfectly fitting as a matter of detailed examination - to test a witness' denial of illegal activities - to inquire whether or not the person investigated was a member of any organization that advocated such principles...

"The Committee announces its desire that the persons it finds guilty shall forfeit their jobs in public and private industry and shall be subject to prosecution for any collateral crimes which may have been disclosed, and generally shall be exposed pitilessly to public condemnation. That it is successful in its purpose the daily papers show. There can be no doubt of the obvious and direct abridgement of the right freely to speak and express one's opinions which is thus achieved...

"Any investigation involving the freedom of expression of views or beliefs is sure to be disturbing to our historical conceptions of democracy unless it is conducted to such ends and in such manner as to command the support of public opinion. Yet the Committee has been under constant and searching criticism from even the most conservative elements in our society, who can in no sense be guilty of 'red' tendencies; while even those who support its objectives do so in general with more than an apology for its methods. Such a situation, even if legally invulnerable, is a potent source of weakness, preventive of any long-range accomplishment. Friends and supporters of the congressional power may well fear its present exercise here and find the application of a proper restraint a source of strength in the long run, rather than the reverse. For a widespread belief that the Committee is acting in an un-American way to even an American end will destroy the Committee's usefulness in the eyes of a 'liberty-loving people.'..

"I would reverse for dismissal of the indictment."

uopwa 16-47
12/12/47

[Dec. 12, 1947]

FROM: Civil Rights Congress
205 East 42 Street
New York 17, New York
MUrray Hill 4-6640

"DAILY WORKER" SELLERS ARRESTED IN PORT ARTHUR

The Civil Rights Congress yesterday (Dec. 11) arranged for the release of two members of the National Maritime Union arrested in Port Arthur, Texas, while selling the "Daily Worker" and will conduct their defense. Trial is set for Monday morning, December 15th.

The two men were held for "investigation" for four hours and then charged with "vagrancy".

"This is the charge usually filed when there is no violation of any law," stated Arthur J. Mandell, Houston attorney, and member of the Civil Rights Congress national board who is handling the case. "The arrest is a clear abrogation of the right of free speech and will be fought as such."

Joseph Cadden, executive director of the Civil Rights Congress has authorized Mandell to use "any and all means" in fighting this case, "the latest in a series of incidents which are the direct product of the witch-hunt resulting from President Truman's 'executive order 9835' which instructs Attorney General Clark to publish lists of organizations to further the so-called 'loyalty purge'. It is a part of the Hitler blueprint along with the Taft-Hartley Act, the Un-American Committee's smears, and the denial of free speech in many of our colleges. Even though the charge is only 'vagrancy', this action of the Port Arthur authorities is an evident attempt to limit freedom of the press and must be reversed at once."

###

uopwa 16-47
12/12/47

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

205 EAST 42ND ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 4-6640

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS
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STANLEY NOWAK
LAWRENCE RIVKIN
PAUL ROBESON
VINCENT SHEEAN
Vice Chairmen

December 12, 1947

RESIDENT BOARD MEETING

Monday, December 22, 8 p.m.

at the CRC office - 205 E 42nd Street

In accord with the decision of the national conference, all members of the CRC National Board residing in or near New York City are called to this meeting to discuss:-

Petition Campaign to abolish the un-American Committee and January 9 delegation to Washington.

Establishment of Committees on Negro Rights, Democracy in Education, Labor Rights.

Finances and Theatre Benefit.

Joseph Cadden

jc.vm
uopwa 16-47

264

Sent by the dictate to Reply

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

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DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS
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STANLEY NOWAK
LAWRENCE RIVKIN
PAUL ROBESON
VINCENT SHEEAN
Vice Chairmen

December 17, 1947

Board Members:

Enclosed you will find a copy of an advertisement published in PM, Dec. 15, by the New York CRC. Immediate response to the statement has resulted in the sending of hundreds of protests to President Truman, asking him to withdraw his "loyalty" order and Atty. General Clark's blacklist. It has given new impetus to our Petition campaign for the abolition of the UnAmerican Committee.

We urge that a similar statement be published in every community - either as a paid advertisement or in the form of an appeal signed by enough prominent citizens to guarantee its publication in the local press.

We urge that you send a letter to President Truman and release it to your local newspapers for publication.

Please let us know of action you take on this matter and at the same time send your contribution to the national office so that more advertisements of this nature can be published.

Joseph Cadden

uopwa 16-47

Read letter - sympathetic but unable to serve on any more boards.

Mr. Joseph Cadden
Executive Director
Civil Rights Congress
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Cadden: I have received your letter concerning my selection to serve on the Board of the Civil Rights Congress. You would have received a reply before now, but I have been away lecturing in the Middle East and just recently returned.

Please know that I appreciate the honor tendered in this selection, but I am now serving on so many boards, and with my lecturing, writing and other duties, I find that I shall have to decline the honor, for I shall be unable to serve as a member of the Board of the CRC.

Sympathizing with your cause and thanking you for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[Civil Rights Congress, 1947]

Report of Panel
on Minority and Labor's Rights

The increasing attacks on the civil rights of the American people has been suffered particularly by racial, national and religious minorities. The growth of lynchings and mob violence against the Negro people, the resurgence of anti-Semitism, the intimidation and persecution of foreign-born, and the denial of the rights of labor require the greatest activity and mobilization of CRC and all other progressive organizations.

The panel recommends that the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights relating to racial, national and religious minorities should be implemented by:

1. Establishment by the Civil Rights Congress of a permanent national committee to formulate and organize the steps necessary to carry out the recommendations of the President's Committee regarding racial, religious, and national groups.

2. Local chapters of CRC establish permanent committees to formulate and organize legislative and mass actions necessary to secure enforcement of the recommendations of the Civil Rights Committee on a local and state basis. That prominent white and Negro citizens from communities, church and trade union organizations be involved in the development of this program.

ANTI-LYNCHING CAMPAIGN

1. A mass delegation to Washington should be organized, timed to secure the maximum support of other organizations to get effective action in support of federal anti-lynching legislation.

2. During National Civil Rights Week one day should be set aside to win support for anti-lynching legislation in every community. Mayors and city councils should be requested to set aside special days to focus attention on the campaign for anti-lynching legislation.

3. City councils and state legislatures should be urged to memorialize Congress to pass anti-lynching legislation, following the precedent set by 40 of the 50 councilmen in Chicago who signed anti-lynch resolutions this year.

4. Letters, wires, post-cards to President Truman, and to the heads of both major parties to secure the necessary 218 signatures to bring the Wagner-Case Bill to the floor of Congress and assure support in both houses of Congress for passage of this legislation.

<u>"Legal" Lynching</u>

Hundreds of Negro-Americans are victims of legal lynching in Southern courts. The charge of "rape" is still used in the south to condemn innocent Negroes to death. Only a few cases of such denial of civil rights to Negroes by southern courts are ever brought to the attention of the American people. CRC should continue to lend every legal assistance in combatting these violations. However, experience has demonstrated that the legal lynching of Negroes in the south cannot be stopped in the courts alone. It is recommended that CRC undertake the broadest campaign to arouse the American

-MORE-

people to the injustices daily committed against Negroes in the courts of the South.

Lemas Woods Case

That CRC urge Secretary of the Army, Kenneth C. Royall, and the Judge Advocate of the United States Army to grant immediate release of Lemas Woods, Jr.; that an honorable discharge and back pay be given to Lemas Woods, Jr., Negro GI who was saved from a court-martial death sentence by the timely intervention of Michigan CRC.

End discrimination and Police Brutality

Job discrimination, restrictive covenants, jim-crow and police brutality have shown alarming increase since the end of the war. We recommend activities to the following ends:

a. Reorganization of the Civil Rights section of the Justice Dept.
b. An FEPC law.
c. Outlawing restrictive covenants and renewed court action.
d. End police brutality; establish police training programs to promote greater responsibility among police officers in carrying out their duties.
e. Enactment of fair health practices statutes. Take legal action against public servants who illegally abuse the power of their position.
f. Urge that Negro History be added to study schedules of public schools; that civic courses be cleared of all anti-democratic attitudes concerning the foreign-born.

Poll-tax and The Right to Vote

Poll-Tax laws in Southern states continue to be the main barrier to the exercise of the franchise for Negroes in these states. In recent years thousands of Negroes have demonstrated their determination to vote by paying the poll-tax. The movement among Negroes to secure the right to vote, even by paying the poll-tax, is now being met by refusal to allow Negroes to pay poll-tax in many states in the South. Negroes are also denied the right to register in order to become eligible to vote. We recommend:

1. Renewed efforts to secure passage of anti poll-tax legislation.

2. The introduction of legislation making it a federal crime to prevent any citizen from registering to vote.

Anti-Labor Laws

CRC must work for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law and all state anti-labor legislation, in collaboration with all other groups and organizations.

Immediate Action

Cory Strike, Chicago

1. Condemn the indecent haste of the Chicago courts in invoking

-MORE-

injunctions against Cory strikers.

2. That the legal division of CRC now in Chicago offer its services in the form of amicus curiae and other legal aid to the Cory strikers.

3. A committee of delegates to the National Conference stand ready to protest to the Mayor or to other authorities that may be suggested by the union, to aid the strikers.

Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism has shown alarming growth in the past two years. All sections of the American people should be alerted to its dangers. Warning should be given to trade unions against falling into the trap of using anti-Semitic tendencies of their members in order to mobilize them against an employer who happens to be Jewish. Anti-Semitism which exists in Negro communities as a result of high prices and exploitation by merchants in the community who happen to be Jewish should be eliminated. Such tendencies where they exist are dangerous to the civil rights of the trade union and progressive movement in general. We recommend:

1. CRC support and publicize the Buckley Bill which bars from the mails all anti-Semitic or other anti-racial propaganda.

2. That consideration be given to calling a conference of Jewish and Negro leaders to consider and discuss mutual problems.

3. Legislation to deny tax-exemptions to colleges, universities or private schools which discriminate or set quotas based on race, religion or nationality.

Foreign-Born

That this Conference endorse the program and work of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as the agency best equipped to be of assistance to non-citizens and naturalized American citizens and to give leadership in the fight to defeat the current widespread attack on the democratic and constitutional rights of foreign-born Americans; and

That this Conference urge all organizations to participate in the National Legislative Conference on Immigration, Deportation, and Naturalization, scheduled to be held at the Hamilton Hotel, in Washington, D.C., on January 25 and 26, 1948 under the auspices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; and

That this Conference voice special support for the proposal that any non-citizen who has lived in this country for five years or more need not fear the possibility of deportation under any circumstances by establishing a five-year statute of limitation in the deportation laws; and for the proposal to encourage the naturalization of all 3,000,000 non-citizens now in the United States within the next five to ten years.

-MORE-

Enforcement of 14th Amendment

Presence in the United States Congress of representatives from poll-tax states who do not represent citizens denied the right to vote is a violation of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution. Congressman Rankin from Miss. is an example of the misrepresentation of millions of citizens of the state of Mississippi in violation of the 14th Amendment. A National Committee for the Enforcement of the 14th Amendment has been established. It is recommended that CRC endorse and pledge its support to this committee.

282-10

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS *of New York*

ROOM 402 • 112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • ORCHARD 4-5260

Honorary National Chairmen
DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS
DR. HARRY F. WARD

New York President
DASHIELL HAMMETT

Vice-Presidents
JAMES EGERT ALLEN
PROF. LYMAN R. BRADLEY
REV. WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH
SAMUEL A. NEUBERGER
HOWARD DA SILVA

Chairman of Executive Council
MEYER E. STERN

Executive Secretary
LOUIS COLMAN

September 24, 1947

Dr. W. E. DuBois
% National Association for the
Advancement of the Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

22-6-5

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Civil Rights Congress is holding a mass conference in New York on October 11 to mobilize and organize the opposition to the Un-American Activities Committee. We expect approximately a thousand delegates from unions and community organizations to be in attendance.

The call to the conference, of which I enclose a copy, outlines the approach of Civil Rights Congress to this question.

We feel that you are in a position to make one of the most outstanding contributions to such a conference and we will be greatly honored if you will agree to attend and speak at the main session.

Apparently, previous communications to you in which we extended the same invitation, sent while we were originally planning this conference were misdirected. I therefore apologize for the seeming lateness of this letter.

As we are going to press with a conference program listing the major participants in the panels and main session, it will be greatly appreciated if you will let us know as quickly as possible, within the next couple of days, your decision in regard to this invitation.

Very sincerely,

Dashiell Hammett

Dashiell Hammett

DH/fs
Enc
uopwa 16/83

[Civil Rights Congress]

26 September 1947

22-6-4

My dear Mr. Hammett:

I have received several notifications and one telegram concerning the meeting October 11th but I regret to say that I shall be unable to take part. I sympathize with your objects so far as I know them but I have to limit the number of meetings which I personally attend.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Dashiell Hammett, President
Civil Rights Congress
112 East 19th Street, Room 402
New York 3, New York

Civil Rights Congress of New York

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Executive Secretary
LOUIS COLMAN

Director of Organization
CLIFFORD F. WELCH

Director of Community Activities
CLIFFORD C. DAVIS

Field Representative
DOROTHY LANGSTON

Lecture
Referred by
Please note
Urgent, urged

December 20, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

22-27-28

On February 9, 1948, the Queens Council of Civil Rights Congress is planning a County mass meeting to be held in Sunnyside Gardens, on the question of civil rights. The expected attendance will be three thousand people.

Other speakers being invited include: O. J. Rogge, Michael J. Quill, and Senator Glen Taylor.

The Committee planning this meeting wishes to extend an invitation to you to speak. They feel that your presence on the program will add greatly to the success of the meeting. Would you kindly advise us as soon as possible if we may count on you on February 9th.

I do hope you will be able to participate.

Cordially yours,

Dashiell Hammett
Dashiell Hammett

DH:rs
uopwa 16-83

22-17-25

2 January 1947

My dear Mr. Clark:

I appreciate your kind words of December 30th.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Clinton Clark
695 East 170th Street
Bronx 56, New York

[E. Clarke]

22-7-11

With Hearty Greetings for Christmas
and the Coming Year

To Dr Dubois

from
C. Belfield Clarke
& Pat Wallen
Belfield House
New Barnet
Xmas 1947

London
ENGLAND

lecture

COLBY COLLEGE
WATERVILLE, MAINE

17 December 1947

Professor W E B DuBois
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

22-26-14

My dear Mr. DuBois:

Though I have not heard from you for quite some time, I trust that you have remained the same in vigor and spirit. I have learned with pleasure that your new book has been published and that it was, as always, a success. Only the pressure of a new job and a growing family has so far prevented me from reading it.

A few month ago I moved with my wife and a newly acquired 15 month old daughter from Berlin (Germany!) to Waterville, Maine. I had spent more than a year with the Berlin Branch of the Office of Chief of Counsel for War Crimes. My job there consisted in supervising a group of research analysts engaged in the analyzing of a huge number of captured Nazi documents. This turned out to be a most stimulating, if not always pleasant, occupation.

I am writing you today to inquire whether you would be interested in addressing Colby students some time between February and May, 1948. The History and Government Department is organizing a series of lectures in an effort to acquaint students with contemporary American problems. A certain amount of money is available to secure outside speakers. The colleague in charge of the course, Professor Paul Fullam, has authorized me to ask you whether you might be available.

Will you please let me know whether you are interested in coming and, if so, what your fee would be. It would, of course, be a great joy to me to be able to welcome you here. In case of non-availability I would, however, appreciate your recommendation of a suitable speaker. In

any event, let me hear from you.

With best personal regards, I am,

Cordially yours,

Ossip K. Flechtheim

PS. Do you remember that you wrote me once in the matter of the revision of American text books dealing with the Reconstruction period saying that the time to take up this problem would be after the end of the war? What do you think of it now? I feel very strongly that something ought to be done.

O.K.F.

Lecture

December 22, 1947

Dr. Ossip K. Flechtheim
Colby College
Waterville, Maine

Dear Ossip:

I know you will be surprised to receive this letter, but I am again associated with Dr. Du Bois. Although Dr. Du Bois is out of the city and will not return until after the holidays, I believe that he will be able to address your students some time between February and May 1948. As soon as he returns I will have him write you more definitely about this and the fee.

Hilda Weiss, still teaching at Brooklyn College, was in the office not long ago and asked about you. However, she didn't mention your new daughter, which I, too, also have of one month duration!

If you ever come to New York I shall hope to see you. Please let me know what you are doing and on what you are doing research. Incidently, Irene Diggs is teaching at Morgan State College, Baltimore, MD. She would like to hear from you.

Hello to your wife, kiss the baby, and Mabel joins me in best wishes to you all.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

22-216

[George W. Coleman]

GEORGE W. COLEMAN, PRESIDENT DAVID K. NILES, DIRECTOR

FORD HALL FORUM

OFFICE:
1242 LITTLE BUILDING, BOSTON, 16, MASS.
TELEPHONE HANCOCK 2657
15

A MASSACHUSETTS CORPORATION
INCORPORATED JUNE 19, 1928

Sagamore Beach
Massachusetts
August 30, 1947

Dr. W.E.Burghardt DuBois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

22-7-10

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I wish you might see those 300 or more testimonial letters that were sent to me on the occassion of my eightieth birthday. Your remarks at the birthday dinner were highly appreciated by a large number of nearly a thousand people who were in attendance. The talks on that occassion and the letters which I have since read made me feel satisfied more than ever that I made the right decision forty years ago when I turned away from big business, successful politics, and high church activities in order to give my main strength to the work of the forum.

I have just finished reading "The Making of a Southerner" by Katherine DuPre Lumpkin published by Alfred A. Knopf in New York. The author is a close friend of mine, and I'm wondering if you have read the book and think enough of it to give it your commendation. Miss Lumpkin grew up on a Georgian plantation and has gradually through the years, attending schools in the north, seen a new light on the race question. I'm wondering if your commendation of the book would help other southern born whites to get a new attitude on the race question.

Your response will be very much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,
George W. Coleman

GWC:ML

18 September 1947

22-7-9

My dear Mr. Coleman:

I have read the book The Making of a Southener, by Catherine Du Pre Lumpkin, and enjoyed it very much. I hope it will be read widely.

I trust you have had a good summer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. George W. Coleman
Sagamore Beach
Massachusetts

[George W. Coleman]

GEORGE W. COLEMAN, PRESIDENT

DAVID K. NILES, DIRECTOR

FORD HALL FORUM

OFFICE:
1242 LITTLE BUILDING, BOSTON, 16, MASS.
TELEPHONE HANCOCK 2657
15

A MASSACHUSETTS CORPORATION
INCORPORATED JUNE 19, 1928

Sagamore Beach
Massachusetts
September 24, 1947

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
W A A C P
69 5th Avenue
New York 3, New York

22-12-3

My dear Dr. DuBois,

Thankyou warmly for your kind and generous commendation of Miss Lumpkin's book. She will appreciate it highly.

I had a miserable summer with ulcerated teeth to begin with and ivy poisoning to wind up, but that birthday party and the letters of commendation of the forum were more than enough to carry me through triumphantly.

Cordially yours,

George W. Coleman

GWC:ml

2074 Madison Ave.
New York 35, N. Y.
Aug. 27, 1947

Dear Dr. DuBois,

22-3-9

I wrote you some time ago asking you to tell me how to write the Association which rated Wilberforce University, about which you spoke in one of your columns of the Chicago Defender some time in May or June. I also asked you to tell me the name of the professor of Harvard University who was called affectionately, "Kitty", I believe. Up to now I have not heard from you even though I sent an inclosed stamp.

Very truly yours,

L. F. Coles

22-3-8

29 August 1947

My dear Mr. Coles:

The association which rated Wilberforce University is the North-Central Association of Colleges. I do not know how to address it but the address could be had from the Bureau of Education, Washington. The professor of literature at Harvard called "Kitty" was William T. Kittredge, who is now dead.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. L. F. Coles
2074 Madison Avenue
New York 35, New York

Price 2/-

COLONIAL PARLIAMENTARY BULLETIN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF THE COLONIES IN WESTMINSTER

Vol. II. No. 7. JULY, 1947

WEST AFRICA

July 2, 1947.

Hardwood Exports, West Africa

Mr. Parker asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps are being taken to develop the export of hardwood from British West Africa.

Mr. Creech Jones: I know well how desirable it is to increase exports of hardwoods from West Africa. Some increase may be possible from Nigeria but the greatest possibilities lie in the Gold Coast. The limiting factors there at the moment are shortage of railway engines and wagons and of harbour facilities. Delivery of new engines and wagons cannot, I fear, be expected until next year while the harbour improvements required are extensive and must inevitably take time to complete. But there is good hope that in two or three years' time exports will be running at considerably more than double the present figure.

United Kingdom Floods (Relief Donations)

Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the amount of the contributions voted by West African Colonial Governments towards helping sufferers from the flood devastation in Britain.

Mr. Creech Jones: The Governments of Nigeria and the Gold Coast have contributed £15,000 and £10,000 respectively.

July 9, 1947.

AFRICAN COLONIES Ex-Service Men (Employment)

Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies to what extent have West and East African ex-Service men been placed in jobs where they can usefully employ the training and experience they gained during their military service; and whether agencies or departments exist in all African Colonies whose function it is to make the best possible use of the qualifications of these ex-Service men.

Mr. Creech Jones: Resettlement machinery, usually working through the established employment exchanges or bureaux, has been set up in all African Colonies, and every effort is made to place ex-Service men seeking employment in jobs where they will make the best use of any special qualifications which they acquired during their military service. There are also supplementary post-war training schemes in operation. As regards the numbers placed in employment, I am obtaining the latest information from the Governments concerned which I will send to my hon. Friend as soon as possible.

Mr. Sorensen: Could my right hon. Friend say in general terms the proportion of ex-Service men? Is it very large, such as 50 per cent.?

Mr. Creech Jones: It is impossible to give the figure. In any case, the proportion there is from territory to territory.

July 16, 1947.

AFRICAN COLONIES Strike, Nigeria (Disorder)

Mr. Gallacher asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will make a statement on the shooting of strikers by the police at Buruta, Nigeria; what was the cause of the strike and the reason for police opening fire; and what casualties there were among the strikers.

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has any statement to make on the strike of United Africa Company's workers in Buruta, Nigeria, and on the disorders which resulted in many strikers being wounded in a clash with the police.

Mr. Creech Jones: A strike of labourers employed by the United Africa Company at Buruta started on 14th June following a wages dispute. On 21st June a large crowd formed and adopted a menacing attitude. Four employees of the company were set upon, and severely beaten. After the crowd had refused to disperse, in spite of repeated warnings, an unsuccessful attempt was made to break it up without the use of firearms, and the order to fire was only given after the police had been attacked with large stones and other missiles. Only two rounds were fired, as a result of which two men were wounded in the leg. The wages dispute is being enquired into by a representative of the Nigerian Labour Department.

Mr Gallacher: Will the Minister take steps to put a stop to any such brutal treatment of the workers? Is the Minister aware that the hon. Member for Dumbarton Burghs (Mr. Kirkwood) and I were once accused of stone throwing when it was a deliberate lie? I appeal to the Minister to make certain that never again will firearms be used on workers who are striking for decent conditions. I think it is shameful.

Mr. Creech Jones: If my hon. Friend would acquaint himself with the facts, I think he would be satisfied that this is not an instance of brutal attacks on workers. Rather it was the response, after long provocation by workers, of the forces of police on the spot. Immediately the facts were brought to my notice I caused an enquiry to be made, and had the fullest reports from Nigeria. I must exonerate completely those responsible for ordering it. It was provocation on the workers' side that led to it.

Mr. Carmichael: Will the right hon. Gentleman state whether in making this impartial inquiry he did not know full well that the answer he has given about strikers provoking the trouble has been a familiar story in this country for the last half-century?

Mr. Creech Jones: I am familiar with large numbers of industrial disputes in the Colonies, and naturally because of my own suspicion I should inquire most carefully as to the causes of trouble of this kind. I made the fullest inquiries possible, and I am satisfied that it was provocation on the workers' side which caused this trouble.

Mr. Lipson: Would it not be better to use tear gas in such strikes?

Mr. Creech Jones: In many cases tear gas is employed.

JULY 2nd to JULY 16th, 1947

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Edited by GEORGE PADMORE.

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Mr. Gallacher: Will the Minister appoint from this House a special inquiry into this question? Is he aware that I had my head bashed in two or three places by a policeman's baton, and then got three months for assaulting the police?

Mr. Leslie Hale: How many statements did my right hon. Friend obtain from the strikers, and how much of the information came from the other side in his inquiry?

Mr. Creech Jones: I have the completest confidence in the Governor, and I have taken my reports from the Government of Nigeria, and from various sources which were open to me. I am completely satisfied with regard to the facts.

Mr. Hale: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman did not understand the Question I put, because conversation was going on around him. I asked how many statements were received from the strikers.

Mr. Creech Jones: I am unable to answer that Question without notice.

July 21, 1947.

WEST AFRICAN COCOA (PRICE)

Mr. W. Fletcher asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps he proposes to take to bring the price of cocoa paid to West African producers more into line with the price that his Department is obtaining in the New York cocoa market by recent sales.

Mr. Ivor Thomas: The price which the West African farmer will receive for his cocoa in the coming season will be a matter for decision by the Cocoa Marketing Boards which are being established in the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The New York price will doubtless be one of the factors they will take into account.

July 23, 1947.

AFRICAN COLONIES
Cocoa (Government Profits)

Mr. W. Fletcher asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies when he will announce the use to which he proposes putting the large sums, exceeding £20,000,000, arising from Government profits on cocoa deals.

Mr. Creech Jones: It will be for the Cocoa Marketing Boards which are being established in the Gold Coast and Nigeria to consider how these funds may best be utilised for the benefit of West Africa farmers. Some of the uses to which these funds may be put are set out in Command Paper 6950 on the Future Marketing of West Africa Cocoa, which I presented to the House last November.

Mr. Fletcher: Will the Minister confirm that this enormous sum will not be put to any other uses than those indicated in his reply—that is to say, for general purposes?

Mr. Creech Jones: The purposes are set out in the White Paper, and obviously these funds which have accumulated will be used for these purposes.

Mr. Turton: Will the West Africa farmers be consulted first?

Mr. Creech Jones: Certainly. The West Africa farmers are represented, in the case of the Gold Coast, on the Production Board; and in the case of Nigeria their voices will be heard through their officials.

Mr. Scollan: If the Government carried on this business for themselves, would it not be a profitable investment for this country?

Mr. Creech Jones: The answer is that this is bulk purchase and trading by the Government.

Mr. Fletcher: Will the Minister agree that bulk trading, where he pays £60 a ton to the natives and sells to the Americans at £177 a ton, is hardly a practice to be encouraged?

Mr. Creech Jones: That is another question, but the whole of the proceeds of the sales of the cocoa will go back to the producers in West Africa.

Nigeria (Ijebu-Remo)

Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies under what regulations the funds of the native authority of Ijebu-Remo are used to provide for the Akarigbo of Ijebu-Remo a salary which includes a sum paid in discharge of a treaty obligation of the Central Nigerian Government.

Mr. Creech Jones: I am consulting the Governor on this question, and will communicate further with my hon. Friend when the reply is received.

EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA

July 1, 1947.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA LOAN

Mr. Nigel Birch asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer why the Southern Rhodesia 2½ per cent. 1965-70 Loan is being underwritten.

Mr. Dalton: There was no legal authority to underwrite this loan except through the market.

July 2, 1947.

AFRICAN COLONIES
Rinderpest (East Africa)

Mr. W. Fletcher asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies with a view to increasing the possibility of meat exports from Eastern Africa, what is the position in regard to the prevalence of rinderpest there; and what is the possibility of the complete eradication of this disease from Eastern Africa.

Mr. Creech Jones: The Governments are pushing ahead with a policy of immunisation and this is showing very successful results. There has been no large outbreak since 1940. The objective is that all cattle should eventually be immunised. Thereafter, the disease would still exist amongst wild game and it would, therefore, be necessary to continue to inoculate young and susceptible animals. It is accordingly not yet possible to say that complete eradication is practicable, but stock can certainly be protected against it.

Cost of Living Commission, Northern Rhodesia

Mr. W. Fletcher asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether a chairman for the Cost of Living Commission in Northern Rhodesia has been appointed; and when it is anticipated that the Commission will start its work.

Mr. Creech Jones: Mr. H. R. Burrows, Professor of Economics at Natal University College, has been appointed chairman; and the Commission started its work on 16th June.

KENYA (EDUCATION)

Mr. Charles Smith asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what plans have been made by the Government of Kenya to initiate a system of State schools which will ultimately provide for children of all communities to be educated together.

Mr. Creech Jones: I understand that in view of the present educational provision and other social arrangements no plans of the kind suggested have been contemplated.

Mr. Charles Smith asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what allocation it is intended to make from the Kenya Development Fund for European, African, Indian and Arab education; how much per head of these different communities these figures represent; and what amounts it is proposed to devote to education for these communities from other sources.

Mr. Creech Jones: I understand that the allocations are at present under further examination locally. I am asking the Acting Governor for information and will communicate with my hon. Friend as soon as I receive it.

July 3, 1947.

AFRICAN COLONIES
Buganda Deportees

Sir E. Graham-Little asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will now make a statement regarding the present position of the Buganda deportees.

Mr. Creech Jones: The present position after the latest quarterly review is as follows: One convicted and hanged for the murder of the Prime Minister of Buganda; one died; one convicted and imprisoned for fraud; two deported to the Seychelles; two released unconditionally; six conditionally released, who are

permitted to go anywhere in Uganda with the exception of an area of roughly 40 miles from Kampala. (Two of the six, being poor men, have, however, been allowed to return to their homes in areas which are closed to other deportees) and seven still under detention at Moroto in Uganda.

Rhodesian Railways

Mr. W. Fletcher asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what arrangements will be made to ensure that the interests of railway users in Northern Rhodesia are safeguarded now that the Rhodesian railways are being acquired by the Government of Rhodesia, and whether any financial guarantees in connection with the purchase and maintenance of the railway have been given to the Government of Southern Rhodesia by the Government of Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Creech Jones: These railways have been acquired by the Southern Rhodesia Government which has agreed to introduce at the earliest possible date legislation vesting all the assets acquired in a statutory body, which will then become the legal owner of the railways and responsible for their operation. The members of that body would be appointed by, and in matters of major policy would be subject to the direction of, a higher authority on which the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and the Bechuanaland Protectorate would be represented. The financial commitments of the statutory body would be guaranteed by the three Governments in the proportions of 75 per cent., 20 per cent. and 5 per cent. respectively.

July 9, 1947.

KENYA PENAL CODE (SECTION 159)

Mr. Driberg asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if, in view of the offence caused to African sentiment by Section 159 of the Kenya Penal Code, dealing with relations between European women and Africans, he will cause this section to be withdrawn.

Mr. Creech Jones: I am considering this matter with the Acting Governor and will write to the hon. Member later on.

July 15, 1947.

ERITREA AND SOMALIA (ITALIAN OFFICIALS)

Mr. David Jones asked the Secretary of State for War what steps are being taken to remove from the ex-Italian Colonies of Eritrea and Somalia the Italian police, judges and other officials, since the surrender of the territory removes all obligation under international law to retain in office the former local officials.

Mr. Bellenger: It is true that the Italian surrender of rights and interests in her former colonies removes any obligation in international law to retain former Italian local officials in office but until the Treaty of Peace with Italy is ratified by all the Governments concerned His Majesty's Government is bound by the terms of the Hague Convention to maintain Italian law, and must, therefore, of necessity employ Italian officers to administer it. On the coming into force of this Treaty there still remains the obligation to continue as far as possible the existing administrations in Eritrea and Somalia until the future of these colonies is determined by the agreement of the four Foreign Ministers. It will be necessary to retain a certain number of the former Italian judges and officials (many of whom have served the Military Administrations loyally since the Occupations) to enable the existing administrations to continue to function smoothly. Since 1945 Italian officials have, however, been returning to Italy and where possible, and as opportunity occurs, officials are being replaced by suitable non-Italian and indigenous personnel in the territories.

Mr. Boyd-Carpenter: Will the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind the loyal and devoted service which these officials have given to the British military administration over several years, and not be unduly influenced by the narrow nationalism implied in the Question?

July 16, 1947.

Uganda (Taxation)

Mr. Leslie Hale asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what are the existing rates of taxation on Europeans in Uganda.

Mr. Creech Jones: As the answer includes a number of figures, I will, with my hon. Friend's permission, circulate it in the Official Report.

Following is the answer:

There are two forms of direct taxation on Europeans in Uganda. (1) A non-native poll tax, which is levied at the rate of £3 per annum on incomes which do not exceed £200 per annum, and at the rate of £5 per annum on incomes exceeding £200 per annum. Women with incomes of under £150 per annum are exempt from payment of the tax, as are persons under the age of 18 years. (2) An income tax, additional to the non-native poll tax, which is levied at the following rates:

Where the chargeable income does not exceed £250—2s. for every pound.

Where the chargeable income exceeds £250—2s. with the addition of one-eighth of a cent. for every pound of the chargeable income in excess of £250 up to a maximum rate of 5s. for every pound thereof.

Where the income exceeds £3,000—An additional tax (Surtax) at the rate of 4s. with the addition of one-twentieth of a cent. for every pound of the total income in excess of £3,000 up to a maximum rate of shs. 7/50 for every pound in excess of £3,000 of the total income.

In calculating the chargeable income the following personal deductions are allowed:— £350 for a man, £150 for wife, £75 for first child and £60 in respect of each subsequent child. There are also the usual deductions for dependants (other than children), life insurance and superannuation.

Mr. Hale asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the estimated income of a peasant in Uganda farming one standard plot of land; and what is the amount of taxation to which he is subjected.

Mr. Creech Jones: I regret that the information sought in the first part of the Question is not available in the Colonial Office. I am asking the Governor of Uganda to supply it and will write to my hon. Friend when it is received. In regard to the second part of the Question, the taxes for which the African peasant in Uganda is liable (including local taxation) vary according to district area and tribe from 12s. to 47s. per annum.

Mr. Hale: Is my right hon. Friend aware that the information I am getting is that the poll tax, both of the Uganda main Government and the Kabaka's Government, amounts to 25s. per head, and that other levies amount to 18s. per head, making £2 3s., and that the average income of a peasant from a plot of land is £4 a year?

Mr. Creech Jones: It is difficult for figures to be used in that way. If my hon. Friend will supply me with the information, I will check it against the figures in my possession.

Mr. Hale: Will my right hon. Friend bear in mind that I have asked him to have an interview with the Assistant Chancellor of the Kabaka's Government, who was dismissed for making recommendations for improvements, and that I am still waiting for that interview?

Mr. Beechman: In view of the interest of the House in this matter, will the right hon. Gentleman see that this information is published in "Hansard," so that we may all know what it is?

July 23, 1947.

Jewish Displaced Persons, Uganda

Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many Jewish displaced persons from Iraq are still interned in Uganda; and when it is proposed they shall be released.

Mr. Creech Jones: Including women and children, between 20 and 30 persons of Jewish race who were transferred from Iraq for internment during the war now remain in Uganda. Those of them who are unable to obtain accommodation elsewhere live in a provided camp, but are subject only to the rules necessary for the organisation of the camp. They are free to accept any employment they can obtain in Uganda and to leave the country. It is hoped that an official of the Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organisation will shortly visit Uganda with a view to discussing the problems of these people on the spot, and that, as a result, the Commission will be able to arrange for their settlement elsewhere.

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Mr. Scollan: Would my right hon. Friend tell us how long they have been there?

Mr. Creech Jones: They were taken to Uganda at different periods during the war. A large number of them have now found places in which to live outside of the country, and they are all free to go, and all possible help is given to them if they go elsewhere.

Mr. Lipson: Will the right hon. Gentleman avoid the use of the term "Jewish race," because, in fact, the Jews are a religious community and not a race?

Mr. Janner: Has it occurred to my right hon. Friend that most people there would desire to go to the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and has he considered that at all?

Mr. Creech Jones: In point of fact, the vast majority of Jews amongst these people have already left Uganda. But it is not a Jewish problem only. It is a much larger problem than that.

Education

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how soon it is estimated that it will be feasible to introduce compulsory education for Africans in townships in Kenya.

Mr. Creech Jones: I regret that I am unable to give an estimate at the present time. The Kenya Government are re-examining their education programme for Africans in the light of the financial resources available, and as soon as I am informed of their plans I will communicate with my hon. Friend.

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies in how many cases have local native councils voted a special cess for education in 1945 and 1946; and in how many cases have the proceeds been spent, and with what result.

Mr. Creech Jones: I assume that my hon. Friend's Question refers to the African Territories. I am making inquiries from the Governors concerned and will write to my hon. Friend when I have their replies.

KENYA

Kipande System (Legislation)

Mr. Wilkes asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies on what date the committee appointed to inquire into the working of the Kipande system in Kenya completed its inquiries; and when it is intended to publish the report and recommendations therefrom.

Mr. Creech Jones: The report was submitted in October to the Kenya Labour Advisory Board. In November and February the Board approved it with slight modifications and recommended adoption by the local Government. That Government has announced its intention to publish, for information and discussion, a Bill to repeal the Native Registration Ordinance and to introduce a registration system applicable to all races. As an interim measure, legislation will also be introduced to remove the objectionable features of the Kipande system. The report, which is long, has not been published, but a very full precis of it has already appeared in representative European, Asian and African newspapers. I will send a copy of that precis to my hon. Friend.

Teachers' Training

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what provision is being made by the Government of Kenya for the large-scale training of teachers; whether consideration has been given to the possibility of sending abroad for training students who do not possess Makerere qualifications; and what provisions exist for contribution to such schemes to be made by local native authorities.

Mr. Creech Jones: There are at present 34 Teachers' Training Centres in Kenya with a total enrolment of 967, of whom 686 will complete their training this year. Further centres are being established and the target for 1957 is to have 52 centres in all with an annual output of 1,300 trained teachers. With regard to the second part of the Question, the normal requirement is that candidates should possess Makerere qualifications. But a suitable and specially worthy candidate not so qualified may be given a bursary for further training. One such candidate is being recommended this year. The finance of both these schemes is the responsibility of the central Government and any resources available to local authorities for education are normally devoted to provision for primary schools.

July 23, 1947.

TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING, UGANDA

Mr. Dodds-Parker asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the Westlake Report, he will give consideration to the appointment of a town planning expert, with experience of laying out trading and large housing estates in this country, to plan the Jinja area in Uganda in anticipation of this place becoming a large industrial centre within the next 5 to 10 years and, subsequently, any other large centres in that territory likely to be affected in the near future by the proposals submitted in the report.

Mr. Creech Jones: I understand from the Governor that it is his intention to entrust the planning of the Jinja area to a town planner with wide experience of that work in East Africa. A preliminary survey of the Jinja area has, in fact, already been carried out. In regard to the second part of the Question a Town and Country Planning Bill has been drafted in Uganda which it is intended to introduce shortly into the Legislative Council. This is evidence of the intention of the Uganda Government to provide expert planning for any future development.

July 24, 1947.

AFRICAN GROUNDNUT PRODUCTION

Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what progress has been made respecting plans for the development of groundnut production in West Africa; to what extent it is estimated that cheaper production in East Africa will adversely affect groundnut production in West Africa; and what steps will be taken to co-ordinate the development of this production between the two areas.

Mr. Creech Jones: A mission has been visiting West Africa to study the possibility of increasing groundnut production for export. I expect their report in a few weeks' time. I understand that it is not possible to make any valid comparison between the cost of producing groundnuts by the mechanised methods which are being adopted in East Africa and the costs of the small-scale peasant farming methods at present employed in West Africa. Further, I cannot yet say whether mechanised production in West Africa would be more expensive than in East Africa. Should this prove to be the case, the present and prospective world shortage of vegetable oils is such that there will be room for the maximum output from all areas for a considerable time to come.

MIDDLE EAST AND MEDITERRANEAN

July 2, 1947.

PALESTINE

Terrorists (U.N.O. Commission's Resolution)

Mr. T. Reid asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what resolution he received from the U.N.O. Commission, now sitting in Palestine, regarding the trial in the Palestinian courts of certain terrorists on a capital charge while the subject of the resolution was sub judice; and what action was taken by the Palestinian Government in this matter.

Mr. Creech Jones: The resolution to which my hon. Friend refers was passed by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine on 22nd June in Jerusalem in the following terms:

"In view of the fact that the majority of the members of the Committee have expressed concern as to the possible unfavourable repercussions that execution of three death sentences pronounced by the Military Court of Jerusalem on 16th June, the day on which the Committee held its first meeting in Jerusalem, might have upon the fulfilment of the task which

the General Assembly has entrusted the Committee; and considering the opinion of such members as to the scope of the resolution on the Palestine question adopted on 15th May, 1947, by the General Assembly: the Committee resolves that the Chairman communicate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a copy of this resolution and of the letter received from the relatives of the condemned persons for transmission to the Mandatory Power."

The Committee's resolution was communicated to His Majesty's Government by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The reply of His Majesty's Government, which was communicated to the Secretary-General by Sir Alexander Cadogan on 30th June, is as follows:

"His Majesty's Government have received and taken note of the resolution passed by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine on 22nd June in regard to the three death sentences pronounced by the Military Court in Jerusalem on 16th June.

(2) As the Committee have already been informed by the Palestine Authorities, the death sentences in question have not yet been confirmed by the General Officer Commanding under Regulations 47 and 48 of Palestine Defence (Emergency) Regulations, 1945, and are, therefore, still sub judice. If the sentences are confirmed by the General Officer Commanding, it will then be open to the High Commissioner for Palestine to exercise, if he thinks fit, the Royal Prerogative of Pardon delegated to him by His Majesty. It is the invariable practice of His Majesty's Government not to interfere with the High Commissioner's discretion whether or not to exercise this prerogative.

(3) As regards the resolution on the Palestine question adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 15th May, to which the Committee refers, His Majesty's Government interpret this resolution as applying to action calculated to disturb the peace in Palestine; they cannot admit its relevance to the normal processes of the administration of justice there.

(4) His Majesty's Government have informed the High Commissioner for Palestine of the contents of the Secretary-General's communication of the 23rd June to His Majesty's Government and of the terms of their reply."

As the resolution was not addressed to the Government of Palestine the action of the Government was confined to a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Principal Secretary of the Committee which pointed out that the death sentences in question have not yet been confirmed and that the matter was therefore still sub judice. This action was taken it appeared from the terms of the Committee's resolution that they were not aware of the legal position. The Chief Secretary's letter also referred to the mention, in the resolution, of 16th June as the day on which the Committee held its first meeting in Jerusalem and concluded as follows:

"It is, presumably, not suggested that the Court pronounced sentence on this day otherwise than in the ordinary course of judicial process. There would, of course, be no truth in any such suggestion."

Major Farran (Arrest)

Mr. Driberg asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will make a full statement on the arrest of Major Farran, Palestine Police, and the events which preceded and followed it, including the circumstances of the death of Alexander Rubowitz.

Mr. Creech Jones: A Jewish youth named Alexander Rubowitz, who is believed to have been found distributing Stern Group literature in Jerusalem, disappeared on the evening of 6th May. He was not brought to any police station or military installation and no trace of him has since been found. While investigations into the disappearance of Rubowitz were taking place, Major R. A. Farran, an Army officer seconded to the Palestine Police, left the country and took refuge in Syria. Arrangements were made by the Palestine Government to present a request for his extradition to the Government of Syria, but before this request was presented Major Farran returned voluntarily to Palestine on 17th June. On his return he was arrested and formally charged in connection with the disappearance of Rubowitz. While in custody he submitted his resignation from the Palestine Police and this was accepted by the High Commissioner. On 19th June, Major Farran escaped from custody. He surrendered himself voluntarily to the military authorities on 29th June. He is now in military custody on a holding charge of being absent without leave, pending the taking of a summary of sworn evidence on which a decision will be taken whether further charges are to be preferred against him.

Dead Sea (Minerals)

Mr. Stokes asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies the name and qualifications of the geological adviser to the Government of Palestine, who, in 1923, reported on the production of minerals from the waters of the Dead Sea.

Mr. Creech Jones: The late Mr. G. S. Blake, who was a Bachelor of Science, Associate of Royal School of Mines, Fellow of Geological Society, and Member of Institute of Mining and Metallurgy.

Mr. Stokes asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies the quantities of sodium chloride estimated to be available in the waters of the Dead Sea by the geological adviser to the Palestine Government in 1923; and at what value he would estimate these quantities in sterling to-day.

Mr. Creech Jones: 11,900 million metric tons. It is impossible to put a value upon Dead Sea common salt as, owing to the heavy freight charges, it cannot compete with salt from other sources.

July 7, 1947.

PALESTINE (UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE)

Dr. Segal asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will give an assurance that His Majesty's Government will not reject the Report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine on the grounds of Arab non-co-operation.

Mr. Mayhew: I think my hon. Friend is under a misapprehension. The report of the Special Committee will be submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations and not to His Majesty's Government. I can assure him, however, that, when the report is considered by the Assembly, the attitude of His Majesty's Government will not be affected by the fact that the Palestine Arabs have not co-operated with the Committee.

Dr. Segal: Can my hon. Friend also give an assurance that the Government will not insist on the complete rearming of both Jews and Arabs before we can implement any of the recommendations?

Mr. Mayhew: That is a much wider question.

July 8, 1947.

PALESTINE CIVIL SERVICE (STAFF ORGANISATION)

Mr. W. J. Brown asked the Secretary of State for War what Civil Service staff organisation is officially recognised by his Department as representing clerical and allied grades employed in his Department in Palestine.

Mr. J. Freeman: The Civil Service Clerical Association.

Mr. Brown: Is the Under-Secretary satisfied that his representatives in Palestine fully comprehend the implications of official recognition of an association by a Department?

Mr. Freeman: I have no reason to suppose otherwise. I shall be glad to consider any matter the hon. Member wishes to bring to my attention.

July 9, 1947.

PALESTINE
English Books (Translations)

Lieut.-Colonel Lipton asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many Arabic and Hebrew translations of books by English authors have been published in Palestine during the past five years; what assistance was given by the Palestine Government or the British Council; and what further steps are contemplated to spread a knowledge of English literature in Palestine.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Creech Jones): Five Arabic and ninety Hebrew translations of books by English authors were published in Palestine during the past five years. Financial assistance by the Government and the British Council has been confined to books of specific educational value. Instruction in English is included in the curricula of the Arab and Jewish schools and in general both Arabs and Jews who receive a higher education read English books in the originals. There is no shortage of English books in the shops and libraries. The British Council is active in promoting increased study of English through its institutes and libraries and lessons in the English language are broadcast by the Palestine Broadcasting Service.

Mr. Pickthorn: I did not quite hear the right hon. Gentleman. Was I right in thinking that the figures were five and 90 and, if so, can he explain this apparent discrepancy, and will he place in the Library a list of English books of educational value which have been translated?

Mr. Creech Jones: I am unable to explain these circumstances, except to say that these books are published by private publishers, but if it is possible to obtain the list required, I will do so and put it in the Library.

Major Farran (Arrest)

Lieut.-Colonel Lipton asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies why Major R. A. Farran, of the Palestine police, was recently arrested.

Mr. Creech Jones: The circumstances of Major Farran's arrest were given in my reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Maldon (Mr. Driberg) on 2nd July, to which I have nothing to add.

Lieut.-Colonel Lipton: Could my right hon. Friend ask the authorities concerned to make up their minds as quickly as possible about the charge on which this officer is to be tried, and that the trial, when it does take place, should be held in public?

Mr. Creech Jones: These factors are being inquired into by the Palestinian authorities.

Underground Water Supplies

Mr. Janner asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what opposition to the draft Palestine Water Ordinance was expressed when it was first published in 1942; what steps have been taken to meet such objections in the law in this regard promulgated recently; and what was the urgency that required the promulgation of that law at the present time when the problem of Palestine and the future of that country is under inquiry by U.N.O.

Mr. Creech Jones: The Irrigation (Underground Water) Bill, which was published in Palestine on 19th June, is based upon similar legislation in other countries. In drafting it consideration has been given to the objections raised by the Jewish Agency and the General Agricultural Council of Palestine to a Bill prepared in 1942. But the objection to the principle of public control of underground water resources cannot be accepted. The absence of such control was in fact criticised by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The urgent need of powers to control distribution and exploitation of underground water supplies, and to collect information on which to base planned development of water resources as a whole, has been again emphasised by the recent abnormal drought and by the inauguration of certain schemes for the supply of water to new areas. Public control of water is essential and the administration cannot wait longer before tackling this urgent problem.

Mr. Janner: Is my right hon. Friend aware that this matter has been on the tapis for a long number of years and that this is an inopportune moment when the United Nations Committee of Inquiry is sitting to crystallise this point? Is he further aware that this is one of two suggestions contained in the Anglo-American Committee's Report which are being put into effect, although my right hon. Friend said that none would be put into effect without the others?

Mr. Creech Jones: The action does not, of course, depend on the Report of the Anglo-American Commission, but I think it will be appreciated that, with the increasing population in Palestine and also the effects of the recent drought, some action has become imperative, and it is therefore inevitable that the Government should act now in regard to bringing the water resources of Palestine under some degree of public control.

Mr. T. Reid: Can my right hon. Friend say why this matter has been delayed so long seeing that many years ago the Palestine Government got an expert irrigation engineer from India to submit a system for the control of the water supply of the whole of Palestine?

Mr. Creech Jones: I can only imagine it was because a Labour Government was not in Office.

Mr. Stanley: Has the Labour Government only come into Office this week? And what happened during the two years it has already been here?

Mr. Janner: Will my right hon. Friend allay the fears that are held in consequence of the fact that this Bill has suddenly been published, the fears of the Jewish population that their plans and arrangements for water supply will be interfered with?

Mr. Creech Jones: This has not been suddenly brought into force. Discussion in regard to these projects were going on for quite a long time, but the situation is so rapidly deteriorating that action must be taken.

Mr. Sydney Silverman: In view of my right hon. Friend's last answer but one, can he tell us on what date the Labour Government decided to change the policy of previous Governments, and whether this applies to anything else in Palestine besides underground water?

Lieut.-Commander Gurney Braithwaite: Will the Minister assure the House that all proper steps in this matter will now be finalised?

JEWISH IMMIGRANTS, CYPRUS (CAMPS)

Mr. Thomas Reid asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how it is proposed in future to meet the cost of camps in Cyprus for illegal Jewish immigrants, which already exceeds £1,000,000.

Mr. Creech Jones: I would refer my hon. Friend to the reply given by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer on 17th June to the hon. Member for Bermondsey, West (Mr. Sargood), to which I have nothing to add.

July 22, 1947.

PALESTINE (ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS)

Mr. Sydney Silverman (by Private Notice) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies the present whereabouts of the 4,500 Jewish immigrants into Palestine who were removed by the British Armed Forces from the vessel "Exodus 1947" in Haifa Harbour for transportation to Cyprus, who have not so far reached Cyprus, and concerning whose ultimate destination conflicting rumours are circulating.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Creech Jones): The passengers to whom my hon. Friend refers, who attempted to land in Palestine illegally, are being returned to France, from which country they originally set sail on 11th July. They are at present on board three British transports on route from Haifa to France.

Mr. Silverman: Has my right hon. Friend's attention been drawn to the statements made this morning that the transport to France is intended to be only to a port of embarkation for transport elsewhere, and that these people are to be transported not to France, except en route to Colombia, in South America? Can he say whether there is any truth in those statements or not?

Mr. Creech Jones: The only answer I can give is that the ultimate destination of these transports is France, and what will happen in France is a matter entirely for the French authorities.

Mr. Oliver Stanley: Is it not a fact that many of these illegal immigrants had visas enabling them to go to Colombia? If they did not wish to go there, what was the object of getting those visas?

Mr. Creech Jones: I have no official information that the visas were for Colombia, but such statements have appeared in the Press. I should add that when the ship left France it was contrary to the general regulations of the French authorities, who had laid down that she should only proceed in clear weather and without passengers.

Mr. Gallacher: Is the Secretary of State not aware that we were informed over the radio that the decision had been taken to return them to France in agreement with the French authorities, and that since then we have been informed that the French authorities are not prepared to allow them to land in France? Can he give us any information as to what is going to happen to these unfortunate people?

Mr. Creech Jones: The position is that the action has been taken in agreement with the French Government, and they will be received in France.

Mr. Godfrey Nicholson: Is there adequate liaison between the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office? If there is, how came it about that the French Government were not warned of the likelihood of what occurred, because I am quite sure that the French Government did not wish to do anything inimical to this country?

Mr. Creech Jones: I think I can say that the French Government were fully aware of the possibilities of this situation.

Mr. Silverman: Are we to understand from my right hon. Friend's original answer that in no circumstances will British Armed Forces be used to compel these people to go to South America or anywhere else if they do not wish to go?

Mr. Creech Jones: That is not a matter for the British Government. These ships will be sent to France and these passengers will be disembarked.

Mr. Silverman: May I point out that my right hon. Friend misheard my Question? What I asked him was whether we were to understand from the original answer that in no circumstances will British Armed Forces—for whom the British Government, presumably, remain responsible—be used to compel these people to go to South America or anywhere else against their will?

Mr. Creech Jones: The situation as described is purely hypothetical, and I can give no undertaking what will happen in hypothetical circumstances. All I can say is that these people are being returned to the port at which they embarked.

Mr. Janner: Is my right hon. Friend aware that these people, men, women and children—many hundreds of children—are victims on whom the most inhuman brutalities have been inflicted? Does he really expect them to wander over seas and lands for years without any hope at all?

Mr. Levy: Since it has been the practice to send illegal immigrants on to Cyprus, what is the reason for varying that practice in this particular case? Has my right hon. Friend considered also the effect in Palestine of that action, of which there are indications already?

Mr. Creech Jones: All circumstances were taken into most careful consideration. But surely it must be recognised that there are limits in regard to accommodation in Cyprus, and that there are very great difficulties in admitting into Palestine a very considerable number of Jews in one body.

Mr. Silverman: Will my right hon. Friend bear in mind that there are also limits to human endurance? May I press him for a definite answer on the question of whether British Armed Forces will in any circumstances be employed to transport people against their will on the high seas? Surely, we are entitled to have a definite answer to a question of that kind?

Mr. Creech Jones: I have answered the question by saying that these transports are bound for France, and that there the passengers will be disembarked.

July 23, 1947.

NICOSIA PRISON, CYPRUS

Mr. F. Noel-Baker asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has ordered an immediate inquiry into conditions in the Nicosia central prison and changes in the personnel in charge of this prison; and what other action he has taken, in view of the death on 7th July of one inmate and the recent hunger strike of 39 other inmates.

Mr. Creech Jones: The Governor of Cyprus reports that seven prisoners went on hunger strike on 7th July demanding transfer to another part of the prison, and that 39 others struck for one day only. One inmate, who had been under treatment for some time with gastric trouble, died on 9th July but his death was quite unconnected with the hunger strike. An inquest will be held on 24th July. The Governor states that the prison is visited regularly by a statutory Board, the last visit having been on 4th July. There have been no recent adverse reports by the Board. The Director of Medical and Health Services carried out a detailed inspection on 15th July. He reported favourably on the running of the prison and feeding arrangements, and stated that the reasons given by striking convicts for their action were unsubstantial. In the circumstances I do not consider that a further special inquiry is called for.

July 9, 1947

ADEN

New Hospital

Mr. Skeffington asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies when it is expected that building will begin on the proposed new hospital for Aden.

Mr. Creech Jones: I cannot yet give a definite date, but a site has been chosen and plans for construction of the new hospital are being expedited.

Dollar Allocation (Merchants)

Mr. Skeffington asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the total allocation of dollars to merchants in Aden for one year; and on what basis this total amount is divided among individual merchants.

Mr. Creech Jones: No definite allocation for the year has been made, but exchange is being made available for the import of textiles and other classes of goods, mainly required for the entrepot trade. It is allocated amongst merchants in relation to their standing in each branch of the trade concerned, and to their ability to import promptly the goods which are urgently required.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

July 2, 1947.

MALAYAN UNION

Colonial Pensioners

Mr. Gammans asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies when he expects to get a reply from the Malayan Government regarding any increase in pensions to Colonial servants; and if he is aware of the hardship now being caused to many Colonial pensioners in view of the increasing cost of living.

Mr. Creech Jones: Particulars of the increases introduced in this country by the Pensions (Increase) Act, 1947, and an invitation to review the schemes of increase applicable to pensioners of their Governments in the light of the United Kingdom increases were sent to the Governors of the Malayan Union and Singapore on the 26th April. I cannot say when the Governors will be in a position to reply, but it is to be expected that the Governments concerned will require some little time yet to consider the matter. I appreciate, of course, that the increased cost of living imposes hardship on many Colonial pensioners as on other people with fixed incomes.

Tin-Mining Machinery

Wing-Commander Robinson asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will give an assurance that, despite the requirements of labour and machinery involved by the new schemes for Colonial development, nothing will be done to diminish the priority at present being given to the production and dispatch of the machinery urgently required for the increased production of tin in Malaya.

Mr. Creech Jones: I can assure the hon. and gallant Member that His Majesty's Government will continue to do all they can to promote the production and early dispatch to Malaya of the machinery needed there for the tin-mining industry.

Mr. Price-White asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the rehabilitation of the tin industry in Malaya and the increased production of tin from that Colony is being seriously delayed because of the insufficient priority given to the supply of the required mining machinery ; what communications have been addressed to him by the Malayan Union Government on that matter ; and whether he anticipates that it will be possible to achieve a satisfactory solution to this matter in the near future.

Mr. Creech Jones: I am aware that the time taken to deliver equipment from this country is delaying the rehabilitation of the industry. All possible measures are being taken to expedite delivery.

STRIKES, CEYLON

Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies the immediate cause of the recent disturbances in Ceylon; and what action is being taken to deal with the alleged grievances.

Mr. Creech Jones: The recent strikes in Ceylon arose from a demand by the General Clerical Services Union for what has been described as full trade union rights. The Union were already aware of the Ceylon Ministers' decision that those important issues must be held over for consideration by the new Ceylon Parliament. The strikes have now come to an end unconditionally and I understand that no immediate action is being taken by the present Ceylon Government.

July 9.

HONG KONG (CHINESE NATIONALS)

Mr. Rees-Williams asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will offer sanctuary in Hong Kong to those Chinese professors, lecturers and students from the National Wuhan University, Wuchang, recently raided by Kuomintang police, who desire to enter the University of Hong Kong.

Mr. Creech Jones: There is no restriction upon the entry of Chinese nationals into Hong Kong. So far as the Hong Kong Government is concerned, therefore, the persons to whom my hon. Friend refers are at liberty to proceed to the Colony at any time they please.

Mr. Rees-Williams: In view of the very serious effect this particular incident had upon the students and professors of the University, would the right hon. Gentleman offer sanctuary in the University itself to those students who desire to pursue their studies further?

Mr. Creech Jones: As the hon. Member is aware the question of the University in Hong Kong is now under consideration, but it is quite possible for students to proceed to Hong Kong.

MALAYA AND SINGAPORE
Banned Broadcast
(Mr. Anthony Brooke)

Mr. Gammans asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies why the Department of Broadcasting of the Malayan Union and Singapore refused to allow Mr. Anthony Brooke to broadcast on the situation in Sarawak without first examining the script.

Mr. Creech Jones: The Director of Broadcasting is under no obligation to afford facilities to anyone who wishes to broadcast. But the reason, as given to Mr. Anthony Brooke by the Director, was that the Government were not prepared to allow their broadcasting system to be used for a broadcast which was likely to be definitely critical of Government policy in neighbouring territories, and which was also designed to promote a change in the Government of Sarawak and to undermine His Majesty's rule there.

Mr. Gammans: How do the Government know that this was likely to be critical if they did not take the trouble to see what the broadcast was?

Mr. Creech Jones: First of all, in his application to the Director, Mr. Anthony Brooke stated that he wished to broadcast all the facts relating to the cession of Sarawak, and the position that had arisen as a result thereof. Mr. Brooke has not subsequently challenged the basis of the decision taken by the Director.

Official Emoluments

Mr. Gammans asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the total expenditure on the personal emoluments and other annual recurrent charges of the Governor-General of Malaya, the Governor of the Malayan Union and the Governor of Singapore ; and what were the corresponding figures for 1938 for the Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner, Malay States.

Mr. Creech Jones: The amounts provided in the 1947 Estimates for the personal emoluments of the Governor-General, Malaya, the Governor of the Malayan Union and the Governor of Singapore are £9,500, £7,500 and £6,500, respectively. For other annual charges, exclusive of office expenses, the amounts provided are £8,633, £3,684, and £2,018, respectively. In 1938 the personal emoluments of the Governor of the Straits Settlements and the High Commissioner for the Malay States amounted to £8,000 and £2,969 was provided for other annually recurrent charges.

Mr. Gammans: In view of the increase of this expenditure, does the right hon. Gentleman propose to review the whole of this arrangement, the cost of which is falling today on the Malayan people?

Mr. Creech Jones: Obviously, when the Constitution of Malaya has been concluded and certain other developments have taken place in that part of the world, the whole of the set-up of this problem can come up for further consideration.

Internment Pay (Widow's Claim)

Vice-Admiral Taylor asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware that Mrs. Meredith, the widow of the late Registrar of Vehicles under the Singapore Municipality who was interned by the Japanese, has been unable to obtain any satisfaction for her claim for the balance of her husband's salary during internment ; and, in view of the fact that in official correspondence the Colonial Office has promised full pay during internment to municipal employees, when this claim will be settled.

Mr. Creech Jones: This is a matter for the Singapore Municipal Commissioners. The President states that Mrs. Meredith has been paid the total of her husband's Provident Fund Account to 31st January, 1942, and she has also received an advance of £1,870 on account of internment pay, leaving a balance of approximately £2,200. The resealed Grant of Probate was received by the Commissioners on 17th May, 1947 ; they are now prepared to make a further payment of £2,200, on request, pending the finalising of the account, and I understand that Mrs. Meredith is being so informed.

Vice-Admiral Taylor: Is the Minister aware that application for the payment was made to the municipal authorities two months and more ago, and that no reply has been received? Does the Minister repudiate the last paragraph of my question that the Colonial Office guaranteed payment to the municipal employees during their internment by the Japanese?

Mr. Creech Jones: This is really a matter for the municipal authorities. I think in regard to this particular case a settlement will now be finalised with the payment of the £2,200.

Natural Rubber (U.S.A. Restrictions)

Mr. Janner asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will make a statement indicating the extent to which unemployment and hardship are being caused in Malaya through the embargo which the U.S. have placed on the import of rubber ; and what steps are being taken by him to deal with this situation.

Mr. Creech Jones: Regarding the alleged embargo, I would refer my hon. Friend to the reply given to him by my hon. Friend the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on 7th July. Generally speaking, the standard of living of the small holders and employees on rubber estates has fallen below the pre-war level; this is due principally to the high cost of imported foods and other supplies, and has not, till now, been seriously accentuated by the recent drop in the price of rubber. Nor has there yet been any large increase in unemployment. The matter is one which is receiving careful attention, and I would refer my hon. Friend to the reply given by my right hon. and learned Friend the President of the Board of Trade to my hon. Friend the Member for Swindon (Mr. T. Reid) on 3rd July.

Mr. Janner: Is my right hon. Friend aware that there is considerable fear that there is in fact an embargo which is having this serious effect and that the people think that an embargo is in force, though whether in specific terms or in consequence of the effect of some other regulation they do not know?

Mr. Creech Jones: There is really no embargo but there is the fact that rubber goods manufactured in the United States must contain a percentage of synthetic rubber.

Mr. W. Fletcher: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Crawford Act insists on 50 per cent. being incorporated in manufactured goods and is, in fact, an embargo? Is he further aware that the resulting fall in the price of rubber loses 100 million dollars a year to this country, and is having the effect implied in this Question of unemployment and distress, which will eventually lead to political unrest in Malaya?

Mr. Creech Jones: His Majesty's Government are fully aware of the problem in regard to rubber and they are giving it immediate and effective attention.

Mr. James Callaghan: Have the Government made it clear to the United States that the whole system of unilateral training, by which they set such store, will break down unless they buy sterling commodities of this description, which is the only way we can pay our debts to the United States ?

Mr. Creech Jones: We are fully alive to the problem, but the question obviously should be addressed to the Board of Trade.

Mr. Stanley: Surely, this is a matter of tremendous importance, and I should like to know what steps the right hon. Gentleman has taken to bring home to the United States the disastrous effect of the policy they are pursuing?

Mr. Creech Jones: I can only answer that appropriate steps have been taken by the Government in this matter as a result of the representations of my Office.

Mr. Stanley: The right hon. Gentleman has told us that appropriate steps have been taken. Will he tell us what the appropriate steps were ?

Mr. Creech Jones: I have said that the Colonial Office in consultation with other Departments concerned are fully alive to the importance of this matter, and particularly its importance to Malaya—

Mr. Callaghan: And us.

Mr. Creech Jones: —and consequently have taken appropriate steps—[Hon. Members: "What steps? "]. I will repeat that—the Government have taken appropriate steps both in regard to international conferences meeting just now and in regard to the Government of the United States.

Mr. Gallacher: Has the Minister seen a statement of the chairman of the Rubber Company that America has forced down the price of rubber to one-third of its pre-war value, and can be do anything in regard to that?

Mr. T. Reid: Is my right hon. Friend aware that the rubber planters in Ceylon are contemplating cutting out all rubber and turning over their estates to something else, because of the fall of the price of rubber below the cost of production caused by the action of the United States?

July 14, 1947.

Ceylon Tea (Purchase)

Mr. Tiffany asked the Minister of Food to what extent have estates owned by the English and Scottish Joint Co-operative Wholesale Society supported his Department's purchase of Ceylon tea this year.

Mr. J. Strachey: I am glad to say that the English and Scottish Joint Co-operative Wholesale Society have offered, and I have accepted, the whole exportable production of their tea estates in Ceylon.

July 17, 1947.

MALAYAN TIN AND RUBBER (DOLLAR EARNINGS)

Mr. Blackburn asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will give an indication of the amount of dollars earned by the exports of tin and rubber, respectively, from the Malayan Union since the liberation of that territory; and what are the plans of his Department for increasing this dollar-earning capacity as rapidly as possible during the current year.

Mr. Creech Jones: It is not possible to give an absolutely accurate answer to the first part of this Question, since not all trade between the Malayan Union and the Western Hemisphere passes direct. I am, however, informed that tin to the value of rather over 8 million dollars has been shipped to the United States, and to the value of rather under 4½ million dollars to Canada, since the liberation of Malaya, and a further 1 million dollars' worth is in process of being shipped to the United States. His Majesty's Government have sold nearly 35 million dollars' worth of Malayan rubber to the United States and rather over 2 million dollars' worth to Canada. In addition private sales have been made to an amount which I cannot at present calculate. As regards the second part of the Question, every effort is being made to bring more Malayan tin mines back into production. So far as rubber is concerned, there is no shortage of supplies of rubber and, as I have already stated in the House, His Majesty's Government hope that the United States will buy increasing quantities of Malayan rubber in future. As the trade, however, is entirely in private hands, there is very little that His Majesty's Government can do in the matter.

Constitutional Negotiations

Mr. Rees-Williams asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will make a statement on the latest developments in the constitutional negotiations in British Malaya ; and, in particular, whether Singapore is to be a member, on the same terms as Penang, of the Malayan Federation.

Mr. Creech Jones: I hope to make a statement before the end of the Session. With regard to Singapore, I am unable to add to my reply to the hon. Member for Bury (Mr. W. Fletcher) on 18th June.

Mr. Rees-Williams: In view of the anxiety that is being felt in Malaya that a settlement should be arrived at, could my right hon. Friend make a statement as soon as possible?

Mr. Creech Jones; The statement will be made very soon indeed, but the delay is not unduly long because obviously a number of problems have to be resolved before a statement can be made.

Mr. W. Fletcher: Is the delay due to the fact that there are so many different Governments and so much over administration in Malaya?

Mr. Creech Jones: No, that is a completely false statement of the situation.

Mr. Fletcher: It was a question.

July 23, 1947.

MALAYA
Highland Farming (Cost)

Mr. Harold Davies asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the cost per acre for farming the highland areas in Malaya ; and the crop yield per acre.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Creech Jones): Agriculture in the Malayan highlands is almost exclusively concerned with tea growing and market gardening. Tea is grown on about 50,000 acres, the average annual cost of production including manufacture being 470 dollars and the yield 700 lbs. per acre. Market gardening is carried out on about 750 acres, the average annual cost of production being 4,850 dollars, and the yield 12 tons per acre. These figures do not include capital outlay. The area is unsuited for rice cultivation.

Food Crops (Cultivation)

Mr. Harold Davies asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what amount has been spent by the Government of Malaya on Government farms opened up for the cultivation of rice substitute crops; what acreage has been planted; what are the weight and value of the crops harvested to date; and whether he is satisfied with the results of this experiment.

Mr. Creech Jones: The Government of the Malayan Union has spent 4,200,000 Straits dollars on short-term food production for crops, including rice, during the period April, 1946, to June, 1947, of which over 2,000,000 dollars is capital expenditure. Five thousand, three hundred and twenty-three acres have been planted, the weight of crops harvested being 196 tons, value at 20,000 dollars. Heavy expenditure has been entailed in the preliminary work of clearing and preparing land for cultivation, and it must be some time before the full benefits of this development become apparent. Nevertheless, in the Governor's view, the results have so far been disappointing.

Mr. Davies: Is my right hon. Friend aware that there seems to be some difference of opinion between the experts of the Department of Agriculture and the short-term food production commit-

tee with regard to the cutting down of the tropical Malayan forest whose natural productions are tropical trees and rubber, and that, consequently, the 80,000 acres of highland that were put down for rice will not yield sufficient rice to make it worth while?

Mr. Creech Jones: I am fully aware of the importance of conserving the Malayan forests. On the other hand, there is a tremendous drive by the Agricultural Department to grow more food wherever that can be done.

Mr. W. Fletcher: Will the Minister confirm, as he has done before, that there is a large part of the population for whom no substitute for rice can be obtained?

Pensions (Increases)

Mr. Douglas Marshall asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware that Malayan officers are compelled to retire from the service at the age of 55 years and under in certain cases; and why such officers are excluded from temporary increase in pension until they have reached 60 years of age unless incapacitated by ill-health.

Mr. Creech Jones: I took occasion at the end of April, when sending them particulars of the increases introduced in this country by the Pensions (Increase) Act, 1947, to invite a number of Governors, including the Governors of the Malayan Union and Singapore, to consider reducing the minimum qualifying age for pension increase from 60 years to 55 years.

Mr. D. Marshall asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the question of revising the pension increase for Malayan and other colonial pensioners in the light of the Pensions (Increase) Act, 1947, is still under consideration; and when the result is to be announced.

Mr. Creech Jones: I would invite the hon. Member's attention to the reply I gave to the hon. Member for Hornsey (Mr. Gammans) on 2nd July. I have not yet received replies from the Governors of the Malayan Union and Singapore to the invitation sent them on 26th April to review their schemes.

HONG KONG (SALARIES COMMISSION)

Mr. Walter Fletcher asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Salaries Commission in Hong Kong has started its work; and when it is likely to report.

Mr. Creech Jones: The Commission has started its work, but I am not yet in a position to say when it will report.

Mr. Fletcher: Is the Minister aware of the great urgency of getting a report and taking action, owing to the gradual disintegration which will otherwise occur in the Hong Kong Civil Service?

Mr. Creech Jones: Yes, Sir. I am personally alive to the urgency of the matter, and so are the Hong Kong Government.

Mr. Pickthorn: Is there any possibility of an interim report to deal especially with medical officers and very junior officers of the other services, who really at present are just not able to live upon their official income?

Mr. Creech Jones: I know that there is very much distress with regard to the medical establishments, and representations have already been made to the Hong Kong Government in that respect.

Mr. Pickthorn: Is there any possibility of action on an interim report in those very urgent cases?

Mr. Creech Jones: I will look into that.

POLITICAL OFFENDERS, CEYLON

Mr. Pritt asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will ask the Governor of Ceylon for his recommendations in relation to implementing the resolution of the Ceylon State Council of 14th May last, which called for the amendment of the Constitution Order of 1946 to remove the disqualification of political offenders and in relation to the petition of Dr. Wickremasinghe for a free pardon.

Mr. Creech Jones: As regards the State Council resolution, the Governor has consulted with his Ministers, who have made no recommendation for action in the matter. I must, therefore, assume that Ceylon Ministers do not wish any steps to be taken to implement this resolution. As regards the second part of the Question, a petition for a free pardon was received by the Governor. The Governor has, in the exercise of the prerogative delegated to him, declined to grant a pardon, and in these circumstances I am unable to intervene.

MAURITIUS

Housing, Port Louis

Mr. Rankin asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps are being taken to improve the housing conditions in the town of Port Louis, Mauritius.

Mr. Creech Jones: A town planning scheme for Port Louis is being prepared. A preliminary survey to enable the Consultant Town Planner and Architect to study possible planning solutions has already been completed, and this Consultant is now on his way back to the Colony for further discussions with the Governor and the Mayor of Port Louis with regard to the improvement of the town, including housing conditions.

Mr. Rankin: Is it the case that the construction of the houses is mostly under private enterprise, and that that is the reason for the poor conditions? Will my right hon. Friend take steps to encourage either municipal authorities or the Governor to undertake housing schemes?

Mr. Creech Jones: The whole of this problem is to be dealt with by the local Government in consultation with the architect who is now going out.

Cost-of-Living Index

Mr. Rankin asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware of the high prices of goods imported into Mauritius from Britain; if he will state the existing level of the cost-of-living index; and the steps that are being taken by the Government of Mauritius to stabilise the prices of essential commodities.

Mr. Creech Jones: The index for clothing, which forms the bulk of essential imports from the United Kingdom, now stands at from 250 to 300 compared with 100 in 1939. The prices paid for British goods by Mauritius are no higher than those paid by other importing countries, and British prices compare favourably with current world prices for similar goods. The cost-of-living index is at present 295 compared with 100 in 1939. The Government stabilises the prices of essential foodstuffs by subsidisation, and regulates the prices of other essential commodities by controlling profit margins.

Consumers' Societies

Mr. Anthony Greenwood asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what are the difficulties which have prevented the development of consumers' societies in Mauritius, in view of the fact that the Mauritius Co-operative Ordinance of 1945, as amended in 1946, makes provision for the establishment of consumers' societies.

Mr. Creech Jones: I am not aware of any special difficulties attending the development of consumers' societies, although admittedly the main activity so far has been in connection with co-operative credit societies. A full-time Registrar has now been appointed and he has recently visited another Colony to study the operations of small consumers' societies there.

Mr. Greenwood: If any special difficulties exist, will my right hon. Friend impress upon the Governor of Mauritius the desirability of the development of trades societies, in view of the very high cost of living to which he referred in a previous answer?

Mr. Creech Jones: Yes, the Governor is most anxious to get ahead with the setting up of the co-operative movement.

HOMELESS FAMILIES, SINGAPORE

Mr. Gammans asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware of the concern which has been caused in Singapore by the levelling by a bulldozer

of 60 wooden houses on land owned by the Singapore Harbour Board in Trafalgar Street ; and what steps he is taking to assist a number of families who have been rendered homeless as a result.

Mr. Creech Jones: I am having inquiries made of the Officer Administering the Government of Singapore, and will write to the hon. Member when I have his report.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES, HONG KONG

Mr. Rees-Williams asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the present position with regard to the proposed constitutional changes in Hong Kong.

Mr. Creech Jones: I informed the House on 5th March of my general agreement with the recommendations of the late Governor, Sir Mark Young, for the establishment of a Municipal Council and a modification in the constitution of the Legislative Council. Earlier this month I sent to the Acting Governor of Hong Kong a despatch containing my detailed comments on those recommendations, and authorised him to proceed at once with all preparations necessary to put them into effect. I have arranged for copies of the despatches in question to be placed in the Library of the House.

WEST INDIES

July 2, 1947.

WEST INDIES
Special Constables, Jamaica

Mr. Gammans asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has replied to the representations made to him by the Jamaica Special Constables Association ; and what action he proposes to take regarding their complaint that their terms of recruitment have not been fulfilled.

Mr. Creech Jones: This petition was referred to the Governor for examination and report. I am keeping the matter in view and will deal with it when I have the Governor's reply.

Broadcasting, Jamaica and Trinidad

Mr. T. Reid asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies why a franchise for broadcasting was recently granted to private firms in Jamaica and Trinidad.

Mr. Creech Jones: While I think it desirable in principle that broadcasting services in the Colonies should be provided by the Colonial Governments, the Governments mentioned feel unable to meet the heavy capital and recurrent costs involved in operating a broadcasting service. The Government of Trinidad has, therefore, recently given a concession for broadcasting with suitable public safeguards to a private company. The Government of Jamaica has not, in fact, yet granted a concession, but has announced the conditions on which it will consider applications for one.

Mental Hospital, Jamaica (Nurses)

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many nurses at the Jamaica Mental Hospital who participated in the strike of 1946 have not yet been reinstated ; and whether he is satisfied that their places have been filled by fully-qualified nurses.

Mr. Creech Jones: The information for which my hon. Friend asks is not at present available ; but I am consulting the Governor and will communicate with my hon. Friend on receipt of the Governor's reply.

BARBADOS (FINANCE)

Mr. T. Reid asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what official or department controls the finances of Barbados ; and whether he is satisfied that the present system is an efficient one.

Mr. Creech Jones: The ultimate control of the finances of Barbados rests with the Legislature of the Colony. So far as official machinery is concerned, the Governor has recently indicated that he does not regard the existing staff as adequate to present-day needs, and the Economic Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies has recommended that early steps should be taken to appoint a Financial Secretary. I understand from the Governor that he proposes to seek the authority of the Legislature for the creation of this office, but I am awaiting his despatch which is on its way home.

BAUXITE WORKERS' STRIKE, BRITISH GUIANA

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what demands were made by the strikers during the recent strike of bauxite workers in British Guiana ; in what circumstances a proclamation was issued banning assemblies ; and what action has been taken by the Government to assist in settling this dispute.

Mr. Creech Jones: The bulk of the workers employed by the Demarara Bauxite Company went on strike at midnight on 12th April following disagreement with the management on the interpretation of procedure for the avoidance and settlement of disputes. The workers had previously submitted demands for a substantial increase in wages and improved conditions of employment. A Committee of Inquiry was appointed by the Government at the end of May, after other means of settling the dispute had failed, and the Governor reported on 17th June that the strike was over. The Committee of Inquiry has completed its investigation into the causes of the dispute and fuller information will be available when its report is received. I have received no information regarding the issue of a proclamation banning assemblies, but the Governor reported on 21st May that, in view of certain serious acts of violence which had occurred, he had felt bound to declare the area of the works to be a Proclaimed District under Title 10 of the Summary Jurisdiction (Offences) Ordinance, which prescribes penalties for assembling in a disorderly manner and refusing to disperse.

July 4, 1947.

BRITISH GUIANA (FIRE BRIGADE, GEORGETOWN)

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps have been taken to obtain adequate equipment and staff for the Georgetown, British Guiana, Fire Brigade ; and what assistance is being given by the Government to those whose losses are not covered by insurance.

Mr. Creech Jones: An experienced Fire Brigade Officer has been appointed from the United Kingdom. New equipment is already on order, and more is about to be ordered. I have no information regarding the last part of the Question, but I will make inquiries of the Governor.

July 9, 1947.

BRITISH GUIANA (DEVELOPMENT)

Mr. T. Reid asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if there is any likelihood of initiating a scheme of State development of part of the hinterland of British Guiana on the lines of the East African groundnut undertaking.

Mr. Creech Jones: The question of the development of the interior of British Guiana will receive careful consideration by the Commission of Inquiry which is shortly to visit the Colony. On the information at present available, it does not seem probable that anything on the lines of the East African groundnut undertaking would be practicable, but I shall await the report of the Commission.

Mr. Walter Fletcher: Will the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind that all previous attempts to settle the Rupununi hinterland, even with Syrians some 30 years ago, have always failed because of very bad health conditions and bad transport?

Mr. Creech Jones: We are very well aware of that, but we must await the report of the Commission.

July 9, 1947.

JAMAICA
British Caribbean Airways

Mr. Gammans asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies why the British Caribbean Airways, Limited, a British company registered in Jamaica, has been refused Jamaican designation as a scheduled carrier between Jamaica and the U.S.A.

Mr. Creech Jones: I am still in correspondence with the Governor of Jamaica on this matter and am not aware that any final decision on the application of British Caribbean Airways has yet been taken.

Mr. Gammans: Is the Secretary of State aware that while he has been in correspondence with the Governor other nations are, in fact, lifting the trade?

Mr. Creech Jones: That hardly arises on this matter.

Public Meetings (Proclamation)

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Proclamation recently issued by the Governor of Jamaica prohibiting public demonstrations has now been withdrawn.

Mr. Creech Jones: In accordance with the terms of the Jamaica Public Meetings Law of 1939, the Proclamation ceased to have effect after one month. No new Proclamation has since been issued.

Commodity Prices (Subsidies)

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what action is being taken by the Government of Jamaica to subsidise the prices of essential commodities; what is the level of the cost-of-living index as compared with the level in 1945; and what changes have taken place in wage levels in the same period.

Mr. Creech Jones: The Government of Jamaica has provided £100,000 in the current year's estimates for subsidising imported foodstuffs and £14,300 for purchasing local foodstuffs at guaranteed minimum prices. The cost of living stands at present at 190 as compared with 160 in June, 1945. Wage levels have increased by an average of about 20 per cent. in the same period. In the case of the workers employed by the sugar industry, however, the increase in rates has been over 25 per cent.

July 10, 1947.

TRINIDAD AND JAMAICA (WATERFRONT WORKERS)

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any schemes have now been devised to establish regular recruitment of waterfront labour in Jamaica and Trinidad.

Mr. Creech Jones: A scheme has been agreed between the Shipping Association of Trinidad and the Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Trade Union in an endeavour to regulate the employment of stevedores, launchmen and lightermen. The scheme is to be tried out experimentally for three months, and will be introduced from 1st August next. The ultimate aim is to establish a permanent registration scheme. The introduction of a similar scheme for dockers in the employment of the Department of Wharves and Harbours is under consideration. In Jamaica, after the labour dispute in Kingston last year, the Government suggested to the Shipping Association and to the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union that discussions should take place to draw up as quickly as possible a progressive scheme for the future operation of the port, including an improvement in the system of registration and method of engagement of port workers. No agreement has yet been reached by the parties concerned.

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July 16, 1947.

JAMAICA (UNEMPLOYMENT)

Mr. Turton asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the present number of unemployed persons in Jamaica; and what steps are being taken to relieve unemployment in this Colony.

Mr. Creech Jones: With regard to the first part of this Question, I would refer the hon. Member to the reply I gave to my hon. Friend the Member for South-East St. Pancras (Dr. Jeger), on 5th March this year. No fresh information has since been received from Jamaica, but I am again consulting the Governor, and will let him know. With regard to the second part of the Question, I would refer to my reply to a similar Question by my hon. Friend the Member for East Harrow (Mr. Skinnard) on 18th June.

Mr. Turton: Has nothing been done since 5th March to relieve unemployment and to attract men to the cement industry in Jamaica in view of the large number of young men who are discontented and unemployed?

Mr. Creech Jones: That is a completely unwarranted assumption from my reply. If the hon. Member will turn to the reply I gave on 18th June to the hon. Member for East Harrow he will see that the Government of Jamaica are fully alive to the gravity of the problem in Jamaica.

Mr. Driberg: In this connection will my right hon. Friend look at the scheme for the suggested resettlement of Jamaican ex-Servicemen drawn up by a Jamaican Royal Air Force officer, which has been sent to him?

Mr. Creech Jones: Yes, and there is a scheme already in operation for ex-Servicemen. In the reply to which I referred I gave information in regard to that matter.

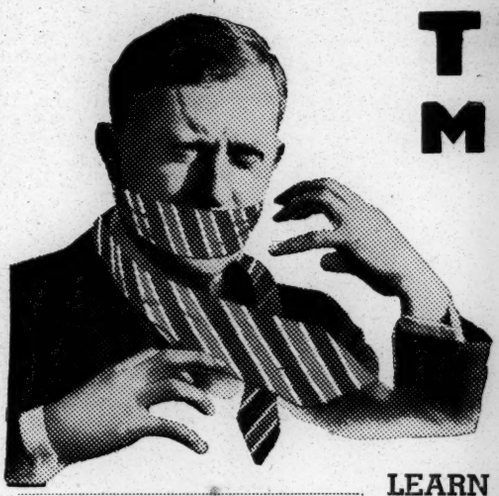
July 16, 1947.

TOBAGO

Land Settlement

Mr. H. Hynd asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how much land suitable for cultivation in Tobago is at present uncultivated; and what plans have been made by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to assist the settlement of landless peasants on small-holdings in Tobago.

Mr. Creech Jones: The information asked for in the first part of the Question cannot be furnished until the results



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of the census of 1946 have been compiled. I will write to my hon. Friend as soon as the figures are available. As regards the second part of the Question, I would refer to my reply to the Question on this subject asked today by my hon. Friend, the Member for Heston and Isleworth (Mr. W. R. Williams).

Mr. W. R. Williams asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many estates have been put up for sale in Tobago within the last five years; whether the local government has taken over any land for distribution to landless peasants with assisted purchase; and whether there are any plans for such action in the future.

Mr. Creech Jones: I regret that the answer to the first part of this Question could not be ascertained without research into a large number of deeds. The Colonial Government have recently acquired an estate of 600 acres in Tobago with the object of establishing an agricultural experiment and demonstration centre of some 80 acres, and creating a land settlement for peasantry. There are no further plans at present for the acquisition of land for settlement.

Mr. Williams: Will my right hon. Friend satisfy himself that the rentals proposed in these cases are such as to make the development of the smallholdings a practicable proposition for peasants with small means?

Mr. Creech Jones: I know that to be the desire of the Jamaica Government, but I will so inform them.

Steamship Service

Mr. H. Hynd asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is satisfied that the Government steamship service serving the island of Tobago is efficient and that its fares are as low as possible.

Mr. Creech Jones: Yes, Sir. I am aware that the two steamers in use are small in relation to the volume of traffic, but it has not yet been found possible to replace them by a larger ship, owing to the high level of shipbuilding costs.

Medical Service

Mr. H. Hynd asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is satisfied that there are sufficient doctors in Tobago to attend to the needs of the population; what public health service is provided by the Government; and whether he is aware that the cost of medical attention is almost prohibitive for the poor.

Mr. Creech Jones: As the answer is rather long, I will, with my hon. Friend's permission, circulate it in the Official Report.

Following is the reply:

There are four Government medical officers, three of whom are full-time officers. The Russell Committee recommended in 1944 that, in addition to the three medical officers then employed, there should be a full-time qualified county medical officer of health and a house surgeon for the principal hospital. Since then an additional part-time medical officer has been appointed, and I am making inquiries whether further steps have been taken. The nursing staff numbers nine, and includes a matron and three health visitors; there are five sanitary inspectors. The Colonial Government provide one 60-bedded hospital, which can be expanded to 70 beds, and 12 health offices and dispensaries. An intensive campaign against yaws, hookworm and malaria is being carried out at the present time.

As regards the last part of my hon. Friend's Question, paupers and old age pensioners receive free medical treatment. Persons in possession of a poverty certificate from the local administration, or from the public assistance authorities, pay 1s. the receipt for which entitles them to medical treatment for a fortnight.

Public Works Department (Employees)

Mr. W. R. Williams asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what pension provision is made for manual workers employed by the public works department in Tobago; whether these workers obtain regular all-the-year-round employment; and how wages paid by the public works department compare with those for similar work paid by private employers.

Mr. Creech Jones: Manual workers employed by the public works department in Tobago, whose posts are scheduled under the Provident Fund Ordinance, are entitled on retirement to provident fund benefits. The remainder are eligible for gratuities under the regulations applicable to all daily paid employees of the Government who do not contribute to the provident fund. A number of these workers are regularly employed, the remainder are employed on a casual basis as and when work is available. There are no private employers of labour in Tobago engaged on large-scale building and roadmaking projects, such as are undertaken by the public works department, and a comparison with private employment is, therefore, not possible.

Mr. Williams: Will my right hon. Friend take further steps to satisfy himself that the guaranteed week is granted in this case as far as possible in order that subsequent claims for gratuity and old age pensions shall not be invalidated because of this non-constant work?

Mr. Creech Jones: I will look into that point, but this island, and other islands in that part of the world, suffer from under-employment and the solution is very difficult.

Mr. Wilson Harris: Will the right hon. Gentleman say what it is that brings Tobago into the news so extensively and so suddenly?

GENERAL NEWS

May 7, 1947.

FALKLAND ISLANDS
(TOWN HALL, REBUILDING)

Mr. Dodds-Parker asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps have been taken to repair the effects of the fire which took place in the capital of the Falkland Islands in 1945; and whether the cost of rebuilding is to fall entirely on the resources of the Colony.

Mr. Creech Jones: The Town Hall in Stanley, the capital of the Falkland Islands, which housed several Government offices, the Museum and Public Library, was burnt out on 17th April, 1944. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining building materials, etc., the hall has not yet been rebuilt. The sum of £19,630 was paid to the Falklands Government in respect of insurances, but, since this amount is not expected to cover the cost of reconstruction at present-day prices, the Governor has under consideration the submission of an application for assistance under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.

May 13, 1947.

Colour Bar

Mr. Driberg asked the Secretary of State for War what progress he has now made in his discussions with the Admiralty and the Colonial Office with regard to the abolition of the colour bar against applicants for Regular engagement in the Forces.

Mr. J. Freeman: My right hon. Friend regrets that he is not yet in a position to make any statement about this matter.

Mr. Driberg: Can we take it that it is not the Colonial Office that is responsible for the dilatory nature of the discussions?

Mr. Wilkes: Is the Minister aware that I asked a Question on this matter in April, 1946, and can we have some statement about where the difficulty arises, and what constitutes the difficulty?

Mr. Freeman: I am well aware that my hon. Friend asked this Question a long time ago. The matter has been reopened and is being re-examined, and I think some sort of statement—whether it will be favourable to him or not, I cannot say—will be made before long.

Mr. Driberg: If it is not—as I take it from my hon. Friend's silence—the Colonial Office which is causing the delay, and if it is the Admiralty, will he point out to the Admiralty that, rather surprisingly, there is no such discrimination even in the United States Navy?

Mr. Gallacher: When the Under-Secretary says that he is not sure it will be a favourable statement, will he tell us who is preventing a favourable reply?

Mr. Freeman: I do not know on what grounds the hon. Member says there is not to be a favourable reply. I have not promised that, but I have told my hon. Friend that there will be an answer in the near future.

Sir G. Jeffreys: Is the Under-Secretary aware that white regiments are for white men and that white regiments want only white men?

Mr. Driberg: Is my hon. Friend aware that the sentiment expressed by the hon. and gallant Member opposite is a most retrograde and reactionary sentiment, which is certainly not shared by the Royal Air Force, which instituted this reform a year or two ago? I beg to give notice that I will raise this matter on the Adjournment.

Personal Case

Mr. Driberg asked the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that an error in the payment order book issued to 10596154 Sergeant P. M. Bartlett, on his demobilisation in October, 1946, was brought to the attention of the Regimental Paymaster, Leeds, in that month and that, despite repeated representations, only a formal acknowledgment, dated 12th December, has been sent to this ex-Serviceman, and he has not received the balance of pay owing to him; what is the cause of this delay; and if he will expedite the payment.

Mr. J. Freeman: The amounts contained in the release payments order book issued to this non-commissioned officer were correct, and all payments to which he was entitled were properly assessed and duly made. I regret, however, that the Regimental Paymaster failed to inform him to this effect in reply to his representations. A letter of explanation has now been sent to him.

May 14, 1947.

COLONIAL EMPIRE
Timber Resources (Review)

Mr. Haire asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has made a survey of timber resources in the Colonies with a view to easing the timber supply position in the United Kingdom; and with what results.

Mr. Creech Jones: A review of the exportable timber resources of the Colonial Empire has recently been completed and I am sending my hon. Friend a copy of it. In general any marked increase in exports will depend on the readiness of the United Kingdom to accept hitherto unused timbers and on loggings and transport equipment being available.

Transplanted Rice

Mr. T. Reid asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if, in view of the world shortage of rice, he will state in which Colonies, which are large producers of rice, the system of transplanting rice, which gives a harvest many times greater than the easier system of broadcasting the seed, is generally adopted.

Mr. Creech Jones: The transplantation system is suitable for use in swamp or irrigated lands and it is extensively so used in Ceylon, Malaya, Sierra Leone and British Guiana; but the large use of labour which it involves makes it uneconomical if the local conditions require the growing of short-term rices, and it is, therefore, not a universal practice in those countries.

May 15, 1947.

Jute Cultivation

Mr. Dodds-Parker asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps are being taken by intensive research or official experimentation to see whether jute or other analogous fibres, local or otherwise, can be developed in East or West Africa and in the West Indian Colonies.

Mr. Creech Jones: The possibilities of cultivating jute or other analogous fibres in the Colonial Empire are under further examination. Research and experimentation, if needed, will be founded on the outcome of these investigations. I am sending the hon. Member a copy of a memorandum recently prepared on the subject.

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(1) Secretary of State for the Colonies

JONES, Arthur Creech (Yorkshire, W.R., Shipley div.). LABOUR. B. in Bristol 1891; m. 1920 Violet May Tidman.

Late Nat. Sec. Transport and General Workers' Union. Late Pres. of International Federation of Commercial Employees. Gov. of Ruskin Coll., Oxford. Member of Council for Education of H.M. Forces. Vice-Pres. of Workers' Educational Association. Vice-Chrmn. of British Inst. of Adult Education. Vice-Pres. of Ramblers' Federation. Member of Colonial Office Education Advisory Com. Chrmn. of Fabian Colonial Bureau, of Labour Party Imp. Advisory Com., of Royal Inst. of International Affairs. Executive Memb. of British Council and of Travel Assoc. of G.B. Member of Admin. Com. Parl. Labour Party, of Nat. Film Council, and of Com. on Higher Education, War Office. Parl. Priv. Sec. to Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour, May, 1940—June 1944. Contested Heywood div. May 1929, elected for Shipley div. Nov. 1935.—Elmscott, St. Mary's Rd., Leatherhead (Leatherhead 2491).

(2) Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies

THOMAS, Ivor. B. 1905, son of late A. E. Thomas.

Lab. mem. for Keighley (Yorks) since 1942. Parl. Sec., Ministry of Civil Aviation, August 1945—October 1946. Parl. Under-Sec. Colonial Office, October, 1946. Educated at West Monmouth School, Pontypool, Scholar of St. John's and a Senior Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, Liddon Student, Ellerton Essayist, Johnson Scholar. Represented Oxford in the University Cross-country Race 1925-27, and the University Sports 1926-28, winning the three miles 1927. A Welsh International runner 1926. Also ran for the Achilles Club in Greece, winning the 5,000 and 10,000 metre races. A journalist. Joined staff of *The Times* 1930. Chief leader writer, *News-Chronicle* 1927-39. Served with Royal Fusiliers 1939-40, Royal Norfolk Regt. 1941-42 and in 1945. Negotiated air agreements with Greece and Portugal 1945, laid foundations of nationalised Civil Aviation organisation. A student of propaganda. Author of Warfare by Words, Coal in the New Era, Top Sawyer, Greek Mathematics. Also a mathematician. Married 1932, Dilys, daughter of late Dr. W. Jones of Methyr Tydfil (she died 1938); remarried 1940, Margaret, daughter of late E. F. Bulmer of Adams Hill, Hereford; one son and two daughters. Address: 1, Burnsall Street, S.W.3.

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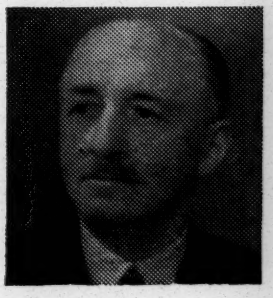

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COLONIAL PARLIAMENTARY BULLETIN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF THE COLONIES IN WESTMINSTER

Vol. II No. 8. AUGUST, 1947.

GENERAL NEWS

June 9, 1947.

COLONIAL RESEARCH SERVICES (CANDIDATES)

Sir E. Graham-Little asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies why Candidates for the proposed Colonial Medical Research Service have been kept waiting with promises of engagement, but without definite appointments and without salaries, in many instances up to six months, as exemplified in the case of a Master of Science of London University with qualifications of the first importance, who was informed, in June, 1946, that his candidature as an entomologist would be considered, was accepted for research work in September, 1946, and, relying upon this engagement, returned to England from Singapore, obtained his release from the Army and commenced preliminary work at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine on 1st January, 1947, but has as yet received no appointment or salary.

Mr. Creech Jones: I am aware that it has taken much time to settle the conditions and terms of service of the proposed Colonial Research Services, but that has been due largely to the very novel problems raised by the attempt to fit officers in an exceptional position into the established practices of the public services. I cannot accept the suggestion that a large number of officers have received promises of appointment from a responsible authority and have then been kept waiting indefinitely for their actual appointment. I am writing to the hon. Member about the case to which he refers.

June 11, 1947.

BRITISH BOXING BOARD OF CONTROL (COLOUR BAR)

Mr. J. Lewis asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has any further statement to make in regard to representations which have been made by his Department to the British Boxing Board of Control concerning the colour bar.

Mr. Creech Jones: I understand that a special meeting of the Committee of the British Board of Boxing Control is being called to discuss this matter.

JULY and AUGUST, 1947

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June 13, 1947.

BASIC ENGLISH (COLONIAL EMPIRE)

Mr. Dodds-Parker asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies to what extent the use of basic English is being considered in the Colonies.

Mr. Creech Jones: The use of Basic English has been considered in all British Colonies and other non-self-governing territories. In certain territories, particularly Ceylon, Zanzibar, Tanganyika and Cyprus, and education departments are experimenting with the use of Basic English as a second language among pupils whose mother tongue is not English. In other areas Basic English has been used in articles on agriculture and health, but none of the British Colonial Administrations at present favours the use of Basic English for administrative purposes.

June 18, 1947

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT (AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS)

Mr. De La Bère asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether, since the loan from the U.S.A. to this country has been more than half spent, and there is an acute shortage of dollars, he will give an assurance that money from the Colonial Development Fund will be put at the disposal of any Colony endeavouring to increase its output of such agricultural products as tobacco, maize and cattle, so as to relieve the strain of dollars required to purchase these commodities from the U.S.A. and the Argentine.

Mr. Creech Jones: Colonial Governments have been encouraged to give full place to agricultural and veterinary projects in their development plans and substantial grants have been made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for this purpose. I will certainly consider very sympathetically any proposals for assistance towards the particular objects mentioned in the Question which fall within the scope of the Act.

Mr. De La Bère: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that never in the whole history of this country have we wanted help from the Colonial Empire as much as we do today and that they in turn want help from us? Can we have an assurance that they will not be handicapped in any development by lack of finance in any shape or form?

Mr. Creech Jones: I think the Government are doing all they possibly can in this direction. For the information of the hon. Member in the ten-year planning programme for Nigeria no less than £300.000 is being put on one side for veterinary developments; £670,000 for Jamaica for agricultural development and £781,000 for Nigeria for agricultural development.

Mr. De La Bère: Does not the right hon. Gentleman realise that it is not thousands of pounds we want but millions?

Mr. Oliver Stanley: When does the right hon. Gentleman propose to make a statement to the House giving information of the vast new plans for agricultural development which the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced last week during the discussion of the Finance Bill?

Mr. Creech Jones: There will be an opportunity on a Supply Day for a full statement to be made, but I hope that before then a statement can be made to the House.

COLONIAL EMPIRE
Government Lotteries

Brigadier Low asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what Colonial Governments have instituted Government lotteries or Government loans to which

a prize system is attached; whether any general instructions have been issued to Colonial Governments on this subject; and whether he favours this means of raising money for public purposes.

Mr. Creech Jones: A Government lottery has been in operation in Malta for a good many years and one is to be introduced in Gibraltar. Premium bonds have been issued by the Governments of Palestine and Cyprus. No general instructions have been issued to Colonial Governments on this subject. I do not myself favour Government lotteries as an expedient of general application and where Colonial Governments can raise money on reasonable terms by straight loan I prefer that to premium loans. But I think each case should be considered on its merits in the light of local circumstances, including particularly, local opinion.

Cotton Growing

Mr. Sutcliffe asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the views expressed by the Raw Cotton Advisory Committee on the need for giving additional encouragement to cotton growing in the Empire and particularly in the African Colonies; and whether any large-scale plans for such development during 1947 are in contemplation.

Mr. Creech Jones: Yes. I have the views of the Raw Cotton Advisory Committee. I fully realise how important it is in present circumstances to increase cotton production in the Colonial Empire and my officers have given much attention to the matter. While a proper balance must be kept in Colonial economics in respect of food production, every effort is being made to open up new possibilities particularly in East and West Africa. The hon. Member will know, for instance, that the Colonial Office Mission now in West Africa will study the possibility of group cultivation of cotton by mechanical means, perhaps in rotation with other crops.

June 25, 1947.

COLONIAL EMPIRE

Press Conferences

Wing-Commander Roland Robinson asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will now arrange to meet at least once a month the correspondents of Colonial newspapers in London and the editors of other journals concerned with Colonial matters in order to enable the Colonial newspapers concerned to be kept fully up to date with activities of his Department.

Mr. Creech Jones: The information Department in the Colonial Office is now being reorganised. When this reorganisation is complete it is proposed to institute a regular monthly press conference particularly for the correspondents of Colonial newspapers in London and for editors of other journals concerned with Colonial matters. These conferences will normally be conducted by my Director of Information Services.

News Releases

Wing-Commander Robinson asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the London correspondents of Colonial newspapers were given no access to his Department's release of news about major schemes of development in the Colonies; that, at the conference several days afterwards, no additional information was given to them; and whether he will give an assurance that, in all releases of news with regard to Colonial developments, the correspondents of Colonial newspapers in London and all journalists specialising in Colonial matters will be enabled to get information published in Colonial newspapers at the same time as it can be published in London and dispatched overseas by the news agencies.

Mr. Creech Jones: I presume that my hon. and gallant Friend refers to reports recently published of plans to review the production of foodstuffs and other essential commodities in the Colonial Empire. No news release on this subject was made by the Colonial Office, but a reference in this House gave rise to speculation in the Press. As a result my Press Officers were given information which was then made available to all inquirers. In view of the interest in the subject it was thought that representatives of the Colonial specialist Press would welcome an opportunity of meeting a senior official of the Colonial Office and a conference was arranged accordingly. The purpose of this conference was not to release news but to give background information. The answer to the last part of the Question is : " Yes, Sir."

Commodity Production

Sir John Mellor asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies when he proposes to issue a White Paper concerning commodity production in the Colonial Empire.

Mr. Creech Jones: No, Sir, but with the permission of the hon. Member, the House, and Mr. Speaker, I will make a statement at the end of Questions.

Governors and Civil Servants (Salaries)

Mr. Gammans asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the salaries of Colonial Governors and Colonial civil servants have been augmented to meet the increased cost of living; and whether, in view of the natural reluctance of Colonial Governors to raise the question of their emoluments, he will, if satisfied that there are good grounds for doing so, bring the point to the notice of the local legislatures.

Mr. Creech Jones: In nearly all Colonies the salaries of civil servants either have been revised or are in process of revision. Cost of living allowance schemes operate in practically all Colonies where salaries have not yet been revised. Improvements in the effective emoluments of Governors—which include salary, allowances and privileges—have also been made in a number of cases and will be considered in others as and when occasion arises.

Mr. Gammans: But what is happening in the Colonies where no increases have taken place? Does not the right hon. Gentleman feel that he has a responsibility in view of the fact that these officers are appointed by the Secretary of State?

Mr. Creech Jones: Of course, we have a measure of responsibility, but I think that I can say in all cases, in all the territories throughout the Empire, this matter has received the attention either of the Colonial Office or myself directly and certain steps have been taken.

Mr. Stanley Prescott: Can the right hon. Gentleman say how many of them get a salary of £3,700 a year or above?

Mr. Creech Jones: I should require notice of that Question.

Development Plans (Dominion Assistance)

Brigadier Mackeson asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps His Majesty's Government has taken to ensure that the Dominions are allowed to play a full part in the formation and execution of plans for expanding the output of industry and agriculture in the Colonies.

Mr. Creech Jones: The United Kingdom Government are aware of the part which the Dominion Governments can play in the field of Colonial development. Already in a number of important respects, close co-operation has been established. So far as expansion of production in industry and agriculture is concerned, the Dominions are, of course, much occupied at the moment with their own economies and the expansion of their own productive capacity. The assistance of the Dominion Governments will, I am sure, be readily forthcoming as necessary in the larger Colonial development plans, and there will undoubtedly be opportunity for Dominion investment in this field.

Major Legge - Bourke: Have the Dominions been invited to join the Economic Advisory Council, and what has the Council done so far?

Mr. Creech Jones: I hope that I may be in a position to circulate a statement to the House in regard to the work of the Economic and Development Council, but in all our development work there has been very close contact with the Dominion Governments, and we have received in some of our schemes very practical assistance indeed.

Brigadier Mackeson: Would the right hon. Gentleman try to let us have that before the Supply Day, if that is possible?

Mr. Creech Jones: I am hurrying it on, but it is a matter for the printers now.

Mr. Wilson Harris: Will any Dominion Government make any contribution to the Colonial Development Fund?

Mr. Creech Jones: I am not aware of it.

have now published the comprehensive handbooks relating to their history, potentialities and developments which his predecessor promised to the hon. Member for Swindon.

Mr. Creech Jones: The reports on British Guiana, British Honduras, Cyprus, Gibraltar, Jamaica (Cayman and Turks and Caicos Islands), Nigeria, Saint Vincent, Sierra Leone and Zanzibar are now with the printers. The report on Hong Kong, already published locally, will be issued by the Stationery Office as soon as copies are available. Several other Colonial Governments have supplied the material required and it is now being examined. I hope that publication here will begin during the next two or three months.

July 23, 1947.

COLONIAL CIVIL SERVICE (PENSIONS)

Mr. Dodds-Parker asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many, and which, Colonial Governments have now brought pension increases for retired Colonial civil servants into line with the increases recently granted to similar civil servants in Britain.

Mr. Creech Jones: Up to the present, the Governments of Aden, the Gambia, Gibraltar, Sierra Leone and North Borneo have brought their pension increase schemes into line with the amendments made recently to Section I of the Pensions (Increase) Act, 1944. I expect to receive within the next month or two particulars of the action proposed by other Colonial Governments.

SPECIAL EMPIRE DEBATE

[Major Milner in the Chair]

CIVIL ESTIMATES, 1947-48

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a further sum, not exceeding £50, be granted to His Majesty towards defraying the charges for the following services connected with Colonial Administration for the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1948, namely:

Civil Estimates, 1947-48

Class I., Vote 8, Colonial Office ...	£10
Class II., Vote 9, Colonial and Middle Eastern Services	£10
Class II., Vote 10, West African Produce Control Board	£10
Class II., Vote 11, Development and Welfare (Colonies, &c.) ...	£10
Class X, Vote 3, Ministry of Food...	£10
	£50"

COLONIAL AFFAIRS

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Creech Jones): The Colonial Secretary has a peculiar difficulty today in addressing the Committee, because, in the aftermath of war, all colonial territories have been anxious that their affairs should receive the close attention of the British Government, and the last few years have been years of unparalleled activity. I have tried to put the Committee in possession of a great deal of information regarding colonial development and policy over the last decade, and hon. Members will have in their possession a report on the working of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, a report on the research committees which have been examining many of the difficult problems with respect to colonial administration and the problems of the territories, and also a review of the years since the last report was published for the information of the House, 1939 to 1947. There is a further report available to hon. Members on the West Indies in regard to development work in that part of the world. I think it will be generally agreed that these documents represent a creditable record of effort and of solid achievement over recent years, and I would like, at the outset, to pay my tribute, and I am sure my predecessors in office would also desire so to do, to our colonial services and the staff of our Colonial Office for the excellent work which they have done over the last decade.

The period since the war has been one of special difficulty, because of the troubled background in almost all regions of the world. We have had, in the Colonial Empire, to transform the territories back to normal peace-time conditions, to adjust their individual economies, to absorb their military forces, to restore the ravages of war, to review the colonial services, to cope with neglect and disturbance and grievances, to satisfy the claims of nationalism and expanding freedom, to discuss the highly controversial problems of international policy, to deal with planning conditions and fluctuating economies and to make practical demonstrations, in spite of the shortages of manpower, materials and skills, of our desire to serve the colonial peoples in peace as in war.

It will be appreciated by the Committee that colonial progress is not a matter merely of directives from the Colonial Office or the Government of the day. We have to get implemented in our territories our principles and policies, it is true, but, at the same time, in all our efforts, we have to remember that our territories are advancing to some degree of responsible self-government, and, accordingly, we cannot impose our will. We have to persuade them to build up their own institutions with the acceptance of the sound policies which we feel will make for the betterment of the colonial territories. If the Colonial Office is to perform its important services, it is essential that it should have the requisite knowledge for the work in hand, and our object is to transform the dependencies in the Colonial Empire to responsibility, and to exercise a trust so that each blossoms into a partnership of disinterested service and friendship. We try to give what practical aid we can in achieving the social happiness and well-being of the colonial peoples, and, at the same time, to help the colonial peoples to make their contribution to the larger life of mankind itself.

With that in view, over the past years, we have tried to improve our organisation at the centre of Government here in London, and, in the past year, we have strengthened our advisory machinery, appointed women advisers in nursing, in education and labour, appointed new advisers in the field of co-operation, social services, transport and surveys, and we have developed functional government in connection with economic problems, labour co-operation and the welfare of the colonial peoples. In Britain, we have reorganised our public relations department in order that a better service of information may be made available to the British public and to foreign States, and also that some contribution may be made in regard to the relations between the colonial territories themselves. We have carried forward our research arrangements with special committees now covering agriculture, health, economics, social services, fisheries and so on, and here, in passing, may I pay a special tribute in the field of research to Lord Hailey for the contribution he has made unfailingly from his very great knowledge over so vast a field in recent years.

We have also built up a strong survey organisation, with geologists, surveyors and draughtsmen. Here again I would like to thank the Royal Air Force for the contribution they have made in mapping out regions of the Empire which were hitherto indifferently mapped, thus giving us a great deal of knowledge about geology, water and so on. Finally, we have completed the arrangements for refreshing and renewing colonial staff after the strain and difficulties of the war years.

Mr. Pickthorn (Cambridge University): On a point of Order, Major Milner. It is really impossible to listen to what the Colonial Secretary is saying because of the humming noise from the amplifiers in the Chamber. Can we have this science turned off somehow? It just makes noises as if we had a high fever, like high-ringing bells.

The Chairman (Major Milner): I have a great deal of sympathy with the hon. Member, having suffered from it for the past two days. I will see what can be done.

Mr. Creech Jones: I was referring to the refresher training of the Colonial

Service. We have adopted the proposals of the Devonshire Report and have begun to operate the conditions which were set out in the White Paper when that report was published. As a consequence we have had 120 colonial cadets in training at Oxford and Cambridge universities. They have now gone in for and are taking the second course of the first session, and others are taking their first course at London University just now. I would like, because of the excellent work which the Universities have performed in making colonial studies possible to the cadets, to thank them, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, for this important contribution. I would also like to inform the Committee of the excellent quality of the new recruits in the Colonial Service. The teachers of these men and women, the university authorities and all those who are working with them, pay tribute to the very high quality, the energy, the initiative and the intelligence of the men who are now joining the service.

It is of interest to know that in the general recruitment, by which nearly 3,000 men and women have been brought into the colonial services, a large number of them have come from varying walks of life. They are not men straight from the schools or universities. Among the administrative people only one half of those recruited have come from the universities. At least 40 per cent. have come from the fields of local government, finance, industry and commerce, and so on. The quality of the cadets is, beyond question, very high.

I would now like to turn to political developments during the past year and to make a number of references to constitutions which we have reshaped. We have entered a phase of colonial history in which there is a widespread demand from the colonial people, or at any rate from the vocal elements of them, for more practical evidence of the sincerity of our oft-proclaimed policy of conferring self-government on the colonial communities. I am convinced that in this modern age, with its forces of nationalism and freedom, its economic changes, its spread of education, and the political and social awakening which is going on, we must adjust ourselves to a much quicker tempo of constitutional development than would have seemed practicable a few years ago. We have to experiment boldly, though not necessarily rashly, and to recognise that while the transfer of power to people not fully trained or with adequate experience or traditions to exercise it will lead to mistakes being made, it is only through actual experience in the exercise of responsibility that people can acquire a sense of duty and of service. The process may be a painful one, but the alternative of increasing bitterness and tension in the relationship of the people to the Government would be disastrous.

I want first, then, to refer to Ceylon. She will shortly move, when her new constitution has come into operation, her new government is set up and a number of outstanding matters with us settled, to fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The new status will differ in no respect from what we have been accustomed to call dominion status. Ceylon will be the first colony to achieve this new status since the relationships between the members of the British Commonwealth were expressly defined by the Imperial Conference of 1926. She will, I am sure, fully enter into the spirit of co-operation which is characteristic of the relationship of members of the British Commonwealth with one another. Here it would be just that I should take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to those who have contributed to the success of this development. My thought goes back to the hon. Member for Swindon (Mr. T. Reid) when he was an official of the Ceylon Government, to Lord Soulbury for his more recent contribution, to Sir Drummond Shiels for the work that he did, and particularly more recently to the Ceylon leaders themselves, Mr. Senanayake and Sir Oliver Goonetilleke.

As the Committee are aware, the Governor of Cyprus has summoned a constituent assembly to discuss the future constitution of that country. It is unknown as yet what success will meet the invitations which have already been issued, but some substantial progress has been made in Cyprus in economic schemes and in local government. The Governor has our completest confidence in the policy which he is energetically pursuing in that colony. In Mauritius and the Seychelles, the new constitutions are finally drafted and will I hope be agreed, and come into operation very shortly. In regard to Malta, the preparation of the instruments to give Malta responsible government in the domestic sphere, in accordance with promises made by His Majesty's Government in 1943, is in an advanced stage. It is hoped that the new constitution will be enacted in time for the first elections to be held in the autumn. During the final stages of drafting, my legal adviser visited Malta for discussion with the constitutional committee of the Malta National Assembly. I am glad to say that all outstanding points have been cleared up in those discussions.

I would like also to refer to the West Indies, because here again a great deal of political activity is going on and changes of importance are occurring. The Jamaica Legislative Council has already expressed the desire to bring into review the working of the constitution in anticipation of the first five years operation of that constitution. Barbados is engaged in a very interesting experiment in respect of executive government and responsibility to the legislative body. British Honduras has just sent a deputation to London, and I have had the privilege of discussing with them the changes which they feel necessary in their own political arrangements. The discussions between the Leeward and Windward Islands for the union of these groups are still going on, and I hope before very long to be able to announce that success has attended these discussions and that union will become a fact.

In regard to British Guiana, the franchise has been extended and a commission will shortly be going out to examine there the problems of settlement and questions relating to development. In Trinidad the first Legislative Council on the basis of adult suffrage has been created and they are now looking forward to further changes in their constitutional arrangements. But perhaps the most important development of all, following the circular of my predecessor, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley), to the West Indian Governments, is the calling together of a conference in September and October to discuss the problem of federation, or at least closer association between the West Indian territories.

I turn now to the Far East. In Sarawak the administration is steadily winning the confidence of the people. It is giving attention to health and education problems, and steps are now being taken to associate the people more closely with the Government, and new local government institutions are being created. In the case of North Borneo the new administration has replaced the Chartered Company, and it is hoped that the arbitration proceedings between the Company and the Government will be heard later this year. In the case of the constitution of Hong Kong, the despatches from and to the Governor, Sir Mark Young, have now been placed in the Library, and the Legislative Council has been modified and a new municipal council, more representative of the people, created.

The Committee is acquainted with the discussions which have been going on during the past year or so in regard to the future constitution of Malaya. These discussions have been proceeding with the Malays and the non-Malays in the Peninsula, and at last certain conclusions have been reached. They achieved His Majesty's Government's main policy of establishing in Malaya a strong central government and securing the basis of common citizenship among all the peoples who make Malaya their homeland and the centre of their loyalties. I recognise the difficulty of discussing these proposals in the Committee to-day, and I hope that after the Recess it may be possible, with the consent of the Leader of the House, for an opportunity to be found for the Committee or the House to make observations on these arrangements. I would again like to take this opportunity of paying tribute to the Governor-General, to Sir Edward Gent, the Governor of the Malayan Union, and to Sir Harold MacMichael for his early work with regard to the constitution there. I would like to thank them and to pay our tribute to the services they have rendered in bringing about this happy result. At the same time, we would like to express our deep appreciation of the spirit which was brought to this task by the Malays and the rulers of the Malays themselves, as well as the non-Malay communities.

Singapore will have its new constitution as well. That will come into operation either at the beginning of the year or not later than 1st April, but it is important that I should say, although a statement is included in the White

Paper I have recently published, that if at any time after the inauguration of the new constitution the Government of the Federation of Malaya or of Singapore wishes to press that Singapore should join the Federation, it will be wholly free to do so and to request formal consideration of this subject. It will then be for the two Governments to agree on appropriate means of examining the proposal. No doubt joint consultative machinery would be devised for the necessary negotiations. This is a matter to be settled primarily by the Governments and peoples of Malaya and Singapore. Clearly, no decision involving a change could be taken without the consent of the Governments and Legislatures of both territories.

[redacted]

[redacted] of colonial officials who are especially concerned with this work in the colonies in order that there shall be an exchange of views on the future development of native administration.

The time is also ripe for discussion by all concerned in the colonies with London on basic problems of administration and development. There are various questions concerned with economic development, social services, the growth of political institutions and problems of local government which call for closer examination and an exchange of views between London and the African Colonies. Accordingly it is our purpose in November of this year to summon a conference in London of the Governors of the African territories in order to exchange ideas, and then in the late spring or early summer of next year to invite to London unofficial members of the Legislative Councils in order to discuss with us some of the problems I have mentioned.

Before leaving the political problems of Africa, I want to make a passing reference to Colonial Paper No. 210 to which some reference is made in the "Official Report" yesterday in reply to a Question put to me on the subject. All of us who know anything at all about the problems of East Africa are conscious of the importance and the urgency of building up some inter-territorial organisation there for the fuller development of the economic needs of that part of the world. Accordingly, it is proposed to set up a central assembly. In the first instance, this experiment will be made for four years, but at least it will permit of some public control in the development of certain services which at present are under the direction of the Governors and are in no real sense answerable directly to public criticism. The final responsibility, of course, for the development of East Africa will continue to rest with His Majesty's Government through the House of Commons, but these proposals will not involve anything in the nature of closer union in the political sense.

There has been some misunderstanding and some misrepresentation in regard to the nature of the central assembly of this inter-territorial organisation. As we announced previously in Colonial Paper No. 191, which was the basis of much discussion in East Africa, our purpose was that there should be in the central assembly equal representation of the various communities in that part of Africa, and that they should be equally represented from the three respective territories. That principle we have not abandoned. What we have done, instead of the high commission set up under this scheme appointing four nominated persons to serve on that assembly, is to ask the unofficial members of each Legislative Council to select one of their number to represent the territorial interests of their colony, and he will sit with the three representatives of the respective communities and represent, as against racial demand, territorial needs. I hope that in its final form this scheme will have the goodwill and the full co-operation of all the communities in East Africa.

I want to pass for a few minutes to the consideration of some of the problems of social development, because if democracy is to be a reality in our colonies, we have to do something much more than create suitable political institutions. We have to see that good social life is possible, that there is good health, good facilities for education, good housing and all those conditions which help to build up the life of a people. There has been much criticism in the past about the negligence, about the squalor, the disease, the ignorance and the rest in regard to our colonial territories, and we are all conscious that our task is largely to create in these territories the whole apparatus of modern government and to build up from scratch a whole series of new social services.

Mr. Walter Fletcher (Bury): From scratch?

Mr. Creech Jones: That work cannot be done in a day. It takes a long time to build up, if these conditions are to be of permanent value in the life of these territories. I would say, too, that although we recognise the magnitude of this task and the solidarity of past achievements, we enter into it and shall attempt to discharge it, in no complacent spirit. We try to look at this problem of social growth in all its aspects and try to relate every part of our activity to bringing these things together so that we see the pattern whole.

I would like to make reference to education and the work during the past year in the field of higher education. I want to thank the universities for the service of many of their vice-chancellors upon the Inter-University Council created last year, and also for their contribution in respect to the Grants Committee which is supervising the financial needs of the representative institutions that are being brought into being. As hon. Members know, we are creating in the principal colonial regions a series of university colleges. Already the Principal of the West Indies University College has been appointed and has been at work. The Principal in West Africa has now been appointed, and is now in Nigeria preparing the way. Developments are occurring in the Gold Coast. We are discussing the future of the University of Hong Kong. We have had a mission to South-East Asia for the purpose of settling the basis of the University in Malaya, and also a commission has gone to Makerere in Uganda in East Africa to develop the higher education institution in order to meet the needs of higher education there.

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Mr. Keeling (Twickenham): Could the Secretary of State say whether either the 1,500 Colonial students at universities or the 1,530 having vocational training include those at the Inns of Court, or are they additional?

Mr. Creech Jones: So far as the Inns of Court are concerned, I believe there are about 184 in addition to the numbers I have mentioned. There has been in the colonies, too, a tremendous amount of trade and technical training for ex-Servicemen on demobilisation from the Army, and they should make valuable contribution in the days to come to the economic life of those territories.

Mr. Harrison (Nottingham, East): Before my right hon. Friend leaves that question of higher education in the colonies, may I ask if the Colonial Office has taken into consideration the possibility of so developing the educational O.C.T.U. on the higher level as to be out of all proportion to the general economic educational facilities that can be developed in the colony generally,

and so prove a source of danger to the development of the ordinary life of the colony?

Mr. Creech Jones: No, the building of the university colleges will be done from monies provided out of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, but the maintenance of these colleges will undoubtedly fall in part on local colonial funds. We hope that with the further economic developments going on in the territories these additional costs can be sustained, but higher education development is properly related to the general educational development as a whole.

Mr. Harrison: I do not think my right hon. Friend has quite appreciated my point. The point is, is there a danger of the development of an educated hierarchy in some of our ill-developed Colonies, which in the long run will prove a nuisance in the development of those territories?

Mr. Creech Jones: No, this point is [illegible] of fact, we

being made to extend girls' and women's education. Some of that development is referred to in the White Paper on the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, where the ten-year plans of the respective Colonies are discussed. I had also hoped that I could say a few words with regard to what is popularly called mass education. In the past year, in the light of our experience in the Colonies, we have issued a further paper to the Colonial Governments indicating more concrete lines of advance in regard to this aspect of education. But I must leave this fascinating subject to the Under-Secretary to deal with at the end of the Debate.

Squadron - Leader Donner (Basingstoke): Is this a paper which has been made available, or a new paper, and if it is a new paper, could the right hon. Gentleman indicate what the concrete lines are?

Mr. Creech Jones: Perhaps the hon. and gallant Member will wait for the Under-Secretary who will make a statement on that. The paper has not been published, but has been sent, of course, to the Colonial Governments.

I also wish to make passing reference to health. Here again the inadequacy of our health arrangements is freely admitted, and very widely known. Apart from the importance of curative medicine, we attach the greatest importance to preventive medicine, and in the ten-year programmes recently submitted by Colonial Governments, which have been considered by the Colonial Office, a great deal of thought has been given to the improvement of water supplies, sanitation in the villages, nursing services, child welfare and maternity and, of course, of more suitable housing provisions. Today I cannot describe the very considerable schemes of housing development, slum clearance and town planning which have been adopted in many of our territories. Great attention has also been given to the problem of nutrition and by way of illustration of that fact there is the presence in the Gambia of a special team made up of workers in the medical field, in agriculture, and education, combining in an attack on this problem.

I also wish to refer to the attention given to social welfare. Here again in recent years there has been great development due largely to the impetus of bringing the people over to this country a few years ago to study the work of voluntary societies, and the social services of this country, in order to inspire some of the younger people in the colonies who work with the voluntary organisations in their social services. In almost all our colonies social welfare officers have been appointed, and increasing attention has been given to the needs of youth and adolescents. We are about to appoint a new Adviser on Social Welfare, and an effective committee has been at work on the problems of welfare. One of the sub-committees of that main committee has given very much attention to the treatment of offenders, conditions in prisons and the problem of juvenile crime.

I also wish to refer to the growth of co-operation in the colonies. We owe a great deal to the pioneer work which was done by Strickland and others in Cyprus, Ceylon, and elsewhere, and that work is going forward in East Africa, West Africa, and the West Indies, and most of the colonies today have co-operative departments. Most of the colonies have passed ordinances for the protection and development of co-operative practice, and we have appointed an Adviser and set up an advisory committee to follow the development of co-operation, and to offer advice, and have made arrangements for young men and women from the colonies to come here to study co-operation in practice. The co-operative movement here has made arrangements at Loughborough College for special colonial courses to be adapted and brought into operation.

Sir Patrick Hannon (Birmingham, Moseley): Does the right hon. Gentleman contemplate training these persons in production, distribution, or both, because the co-operative movement in this country is largely a distributive movement, and in the past it has not had a very great success in production?

Mr. Creech Jones: In these studies we cover the whole field of co-operative practice. It is quite true that the colonies so far have been mainly concerned with production, credit and thrift organisations, but in the range of studies the problems of distribution will be included. At the same time, there is a special demand, particularly in East Africa, from the Africans themselves, that they should learn something of the principles of trade and commerce, and particularly of distribution through co-operative stores.

[illegible]

Committee will join with me in expressing their deep regret at the passing of Sir Granville Orde Brown. All of us appreciate the contribution he made over a period of years to our knowledge of labour conditions in many of the overseas territories. We have also enjoyed the services of a number of experienced trade unionists in regard to special industrial problems in the Colonies. Mr. Dalgleish was able to study the problem of native labour conditions in Northern Rhodesia and the problem of the colour bar there. Mr. Dalley went to Trinidad, and was able to be of some practical assistance to the Labour Department also. The Committee will appreciate how difficult has been the background of this work. With fluctuating prices, a rising cost of living and a certain amount of food shortages, the work in regard to conditions of labour has been exceedingly trying in the past few years, but we are very glad of the remarkable progress already made in regard to labour inspection and labour protection.

I now turn to economic development. It has become increasingly important to this country that our territories overseas should be more fully developed so that they can make their contribution to the general life of the world in much more ample terms than has been possible up to now. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1945, was an important contribution to colonial economic development. It was a marked advance on the limited provision made in 1929 and in 1940. We are conscious today that there are still marked possibilities in the colonies, and that failure to develop them

becomes intolerable when those colonies could make some substantial contribution to the present needs of the world. As I have said, the 1945 Act made, in the social and economic field, an important contribution to the well-being of the colonial peoples, and also in laying the foundations upon which future economic development could build. It was necessary that some balance should be preserved as between expenditure on social services and economic needs, but it is clear that no line can be drawn between social expenditure and economic expenditure, because social expenditure adds to the efficiency of a people. If education and good health are given to a people, economic production is, as a rule, more effective and much more efficient. We have, however, always to look ahead, so that in the building up of social services there is sufficient economic development going on to sustain the new services which are created in the field of health, education, housing, etc.

Under the 1945 Act a great deal of work was done in the field of physical planning, surveying exploration of agricultural development, and planning the development of communications and other utilities. We have been receiving the ten-year programmes from the respective colonies. These have been examined by the Colonial Development and Economic Council, and I would like to thank that council for the work which they have done in the past eight or nine months in bringing to our notice the deficiencies of certain of those programmes, in criticising proposals and in putting up suggestions for the improvement of those plans. Lord Portal was the chairman of that council, and we are indebted to him and all its members, for the work they have done. The 1945 Act made available a sum for loans and grants amounting to £120 million over the next ten years for social and economic growth, but it should be appreciated that that £120 million was, and is to be, supplemented by local funds, local reserves and local taxation. If we add what it is anticipated can be raised by local efforts, the total sum available for development work is in the neighbourhood of £300 million over the 10 years, that is, £120 million subscribed by Imperial funds plus roughly £180 million which will be created in the colonies out of their own funds and by loans of various kinds.

For instance, if one looks at the development of Nigeria, it will be seen that the plan is made on the assumption of an expenditure of £55 million, of which only £23 million is to come from funds under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. No less than £15 million will be raised by Nigeria from its own revenue, and £17 million will be raised by way of loans. In the case of Kenya, we anticipate over the ten years an expenditure on development plans of £20 million to £21 million. Only £3½ million of that will come from Imperial funds under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. No less than £10 million will come from their own local revenue and reserves, and £7 million from loans which they intend to raise.

I would ask the Committee to note that the main economic expenditure under the 1945 Act so far is in respect of agricultural development and roads and communications, expenditure on utilities of various kinds, surveys, railways, and so on. There is comparatively little money available for new enterprise, new crops, etc. Today we are making a very big effort in the colonies to increase production in all directions. We have various missions overseas examining production on the spot for the purpose of increasing it and discovering whether new methods can be applied and whether certain public works can be created to make production much more fruitful. We have an inter-departmental committee at work on all primary commodities produced in the colonies. Various commodities are being studied, including tobacco, timber, manilla, hemp and so on, for the purpose of seeing what can be done to get increased production from the colonies. Again, we have been pressing all our Colonial Governments to go ahead with new agricultural production of such things as are in short supply here, including linseed and soya beans. We are improving the facilities for the training of our technical staffs in these fields and also we are going ahead with new research organisation.

Hon. Members are aware that already a big production scheme is on foot in East Africa, concerned with groundnuts. It is anticipated that for food development no less than £50 million will be behind that corporation for the work it has in hand. I made an announcement in the House a few weeks ago that a new corporation, the Colonial Development Corporation, would be created with £100 million behind it.

Mr. Oliver Stanley (Bristol, West): Does that £100 million include the £50 million already referred to in connection with groundnuts?

Mr. Creech Jones: No, the £50 million will be behind the Overseas Foodstuffs Corporation. It is quite apart from the £100 million which it is now anticipated will be made available for the work of the Development Corporation.

Mr. W. Fletcher: Can the Minister say what is the optimum target figure, in tonnage of groundnuts that is being aimed at?

Mr. Creech Jones: Obviously I cannot answer that question without notice. Perhaps the Under-Secretary of State will be able to supply that information when he replies to the Debate. In regard to the corporation, all the preliminary work is going forward. Obviously we cannot discuss the corporation today. I hope that a Bill will be introduced in the new Session. At the moment we are doing all we can to encourage existing enterprise. I am certain that the corporation will be able to give additional encouragement and practical aid to both private and public enterprise and itself will be able to finance and undertake important operations. I would also add that, of course, these developments must be designed to improve the economies of territories overseas. We are not approaching this problem of increased production merely in terms of Colonial exploitation. We regard the contribution which the corporation will make as important in building up the permanent economies of the territories concerned. What will be done will be done in co-operation with the Colonial Governments. It will be done in harmony with their development schemes, and I hope that it will have the full co-operation of the colonial peoples themselves. Indeed, the fullest consideration will be given to the welfare requirements of the colonial peoples.

Apart from all this public effort, there is also in our Colonial Empire at present a very considerable amount of other private and public effort which ought to be mentioned. It is of great importance to notice that many of the big private corporations themselves are thinking in large terms in regard to some of the development schemes they are adopting in certain of the territories—Messrs. Tate and Lyle in regard to sugar development in Jamaica; Booker Bros. in regard to their development in British Guiana; the United Africa Company in respect to West African timber and, in East Africa, in a number of other respects. In addition, there is the enterprise of Messrs. Barclay and the Standard Bank of South Africa. All these are indications of the awareness of certain private interests of the importance of building up sound colonial economies. In addition, on the public side there is the establishment of the Cameroons Corporation which will be responsible not only for the production of bananas, but of other fruits and the possibility of the production of such things as cotton or tobacco in that part of West Africa. Again, there are big schemes for the building up of the manufacture of fertilisers in Tororo, in Uganda. In Kenya they are going forward with a big agrarian policy. Big experiments are also being made in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in the production of tung oil. There is a new food yeast factory coming into production in Jamaica, there is a large meat export factory in East Africa, and there are other developments which I could mention.

In some territories some remarkable discoveries have been made recently and it is hoped before long we can get increased lead production from Tanganyika. We have agreed to the construction of a railway in order to facilitate the opening up of the mines for lead. Further, there is the very remarkable discovery of diamonds in Tanganyika. In this connection, I would like to add that, following conversations between the Tanganyika Government, the Tanganyika diamond producing companies and the Diamond Trading Company Limited and Diamond Corporation, the two last named companies have agreed to buy from Tanganyika producers in 1947 and each of the following four years a quantity of diamonds equal to 10 per cent. of their net sales in the year in question. The share of each Tanganyika producer in this contract will be proportionate to his production in 1946. Tanganyika producers have undertaken in consideration of this agreement not to sell diamonds to any other purchasers. There are other matters with which I would like to deal

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Mr. Keeling: Before the right hon. Gentleman leaves the subject of economic development, perhaps he will answer a question. He said that one of the main purposes of this development, especially the two big corporations, was to further the economic welfare of the colonies. Does that mean that fair prices—that is to say world prices—will be paid by the Ministry of Food and other Departments of the Government who buy these products in bulk.

Mr. Creech Jones: Yes. The hon. Gentleman has anticipated a point which I was about to develop. Before doing that I wanted to say that there are other matters on the economic side which I wish I had time to develop and which are concerned with the railway system of Rhodesia, the mining royalties of Nigeria, the building up of great power stations, the development of power in East Africa, Malaya and the Gold Coast, and other problems associated with production generally in the field of water and electricity. I ought also to make it clear that there are other sums available for the development of particular crops. As the result of the buying schemes in a number of colonies sums have accumulated which can now be turned to account for improved production and the improvement of conditions of the primary producers and their village life. That is true in respect of the considerable surplus available in the case of cocoa, cotton, coffee and a number of other commodities where considerable surpluses are now available for the use of the producers.

If production goes forward it is obviously important that we should be able to guarantee reasonable prices and markets to those who are encouraged to expand production. We have given much thought to this problem and while, because the time has gone, I am unable to give details of the various schemes we have worked out in respect of colonial commodities, I want to assure the Committee that this vital matter has received our fullest consideration in recent months. Indeed, it is of vital importance that if new capital is being sunk in fresh development there should be some reasonable anticipation of a fair return. Accordingly, in the making of contracts in regard to certain commodities we have tried to assure the primary producer a fair price and in many cases a certain market over a set period. Sometimes, too, there are various devices for maintaining a price level—stabilisation funds and so on—but I have not time to go into that just now. There are other matters I should have liked to have told the Committee about economic development. It is of such importance that it is a pity that we have so little time to do justice to this aspect of colonial administration.

In conclusion, I would say a word concerning our inter-territorial relations inside the Empire and our international collaboration with other powers. I have been unable to inform the Committee of the work which has been done in connection with the international specialised organisations—food, health, trade, education, labour, and so on. Nor can I discuss the work of the Caribbean Commission, or the creation of a new regional council in the South Pacific, or the work of the Central African Council and the West African Council. All these bodies are doing excellent work, but during the last year or so we have developed new contacts with the colonial powers in Europe on the subjects of colonial administration and technical co-operation. We have been developing as I have said, direct collaboration with the other colonial powers, and an important step forward in our co-operation with France and Belgium in African affairs was taken at a meeting in Paris between representatives of the three Governments towards the end of May. Agreement was reached on a three-years programme of conferences in technical matters between the British, French and Belgian Colonial Governments in Africa. A programme of eight such conferences of technical experts has been agreed on to take place in various African centres —British, French and Belgian.

Some of these conferences will be preceded by meetings in London, Paris or Brussels, to prepare the ground for the conferences in Africa. As the result of these conferences, which range over soil conservation, forestry, rural economy, nutrition, labour, education and health, the problems of the tse-tse fly, trypano-somiasis and rinderpest, and so on, international collaboration is already working splendidly. Participation in the conferences in Africa will not be confined to the United Kingdom, France and Belgium. Other countries which are directly concerned with the subjects under discussion will continue to be invited, and we shall arrange to include Africans themselves among our representatives wherever practicable. The programme drawn up in Paris is to be spaced over the years 1947-1950. The Paris meeting revealed a large measure of identity of views between the Colonial Ministries of the three powers concerned. This development is of particular interest, not only because of the needs of the larger world outside these colonies, but also because of the importance of closer collaboration in Africa for colonial development, and also the special needs of Western Europe in the light of the recent conference which took place in Paris.

My last word is that however comprehensive our planning may be in regard to colonial development, whatever enthusiasm and zeal we bring to the task, we cannot get far unless we have the co-operation and the understanding of the colonial peoples themselves. With the growth of responsibility in our overseas territories it becomes increasingly important that everything possible should be done to help the colonial peoples to an appreciation of our own disinterested service on their behalf. That is a problem of public relations as well as of the colonial service. We believe that we are not in our territories for our own limited material advantage. We are there in the general service of the colonial peoples. We hope that there will be a common appreciation and understanding of our efforts. With the recent developments of our public relations department in the Colonial Office, it is our hope that our schemes and plans will be recognised as designed to that end and we shall secure greater understanding with the colonial peoples. It is not only that they themselves are demanding their place in the sun; it is that we have the privilege and honour of helping them forward to that realisation. They are able by our service to make a contribution to the larger life of mankind.

Mr. Oliver Stanley (Bristol, West): I am sure that the whole Committee is grateful to the right hon. Gentleman for the careful, if belated, survey of Colonial affairs which he has given. If, occasionally, there has been some obscurity about his chronology and it has not been possible to determine quite accurately whether the development to which he refers belonged to the years we are discussing, to the two years of this Government, or may even, perchance, draw their origin from a still earlier period, we on this side will have no complaint. I should particularly like to congratulate him on an eloquent peroration. It is the first time that I have heard in this Chamber a peroration based upon a change in the Public Relations Department of a Ministry. I am not under the same obligation as the Secretary of State to go so carefully over the whole field of Colonial policy, and I want, therefore, to exercise the power of selection, which is always a very difficult task when there is so much from which to choose. There is one matter, however, in which I shall imitate the right hon. Gentleman.

The Secretary of State, no doubt with intention, made a speech of no inconsiderable length on Colonial affairs without mentioning the word "Palestine." It is not my intention to discuss that matter today. I agree that one cannot really discuss security upon policy, just as one cannot discuss policy pending the meeting of the United Nations organisation. From the right hon. Gentleman's silence, I am assuming that he had no further information than that which we already know to give to the Committee on certain distressing incidents of which we are all aware today. Although I think that it is the general wish of my hon. Friends not to discuss this matter, they and the whole Committee, I am sure, would like to join with me in saying that this Committee watches with anxiety and with sympathy the position of our men in Palestine, and that we regard with horror the dangers to which they are, I think, quite unnecessarily exposed. Nor shall I attempt to deal with the question of Malaya. We depend upon the right hon. Gentleman's promise that in the next Session an opportunity will be provided for us to discuss this rather specialised matter, which I think needs discussing. From a cursory glance at the new proposals—although I am by no means averse to them—it would appear that they depart very considerably from the fundamental principles which were laid down only a year ago.

I should, however, like to say one word, as, indeed, the right hon. Gentleman did, about the proposals for the two

scheme of this character. But to have spent £50 million before the war in making available a further supply of groundnuts at a cost which, in those days, would not have been the lowest world cost of production, would simply have been throwing money down the drain at a time when our chief anxiety was to find a market for the existing products of West Africa in face of the growing competition from the Dutch East Indies.

There has been a complete change in the economic condition of the world which has made these schemes possible. Indeed, so long as the conditions of scarcity exist, these schemes would appear assured of success. I am sure that, in launching them, those responsible for the corporations will always bear in mind that, some time or other, these conditions may change, and will not venture too far upon production which may appear economic today, but which could not survive when lower post-war costs of production are restored. I will now give the right hon. Gentleman notice of a factor I hope will be agreeable to him, that, when this Bill comes before the House, we on this side intend to oppose the responsibility of the Ministry of Food for one part of this programme. We do not think it is right that the responsibility for executing this programme should depend upon the Ministry of the ultimate consumer. It would obviously create tremendous difficulties if, inside a colonial territory, a particular Ministry, such as the Ministry of Food, were responsible for the production end, while the Colonial Secretary still remained responsible for the effects of that production upon the welfare of the colonial people. We believe that not only the Colonial Development Corporation, but also the Food Corporation should be responsible, not to an alien department, but to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who therefore, will have in his hands both the responsibility for the production, and also the powers to provide the safeguards.

Secondly, I should like to make this point. We on this side of the Committee are entirely in favour of these corporations; we hope they will succeed. We realise, and, indeed, all hon. Members must realise, that in this matter success does not depend upon saying that there is a certain amount of money or credit behind the corporations. What matters is what priorities are to be given them for the capital goods and the skilled advice which will be necessary for the development. We hope that the right hon. Gentleman will be able to take a high place in the queue, and that he will not allow himself to be pushed out by more vociferous Ministers. At the same time, we should give every credit to the Government for what they have done, and we should be grateful to them. It may be true that the original idea did not originate with them—that the groundnuts scheme was thought of by the United African Company, then employed by the Ministry of Food, and that the original plan for the Colonial Development Corporations came from the Economic Council under the chairmanship of Lord Portal. But the Government took up both ideas, and are prepared to push them through against the risk.

At the same time, it is only fair to make it plain that the conditions which make this new venture possible today never existed in the past. For instance, we all know that during the war the labour, the transport and the machinery would not have been available for a

I want, if I may, to follow the right hon. Gentleman's plan in dealing quite [illegible] into

difference in the two. I hope it is the latter that he will take as a model for next year's report.

Mr. Creech Jones: It is intended to have a rota of reports covering the various regions of the Colonial Empire. One year there will be a report dealing with the West Indies, another year the African Colonies, another year South East Asia and so on, so that there will be regional reports supplementary to the Colonial Office Report.

Mr. Stanley: I am very glad to hear that from the right hon. Gentleman. That will be very valuable; but, of course, it will take quite a long time for any region's turn to come round.

Mr. Creech Jones: Every four years.

Mr. Stanley: That does not seem to me to exclude the necessity for making more informative the annual Report which, three out of every four years, will be the only information we shall get on three-quarters of the Colonial Empire.

May I now follow the right hon. Gentleman's example in dealing briefly with the political, social and economic divisions of this Report? I read the political part of the Report with considerable care, and I must confess that, having listened today to the rather high flown sentiments of the right hon. Gentleman on the political side when he talked of the need for a quickening tempo and bold experiment, I did not find it easy to reconcile that with the actual record of the last two years. I have taken that period as being one of a lull—a period of assimilation. The preceding period had, for various reasons, been a period of rapid constitutional advance. We cannot give new constitutions to the same colony every month; we have to make certain that we are on the right lines. We have to give experience and develop a sense of responsibility in the people concerned. In fact, after any period of constitutional advance, there must always be a period of assimilation, and I have regarded the two years which are dealt with in the second part of this Report as such a period of assimilation. Indeed, compared with the big departures in Jamaica, the Gold Coast and Nigeria, the announcements which the right hon. Gentleman made today were not of spectacular importance. However, there are one or two matters to which I should like to refer.

There is, first of all, the question of Ceylon. I confess that when the right hon. Gentleman made his announcement on that subject a few weeks ago, I did not find it very easy to understand exactly what was meant, because in the course of that announcement the term "Dominion status" was never used. However, it has been used today by the right hon. Gentleman, and I understand, therefore, that the effect is that, that whereas under the previous constitution —a constitution which was put forward by the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor, and which is now going to be altered without ever having come into effect—

matters of defence and foreign relations were to be dealt with by legislation, they are now to be dealt with by Treaty. I would like to know whether any progress has been made in Treaty negotiations with the present Ceylon Ministers, in order that we may know what will be the conditions both of foreign relations and defence under this new provision.

Next I would like to refer to Paper 210 to which the right hon. Gentleman refers. All of us who are interested in East Africa must realise the vital and urgent need for some measure of co-operation between the territories. It is impossible to return to the prewar situation which, in view of modern economic problems and modern rapidity of communication, is completely out of date. The wartime arrangements, although they worked fairly well during the war, could only function in conditions of crisis which war brings. Therefore, it was vital that in peacetime there should be some new proposals. I am very glad that the right hon. Gentleman is able to announce that Paper 210 has had a better reception than Paper 191, and that he hopes it will now be acceptable to all. He has made considerable changes in the new paper and, as is usual when such changes are made, the result appears to have been that the people who supported Paper 191 now oppose Paper 210, and the people who opposed Paper 191 now support Paper 210; but, apparently, he is convinced that on this occasion the support is more formidable than the opposition, and he is, therefore, prepared to go on with the scheme. I am sure that all in this Committee wish the scheme the greatest of success. So much for what I have time to say, though not what I would like to say, on the political side.

I now wish to say a few words on the social side. Although I do not think he meant it, I thought the right hon. Gentleman was a little ungracious when he referred to the work of other members—past and present—of the Colonial Service, and said that on the social side he had to build up from scratch.

Mr. Creech Jones indicated dissent.

Mr. Stanley: I took the words down at the time. I do not suppose the right hon. Gentleman meant them in that way, because later on he went on to speak of the solidity of past achievements. I hope he did not mean to convey what he certainly conveyed to me and to other hon. Members on this side of the Committee.

Mr. Creech Jones: I think the right hon. Gentleman rather misunderstood what I was trying to say. I may not have said it clearly. What I wanted to make clear to the Committee was that it was very easy for accusations of negligence in past years to be hurled at the British Colonial administrations, but that although a great deal of work had already been done, there was a vast amount of work still waiting to be done, and we were still in the elementary stages in many of the services which are regarded as vital.

Mr. Stanley: I am obliged to the right hon. Gentleman. The word "scratch" is such a striking word that it remains in my memory. However, it might be possible to make any necessary correction, which I believe is sometimes done by Ministers. I would like to deal with many of the social questions to which the right hon. Gentleman referred, such as health, co-operation, trade unions, social welfare and so on. There is not one of those important subjects upon which some conference had not been summoned or some adviser had not been appointed, and I sincerely hope that when the Under-Secretary replies he will say whether health has improved, whether co-operation is progressing and whether trade unions are functioning more satisfactorily in some areas than they did in the past. The right hon. Gentleman really must not refer me to the report, because it is just this kind of subject of which it tells us absolutely nothing. It is only in this Debate that we shall hope to learn something of it. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman when he replies will be a little more expansive on it.

I want to say a few words on education, not because I take that as being necessarily the most important, although it is certainly part, of the social services, and one in which I have always taken the greatest personal interest. I had intended to say something on mass education, but it is a little difficult to do that in view of the fact that we are told that a statement is to be made at the end of the Debate by the Under-Secretary of State. I only hope that he will, in the course of that statement, be able to tell us that now, some three years after the publication of the report on mass education, effective steps are being taken to implement its recommendations. I, therefore, shall confine myself to a few words on the question of higher education. I thought that the hon. Member for East Nottingham (Mr. Harrison) made a very pertinent interjection when he pointed out the danger of developing higher education beyond the capacity of the lower stages of education to support it. That is a danger that has always to be kept in mind.

[redacted]

Under-Secretary will be able to devote some of his time to that tonight. In discussing the economics of a Colony today one would always put first agriculture, before the other component parts of its economy, industry and mining; because, in the vast majority of colonial territories, it is still on agriculture that the population in the main depend, and good or bad agriculture will be what chiefly determines good or bad standards of life for that population. It is in agriculture that, I think, every student of colonial matters will admit we have reached the most critical time. There was for many years a belief among those interested in colonial agriculture that it would be quite possible to maintain the existing systems of land tenure, and of social relationship, the whole tradition that had been built up in the past, and yet by new agricultural education, by careful progress, so to improve agriculture in the colonies, even on those old traditional lines, that the standard of life could not only be maintained but be improved. I am afraid that that is now recognised by most people to be an illusion.

During my time at the Colonial Office I realised that, as far as, at any rate, the export trade was concerned, when it came to the production of crops to go to the world market. But I still believed that as far as subsistence agriculture was concerned, it could work; and so long as it could work, that it would avoid all the ill will and misunderstandings which arise if we once more begin to tamper

with the traditional land tenure systems of the various peoples. But many of us now—I think nearly all of us—are coming to the conclusion that it is not new wealth of the Colonial peoples, it is not improved standards of life, it is their actual subsistence, their security from starvation, which depend on the possibility of introducing a wholly new agricultural system. Alas, the progress of erosion, of loss of soil fertility, have gone far quicker than any advantage which it has been possible to gain from improved education and from new methods.

I want to ask the hon. Gentleman if he has thought out the answer to that problem. What are the new proposals? The groundnut schemes are not the answer. They depend on taking people to a new bit of land on which there are no inhabitants at all, or very few, and by agriculture there to give a livelihood to a limited—a very limited—number of new inhabitants. But that is not the answer at all for places like the Kikuyu Reserve, the Eastern province of Nigeria; no answer to the places of teeming millions where the land is becoming rapidly exhausted. There were proposals in my time for dealing on a basis of co-operative management plus individual ownership with, at any rate, the palm oil industry of Nigeria. I should be glad to know how those experiments have gone, and also what further plans are projected.

I now turn to industry. I do not believe there is any opportunity at the moment for vast industrialisation of colonial territories, turning them into a sort of Black Country; they have not the location of minerals, the location of markets, and the particular skill of the industrial population which would lead to any such agglomeration. But I have always believed that there was a future for secondary industries — industries based on the processes of the local products, or fitted to meet the particular local markets. This report is singularly sound on the progress of such secondary industries during the last two years. There is quite a lot in it about development commissions being set up, but nothing about factories being set up. I should be glad if the Under-Secretary could tell us what has been the progre in the last two years. Are there tod more factories in the Colonial Emp than there were two years ago, or, believe, are there less? My informa is that some of the factories—suc the vegetable canning factory in —which were set up for war pur have since had to close down, a corresponding new development taken their place.

Finally, mining. The right Gentleman is the author of som mining regulations, some of wh comparatively harmless, and s which are designed to bring the successful ideologies of this cou the colonial territories. Yet i only not very wise but perhaps fruitful to urge the nationalisati actual mining industry. I do whether the right hon. ' Ge experience is the same as min tainly in my time the fact tha at Enugu was the property of Nigerian Government did not seem save them from quite as much indus trouble as any establishments belon to private industry. Then again, I it is going a bit far to nationalise pecting. I cannot think that pros for minerals is a trade which is larly suitable for the filling in o in triplicate, and for reference higher authorities. The Coloni tary referred to the lead and finds in Tanganyika. They finds of the old-fashioned pros I wonder if the right hon. would have been able to refe to developments of that depended upon a Governm find them.

Mr. Creech Jones: Su hon. Gentleman is aware the most fruitful colon discovered by Governm

Mr. Stanley: That case in Tanganyika. has it been the cas pectors have been abl to Government geolog about the geological I challenge the Un with this when he plenty of time to so. Will he lo industry in th industry in No tin mines in B they were officials or The right about geo which th by press vey. I he sai struc said

Mr. Gammans (Hornsey): Is the hon. mber aware that at least 50 per cent. the rubber production in Malaya is siatic hands?

Guest: Although I do not contra- he hon. Member, I do not accept d his figure of 50 per cent. My s that this is ordinary capitalist tions, instead of the Socialist tions I want to see developed. n. Member says "Ha, ha" e sees the difference, but so this side of the Committee. ratic development in Malaya ore has been very poor. The ndition of the masses of the erably low. The administra- ut it is very expensive, and nder-Secretary will be able ne light on the problem why there are so many Malaya and Singapore. vernor of Singapore, who t and able officer. He y the Japanese, and he t example, by his con- should behave under There is the Governor ala Lumpur, who is splendid work. There ernor-General, Mr. who lives at Singa- h gentleman, Lord Governor, but does functions of a ve a Governor Borneo. Why ne Governor- his area with of first-class to occupy necessary? nsiderable were no ch, but prior istra- own. if

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little co-operation between them at the present time. How it will operate in the future under the new constitution, I do not know; I merely wish it success. But this division of the people is one of the reasons for the disaster which occurred when Singapore fell. As to the conditions of these people, I paid a visit to the large Singapore dockyard, where I saw thousands of Asiatic workers. I asked one of the medical officers what these men were like when they were examined on coming into the service. He said, "We do not examine them then." I asked why, and he replied, "If we did we should get no workers. They all have tuberculosis, and we could not admit them if we examined them." I said that this was nonsense, but after considerable argument I was forced to believe that something like 50 per cent. of the Asiatic workers who were there in January of this year were suffering from tuberculosis as a result of wartime conditions, bad feeding, and so on.

Conditions there are very bad indeed, because food is deficient and its cost is high. I was informed, on the authority of the man who authorises payment of wages, that the wages of Asiatic labourers employed by the Services in Singapore—which has a population of about one million people—had to be calculated according to the black market price of rice. That is a blot on our colonial administration, and I hope that the Under-Secretary will be able to say what is being done about it. Rice is available in Siam, as I know from what I consider to be absolute first-hand authority. It is being hoarded by the small farmers, but it could be obtained. The difference between the black market and the controlled price is not great. It is disastrous that there should be insufficient food for workers, whose constitution is undermined by tuberculosis because they cannot obtain adequate food. There is opium to be obtained. This, among other things, is smuggled in, and I was told that it was possible to buy practically anything in Singapore if a person has the money. But that does not apply to the ordinary worker.

Then there is the question of the people employed on the rubber plantation, Chinese, Indians, and others. omparatively speaking, the Chinese get od wages according to the low stan- rds prevailing, but the Indians receive h less, because they are not so well nised economically and because the ies connected with the rubber stry—and if there are Members here senting those agencies I hope they say something on this matter— the Indians' wages to be raised allowing the Chinese' wages to be r. It was so difficult on plantations when managers were ordered not the Indians the wage the Chinese ble to obtain they overcame the n by falsely entering the names ns as Chinese on the pay rolls. scrimination against Indians is ly undesirable and economically ble.

ons of this kind make one at we should take steps to con- alist activities in the Far East

Mr. Creech Jones: Give an illustration.

Squadron-Leader Donner: Let me give an illustration of what has occurred in regard to the Grenada cocoa. Negotiations were started and concluded, I think, on 31st October for that portion of the Grenada cocoa crop which was to be sent to the United Kingdom. That portion is very nearly half of the total crop which emphasises the importance of this to the Grenada producer.

The price fixed was virtually the figure at which cocoa had been controlled in the New York market. One week before the price was fixed the New York controls came off and during the week that followed there was very little change in the price. Subsequently the price rose and the difficulty in which the Grenada producers found themselves was that, isolated in their island with far more limited knowledge than that possessed by the Ministry of Food they were not in a position to assess such world factor as would influence price trends. During the period when the cocoa had actually to be delivered in this country the price rose and now stands, I am told, substantially in excess of that paid by the Ministry of Food.

Dr. Morgan (Rochdale) rose——

Squadron-Leader Donner: May I just complete the argument, and then I will give way? In my submission it is no argument to say that the Grenada growers or merchants went into this contract with their eyes open, and that they gambled on the future price for cocoa and lost, because the point surely is this. Why do not the Colonial Office ensure that the information at the disposal of the Ministry of Food regarding world markets and trends is placed at the disposal of these Grenada growers?

This leads me to ask a question to which I hope the Parliamentary Secretary will give us a reply, since it raises a very important principle and is deserving of a reply. Is it the policy of the Colonial Office that the Minister of Food negotiating on a bulk purchase basis with our colonial producers, and considering only the interests of the United Kingdom consumer, should take advantage of colonial producers who do not possess comparable knowledge of world trends and factors and, in consequence, conclude deals which are disadvantage to them?

Dr. Morgan: I happen to know this particular problem very well because Grenada is the island in which I was born and I have many friends among the planters. May I point out to the hon. and gallant Gentleman that many of the cocoa negotiating concerns in these small islands have agencies both in New York and in London, and that every facility and all possible information available in this country were available to these firms through their agencies——

Mr. Pickthorn: Question.

Dr. Morgan: Do not say "Question."

Mr. Pickthorn: Ask a short question quickly and sit down.

Dr. Morgan: I am not asking a question. I rose to correct the hon. and gallant Gentleman on a point he was making and he gave way.

Squadron-Leader Donner: May I reply to the hon. Gentleman? I do not accept the contention at all that a particular set of producers in any part of the Colonial Empire can at any time have the full information at their disposal that is available to the Ministry of Food as regards world markets, world trends and all the innumerable factors which influence prices. Even if it were the case, as the hon. Member contends, that in this particular instance the Grenada producers or merchants did have a great deal of information on the subject, that in no way vitiates the principle which I adumbrated just now and in no way undermines the importance of the question I put to the Colonial Secretary as to the principle upon which the Ministry of Food should act in dealing with Colonial producers. According to the information I have, the Colonial Office has so far failed to protect the Colonial producers.

Dr. Morgan: That is not true.

Squadron-Leader Donner: The hon. Gentleman says that that is not true, but if he will refer to "Hansard" relating to Question time in the House this June with regard to Jamaican oranges, he will see that the producers in Jamaica received 5s. a case and that when freight, insurance and handling is included the cost of such packages to the London Wholesaler was 25s. 4d. a case, and that these cases were sold by the Ministry of Food to the British consumer at 41s. each. This reveals that in relation to the price at which they are sold in this country there is not only exploitation of the grower but a 61 per cent. profit to the Ministry of Food, which constitutes exploitation of the United Kingdom consumer. It is a price charged to cover bulk purchase losses in other directions. That is a melancholy and a squalid story and one which should not be allowed to be repeated. Indeed, it reminds one of many speeches to which we on this side have listened in the past from hon. Members opposite, usually without any foundation at all, alleging capitalist exploitation of the colonies. Nor is the position made any better when, now that we have clear evidence of exploitation of colonial territories by the Ministry of Food, hon. Gentlemen opposite see fit to remain silent merely because they approve the political complexion of the Government.

Mr. Anthony Greenwood (Heywood and Radcliffe): At the beginning of his obviously sincere but at times tendentious remarks, the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Basingstoke (Squadron-Leader Donner) refused to be tempted into replying to points made by my hon. Friend the Member for North Islington (Dr. Guest). He will, therefore, excuse me if I show the same resolution and refuse to follow him in the stimulating and provoking remarks which he himself made, but prefer to concentrate on a problem about which I feel better qualified to speak and one which, so far as I can tell, has not engaged the attention of the present Parliament during its life-time. I refer to the problem of tuberculosis in the Colonial Empire. I can well understand the pride which my right hon. Friend and, indeed, the right hon. Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley) feel when they refer to the great progress which has been made in health matters in the Colonies since the days immediately before the war, because the progress has without doubt been staggering. But because of the general progress that has been made there may perhaps be a temptation now to minimise the importance of tuberculosis in the Colonies.

I do not think that accusation could be levelled against my right hon. Friend. Those of us who had the privilege of hearing him address the Empire Conference on tuberculosis at the beginning of this month are able to appreciate that in the Colonial Secretary we have a real humanitarian and a good Socialist, and what I have to say on this problem is in no way a reflection on the right hon. Gentleman or on his attitude to this matter. I know that he realises its importance, but I am not sure that the Colonial Office or the Colonial Governments are equally seized of its importance, and I feel that tuberculosis in the Empire is essentially a British responsibility, because tuberculosis is a disease of civilisation. Investigation into the problem has shown that although the white races have developed a comparative immunity to tuberculosis, native races are particularly prone to it, and have a very dangerous tendency to incur it in a most virulent form when they come into contact with the white races. Further, it has been shown that although natives may stand up to it reasonably well in their own natural surroundings, in the more trying conditions of industrial and urban life which at times we have inflicted upon them their resistance to it is almost non-existent. That is why I say that it is peculiarly a British responsibility.

Unfortunately, there has never been the same glamour about the fight against tuberculosis that there has been about that against leprosy and malaria, but it is a much more widespread disease than either of those, and it is one of the principal killing diseases throughout our Empire. There is a very real danger at the present time, with improved communications and the various schemes of Colonial development, that the problem of tuberculosis in the Empire may become worse. Already in the West Indies, one out of every six deaths is attributable to tuberculosis, and on the Gold Coast one out of every 10 deaths is caused by it. In Nigeria, a colony which, the Committee will remember, has 20 million population, there are only 14 beds specifically set aside for the treatment and care of tuberculous patients. That situation can be paralleled in many parts of the Colonial Empire, but we must always remember that health statistics throughout the Empire are, unfortunately, extremely unreliable.

Many colonies have made advances, as in the case of Ceylon, Aden and Cyprus,

but many other parts of the Colonial Empire have made no progress of any importance. I suspect that we in this country cannot be wholly innocent of responsibility for that state of affairs. The return relating to schemes under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts up to March this year shows that out of 107 new welfare schemes only two, relating to the Solomon Islands, and Zanzibar, mention tuberculosis at all, and that there is only one supplementary scheme, in respect of Nigeria, which refers to the disease. The second portion of the return relating to research shows not a single reference to the problem of tuberculosis, although it is true that a number of schemes to be developed will have indirect repercussions upon that problem, such as schemes for the improvement of nutrition and housing, and for industrial research.

In Cmd. Paper 7151, on Colonial Research, it is shocking to find no reference to tuberculosis—not even in the second annual report of the Colonial Medical Research Committee. In the third document to which I want to refer, Cmd. 7167 on the Colonial Empire, some slight improvement is shown, because a paragraph is devoted to tuberculosis, not, however, to the achievements of the Colonial Office and Colonial Governors, but mainly to the achievements of the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, a body of which I have the honour to be a member. From these facts it seems that we are not stimulating sufficiently the Colonial Governments into undertaking full responsibility for research into this problem.

The solution is clearly one for experts, and in drawing attention to the problem I merely want to emphasise the need for both a long term and a short term approach to this important subject. For the long term approach there must be schemes of social improvement of the kind to which the Colonial Secretary referred, such as for improvements in nutrition, the improvement of working conditions and, I hope, in the case of projects like the groundnuts scheme, plans for supervising the health of the workers employed from the very beginning. So far as tuberculosis itself is concerned, clearly there must be far more research than has been conducted in the past and far more schemes of training for nurses and doctors from the Colonial territories themselves.

For the short term approach it is important that we should have in every Colonial territory a specialist tuberculosis officer. Let us be clear that a tuberculosis scheme need not be an elaborate and expensive business. It is far more important to start with dispensaries and clinical services than to start with a sanatorium. Formerly, we made a mistake and set up sanatoria first before we knew from clinical research to what extent they would be required or without having the necessary dispensaries in the localities to back up the work of the sanatoria. We also need health visitors throughout the Colonies. I hope that the Colonial Governments when recruiting these visitors will have recourse more and more to people from the islands themselves with a knowledge of local conditions and the superstitions which sometimes exist in these countries.

The solution of this problem is not altogether simple, but it is up to the Colonial Office and to the Colonial Governments to see that that solution is put into effect. If, as I think he will, my right hon. Friend will stimulate his Department and the Colonial Governments into grappling with the problem of tuberculosis he will earn the gratitude of many millions of colonial people.

Sir John Barlow (Eddisbury): I am sorry that the hon. Member for North Islington (Dr. Guest) is not in his place. He dealt with certain aspects of life in Malaya, and I wish to reply to him as best I can. Obviously, he speaks with authority on Malaya. He told us that he had been in Singapore and that he had flown from one end of the country to the other and back again. It is only fair to say that I first visited the country 25 years ago, that I have done so periodically ever since and that I have had close business connections with it throughout. The hon. Member suggested that certain matters were not very well organised in that country. He had seen it from the air. Unfortunately, I have only seen it from the ground.

He went on to say that on many plantations a lower status was given to the Indians than to the Chinese and in many cases they were employed at lower wages. I would not agree with that statement. The object on rubber and cocoanut plantations is to secure good regular labour and workers who do not come and go too quickly, and plantation experience is that Chinese will often do twice or three times the work of Indian labour. It also happens to be a fact that on some estates Chinese labour is available and Indian labour is not. Sometimes very high piecework rates have to be paid to get the work done satisfactorily. Possibly the hon. Member can vouch for members of his profession and can say what they do or do not do. All I can say is that I have never heard of the introduction of fictitious names nor the practice to which he referred, in regard to Indian labour.

Before leaving that part of the subject entirely I would like to say that before the war the social services on plantations in Malaya had a far higher standard than was found in similar agricultural estates in other parts of the world. Almost every estate of any size had its hospital, school and crêche, and a whole-time medical attendance and regular visits from doctors. There were also extra meals for young children, and clinics for women expecting children. I hope those social services will be restored as quickly as conditions will allow.

I will deal briefly with two or three other aspects of the matter. Reference has been made to the very great shortage in Malaya of food and of rice in particular. Everyone knows that rice is much more essential to those people than bread is to us. It is the beginning and ending of almost all their food. I see that in February, 1946, owing to a shortage of cereal foods, in Hong Kong the amount per person was reduced from 22 ounces per day to 11 ounces. The ration in India was reduced from 16 ounces to 12 ounces. The Japanese who had surrendered and were in internment camps received ten ounces a day, but in Malaya the amount allocated to people was eight ounces per day of which only 4½ was rice and the remaining 3½ was wheat flour. Wheat flour does not in any way take the place of rice to the Malayans, and that should be borne in mind.

A vast amount of rice has been held up in Siam. For various reasons it has not been brought down. Might I suggest again, as has been suggested repeatedly to the Colonial Office, that it should be a practical proposition to get the rice out of Siam one way or another. They were very short of consumer goods and I maintain that it was possible to send consumer goods in one form or another into Siam and get that rice out. The whole of the life of Malaya—and it is a very important part of the world now, politically and agriculturally—rests on an adequate supply of rice.

There are two other small points to which I should like to refer in regard to Malaya. I believe that soon after the Japanese occupation ended there was a large amount of piracy and banditry, especially round about Penang. I have asked questions about this but it has never been admitted that piracy did exist. I would like to ask the Under-Secretary to give us some information. I am told, and I believe, that it was for many months quite impossible to ship the all-important copra up to Penang for transhipment for this and other countries. It was so impossible to ship it in that area by local small ships and junks that no reputable insurance companies would insure the copra for the voyage. I suggest that that is a very serious state of affairs when it happens in British waters several months after the war is over.

Unfortunately, appalling conditions exist at the docks at all the principal harbours in Malaya, Penang and Singapore in particular. The organisation of the wharves has undoubtedly been most difficult after the war owing to the large number which were bombed and broken up, but the amount of thieving at those docks would indicate that the policing of those cities is entirely inadequate. I should like to mention some figures to support my views. The marine insurance from this country to Singapore or Penang before the war was 4s. 3d. per cent. After the European war started, in 1940 and 1941 it went up to 16s. 9d. per cent. Immediately after the war and immediately after the Japanese were evacuated, the rate in May, 1946, was 21s. 9d., but the thieving was so appalling in those ports, and it got worse shortly afterwards, that in August, 1946, the marine insurance rate was 51s. 9d. compared with 4s. 3d. prewar. That calls for action on the part of the Minister, and I hope that he will investigate it. Before I close, may I say that I regard it as very unfortunate that when people visit countries for a few days and get impressions which may or may not be true they sometimes appear to speak

with authority. I must say in all seriousness that I have seldom listened to such a half hour of unparalleled nonsense as I heard from the hon. Member for North Islington.

Mr. Rees-Williams (Croydon, South): We have listened today to one of the usual surveys that we have once a year from the Secretary of State, followed by a survey, equally wide, from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley). I said last year what I repeat today, and that is that there is very little value in Debates of this kind. They are far too wide, and the time has come when we should have regional Debates covering various parts of the Colonial Empire and dealing with those alone. I know from my own knowledge that in various parts of the Colonial Empire the inhabitants are feeling that we neglect them in this House to a large extent, and they point to this one unsatisfactory day as one of the reasons for that feeling. I believe that it is quite right that we should amend our Parliamentary system in order to deal with the importance of the Colonial Empire.

We are now in the transitional period, as has been pointed out by the right hon. Member for West Bristol, and we are moving from the laissez faire of the 19th century into the more dynamic period of the 20th century. The colonies cease to be places to which we merely give a certain amount of protection. We protected them from outside dangers, we kept order internally and we expected them to provide us with a certain amount of goods in return. They are now as much a part of these islands and of our economic system as are Scotland or Wales, and we must realise their new importance to our economy. We have heard today of the advances towards self-government throughout the various territories, and I for one am glad that those advances have been made, but I would insist that unless we take the people with us in those constitutional advances, they will do more harm than good. I would like to recall to the Committee what a former hon. Member of this House — Thomas Babington Macaulay—wrote many years ago on the question of paper constitutions:

> "Constitutions are in politics what paper money is in commerce. They afford great facilities and conveniences. But we must not attribute to them that value which really belongs to what they represent. They are no power, but symbols of power, and will, in an emergency, prove altogether useless unless the power for which they stand be forthcoming. The real power by which the community is governed is made up of all the means which all its members possess of giving pleasure or pain to each other."

I feel that in many of the territories we govern from this House we must not break up too rapidly the present fabric of society; we must not exchange the substance for the shadow. They have old systems of government amongst themselves, well-tried systems, which they understand, and before we lead them into new paths we must be quite sure that they understand what they are doing and what we are offering. If we give them that means of understanding, they will appreciate that they are being led forward into more democratic practices, but unless they are clearly convinced of the need for the political development we offer them, more harm than good will probably be done.

With regard to the economic position, much the same applies. In, for instance, the new Crown Colony of Sarawak any development there which has not the support and the understanding of the people may have serious consequences. They are not used to development of any kind. It may be of interest to the Committee to know that in Sarawak 92½ per cent. of the rubber estates are under two acres in extent. Therefore, in the development of coal, for example, which is proposed, we must be quite certain that people understand and share in the development which takes place.

I agree it would be better not to discuss the Malayan political situation today in view of the offer which we have had for next Session. However, I would like to say something about the economic position already touched upon by the hon. Baronet the Member for Eddisbury (Sir J. Barlow). We must realise in this Committee that the position regarding food in Malaya is serious. In fact, it is worse than that. The people are on the verge of want, and there will be serious agrarian and industrial trouble in Malaya if the rice position is not dealt with quickly. I do not know whether hon. Members realise that the ration of rice there is one-third that of Japan—our late enemy—and one-eighth of the ration in Burma. That is a most serious situation. The hon. Baronet stressed the importance of Malaya to this country, but it will never be of any importance unless the people are fed, and it is no use talking of other types of food. The Asiatic wants rice. It is no good offering flour, or cereals, or anything else. Rice is what he wants and, if he does not get it, he does not eat. We must concentrate on the home production of rice which, as I pointed out last year, had dropped from 33 per cent. of the consumption prewar to 25 per cent. I ask the Under-Secretary of State what is the percentage today? How much of that leeway has been made up? Unless the home production of rice is increased, it will be difficult to increase the ration depending on rice from outside.

I would also suggest that no country which produces enough rice to provide eight ounces per head per day of the population should receive more rice from the International Food Committee which deals with rice. Until the Malayan ration is made up to a reasonable standard, it is not just that other countries which have eight ounces should, in addition, get from the central pool further rice to increase that ration. I would also say that no ex-enemy territories should receive an allocation of rice from outside until the territories they have despoiled get a proper allowance. Why should the Japanese get rice from outside to make their ration three times that of the Malays and the Chinese in Malaya whom they dealt with so badly during the occupation? It is not just or right. With regard to rubber, which is one of the staple products of Malaya, we know that the Americans have put an embargo on the importation of rubber into the United States——

Mr. W. Fletcher: For the sake of correctness, may I point out to the hon. Member that the United States have not put an embargo upon the import of rubber. They have laid down a certain percentage of synthetic rubber that must be used in American products. That is not quite the same thing.

Mr. Rees-Williams: I was the one who asked the Question which received that answer. An embargo is an embargo, call it by what name you like; whether you do it by restriction in that form or in any other way, it is an embargo as far as Malaya is concerned. There is difficulty about the sale of rubber to the United States, and this will undoubtedly affect the purchasing power of the people of Malaya.

In Sarawak, as I have said, there is very little large-scale production of any commodity. It is a purely native form of economy and one which we shall now, I take it, in some small measure alter. There is a coalfield in Sarawak which previously produced high quality coal, but it was abandoned because it was difficult to work and to get the coal away to the docks. We are now investigating whether it would be possible to reopen that important source of supply in the Far East. I would like to know from the Secretary of State under what conditions this coal is to be worked. Is it to be a company on lease? Is it to be some form of nationalised industry? How does he propose to work this valuable mineral? Also, what is the future of oil in Sarawak? When the hon. Member for Hornsey (Mr. Gammans) and I visited that country, we were told that the oilfield of Sarawak had been practically drained dry and there was very little left. I doubted that, and I believe the hon. Member did, too. We doubted whether big installations that have been put up recently in the oil fields would have been put up for an oil field which was worked out. I understand that there are vast fields of oil there which can be developed. What are the proposals in regard to those particular fields if it is true that oil is there? I would emphasise that in regard to Sarawak, more than Malaya, we have a trust and we must not do anything in that country which will harm the native people, the indigenous people. If we do anything that will harm them, either by too rapid political or industrial advancement, we shall pay for it, and it will be on our conscience. It is up to us to see that the country is properly run.

Last, with regard to Hong Kong. I would like to see the Colony developed as a shop window of democracy. I believe that Hong Kong can offer in the Far East, as Singapore can in South East Asia, a very good opportunity for showing the people of other countries

how social, educational, political and other development can be made in the right and proper way. I know that the people of Hong Kong are doubtful as to what are our intentions, and I would like to know from the Secretary of State what the Government intend to do with Hong Kong. I believe that the democratic element in China does not want to see Hong Kong handed over to the Kuomintang Government; they would like to see Hong Kong maintained, developed, and that it should eventually achieve self-government within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Whatever their long-term view may be, that is certainly their view for the next few years. Therefore, I feel that we can offer to the people of the Far East both in Hong Kong and Singapore two shop windows of democracy where our physical and spiritual goods can be displayed for all who wish to see them.

In the main, I feel we have had a very stimulating and encouraging report from the Colonial Secretary today, and the few criticisms which I have made are not to be taken as meaning that I criticise his work as a whole, because I think that in very difficult circumstances he and his Department and officials at home and abroad have done a good job of work, for which we ought to be grateful.

Mr. Dodds-Parker (Banbury): We on this side of the Committee are grateful to the hon. Member for South Croydon (Mr. Rees-Williams) for such an authoritative statement of what his views are. He must carry many hon. Members on the other side of the Committee with him on the future of Hong Kong. We had some doubts on what the Colonial Secretary and Government would do about Hong Kong, but I hope that the Under-Secretary when he replies can give some support to what the hon. Member for South Croydon has said.

I think we all agree with the hon. Member for South Croydon that we would be very glad to have more time to debate this vast subject, dealing with an Empire of 60 million people, in 60 dependencies, and which we try to cram into a few hours debate each year. In the course of the speech of the Secretary of State, I could not see any indication of how he is steering the course of any individual colony, or group of colonies, to keep it in the future framework of the United Nations. I cannot expect the Under-Secretary to give an answer, because it is obviously a very vast and complicated subject. But one hopes that as time goes on some indication will be given to the House, and to the country, as to how constitutions are to be developed, particularly the economic aspect, so that we do not find when the time comes for British control to be withdrawn, as it has been in the last two or three years from certain other parts of what used to be called the British Empire, that disintegration has set in. I believe it is possible today to avoid some of the difficulties we have had in certain countries, which I think it would be difficult and invidious to name at present——

The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Ivor Thomas): The hon. Member spoke of the United Nations. I take it that he means the British Commonwealth of Nations?

Mr. Dodds-Parker: No, I do not. I believe we are working towards setting up certain standards which will enable to remain in the British Commonwealth certain bits of the Empire, which will be in the United Nations. For instance, in Africa, South of the Equator, the British have set standards which others might follow. Rather than see those drift away, and set up separate kingdoms or republics, our aim should be to keep them together inside a unit which can remain, as it were, a full unit of the United Nations, with immediate loyalty to the British Empire. I hope I have made myself clear to the Under-Secretary. We have set political standards in the Empire which we should ensure are followed by other countries who have joined the United Nations. I am one who believes that we have nothing to be ashamed of in the past 100 years in bringing these countries to a certain standard, and we should not allow others to set standards, but should persuade them to adopt our standards.

The closing stages of this Debate will be continued in the next issue.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

Based on articles of general interest from the daily newspapers and from various journals concerned with colonial affairs

Royal Tour of South Africa.

THE climax of the Royal Tour, writes the Special Correspondent of *The Times*, was reached when the guns sounded the salute for the arrival of the King in Pretoria. At the State banquet, proposing the health of the Royal Family, General Smuts said: "In the last six weeks you have journeyed over thousands of square miles of this vast and varied country. You have seen the vineyards and orchards and rich farmlands of the Cape, you have passed through picturesque native territories, through the province of Natal, and the sun-glazed, fertile plains of the Orange Free State; and you have crossed the rugged fastnesses and mountain ranges by which the Union rises, tier by tier, from the coastal plain. This royal visit has indeed made South African history. Wherever you have gone, whether in the large cities or towns or small wayside stations, on farms or veld, you have received a warm, sincere welcome, which springs not merely from the traditional spirit of hospitality of our people, but from a deeper sentiment of devotion to and admiration for the Royal Family. This living contact with your Majesties and your daughters has added to this sentiment and given it a personal note, which will make this visit of yours to our land one of the most memorable and vital experiences to all sections of our population. This royal visit is unique in the history of South Africa. I greet you to-night in a city and a province which are not without honour in the history of our countries. We owe this city, as we owe this province, to the courage and hardihood of our ancestors and Voortrekkers, and to those late pioneers, both British and Boer, who have contributed to their glory. Pretoria, young as it is among the capital cities of the world, is already a city with a history and tradition of its own, cherished by all South Africans from whatever race they spring. You will have many opportunities of greeting our people of the Transvaal, and of seeing something of our agricultural and industrial development and of their high spirit and confident outlook in spite of all the grave issues that face them, in this land of promise and of problems." (*The Times*, March 31, 1947.)

Higher Education in the Colonies.

THE Secretary of State for the Colonies has, in accordance with a recommendation of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, appointed a Committee to advise him on matters relating to the expenditure of United Kingdom funds for the development of higher education in the colonies. It is expected that in advising on these matters the Committee will take into account the funds available for colonial higher education from other sources. On the academic aspects of the proposals which are referred to it, the Committee will be guided by the opinion of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies. The Committee's first main task will be to advise on the apportionment of the £4,500,000 which has been earmarked for higher education out of the £120,000,000 provided under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. The creation of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies was announced in March last year, and the Secretary of the Inter-University Council, Mr. Walter Adams, has also been appointed Secretary of the Colonial University Grants Advisory Committee. (*Colonial Office Press Section*, February 27, 1947.)

Trade Union Advisers for the Colonies.

IN a written reply to questions relating to the appointment of trade union advisers for the colonies, the Secretary of State told the House that in 1942, as an experiment, six experienced trade unionists from this country were recruited for labour appointments in certain colonial territories. This proved to be most successful, and since 1945 thirteen other appointments of this type have been made. The territories in which these officers are serving are Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Kenya, Tanganyika Territory, Northern Rhodesia, Ceylon, Mauritius, the Malayan Union, Singapore, Palestine, British Guiana and the Windward Islands. The further selection of trade unionists for this type of employment, concluded the Secretary of State, will most certainly be encouraged. (*House of Commons Official Report*, March 19, 1947.)

THE Standard Bank of South Africa has announced the formation of a subsidiary company, to be called the Standard Bank Finance and Development Corporation. The new company has been set up "to finance, assist and participate" in development in those African colonies where the bank already operates. With an initial capital of £500,000, the Corporation will direct its activities to assisting agriculture, commerce, industry and transport, primarily in the four East African territories of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. It will also be competent to handle the loan business of local authorities, to underwrite company flotations and to provide funds in bulk purchasing operations. As the bank obviously recognizes, progress at first may well be slow in these financially undeveloped communities. But this new venture, like the comparable institution—Barclays Overseas Development Corporation—set up by Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) last year, will help to fill a serious gap in the financial structure of the African dependencies. In most colonies the capital market is in a very rudimentary stage of development. The banks themselves are mainly concerned with providing deposit and current account facilities. During the war some progress was made in persuading uneducated people to open post office accounts and to buy National Savings Certificates, but progress is hindered by the strong hoarding instincts in backward communities. In present circumstances, Development Corporations will provide a valuable channel for European financial support, but if capital is to be provided for the colonies on an adequate scale to develop their resources, the African and other communities must be gradually initiated into the arts of long-term investment of their own savings. (*The Economist*, March 29, 1947.)

Colonial Banking Developments.

THE Colonial Office announce that, in consultation with the Governors of the British West Indian Colonies, further progress has been made with the proposal mentioned by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons on October 30, 1946, that a Conference of delegates from the Legislatures of those Colonies should be held to discuss the question of closer association of the British West Indian Colonies. The Secretary of State now proposes that this conference should be held at Montego Bay, Jamaica, in September, 1947. A dispatch on the subject which he has addressed to the Governors of Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, and Windward Islands will be laid simultaneously before Parliament and the Colonial Legislatures as soon as possible. A conference of delegates from the Leeward and Windward Islands Legislatures met at St. Kitts in January this year and adopted resolutions which, while advocating certain constitutional reforms on the lines generally suggested by the West India Royal Commission (Cmd. 6607), proposed the federation of the Leeward and Windward Islands with a central Government. The resolutions of the St. Kitts conference have been endorsed by the Legislative Council of Dominica and are shortly to be considered by the Legislative Council of the Leeward Islands. It is hoped that general acceptance of those resolutions by the Legislatures concerned will enable delegates from the Leeward and Windward Islands to take part in the conference in September next on the basis that those islands would enter as one group into any scheme which may be devised for the closer association of the British West Indies as a whole, although the actual method of their representation will naturally be a matter for consideration at the September conference. (*C.O.P.S.*, April 10, 1947.)

Closer Association of West Indian Colonies.

THE second West Indian Conference held in March, 1946, directed attention to the matter of under-population in the Guianas and British Honduras, and it has been announced that the Imperial Government have decided that the economic potentialities of British Guiana and British Honduras should be re-examined in the light of those discussions. The Secretary of State will instruct the Commission to take into consideration the need to provide outlets for the surplus populations in the West Indian islands and, further, to keep in mind the need for resettlement and rehabilitation of persons displaced from their homes in Europe as a result of the late war. British Guiana's general economic resources lie in agriculture in the coastal belt (mainly sugar and rice) with minerals and timber from the interior. During the war the major development was the rapid expansion of the bauxite industry. An Economic Adviser has recently been appointed, and large-scale plans for the future development of agriculture, communications, irrigation and drainage, secondary industries, etc., are being prepared. There is ample land within the coastal alluvial belt to accommodate two or three times the present population, the areas of primary and secondary importance in this respect totalling 800,000 acres. An experimental settlement of 250–500 mid-European refugees was to be made in the autumn of 1939, but the war had begun before arrangements could be completed and the scheme was dropped. In British Honduras, as in British Guiana, there was talk in 1941 of a Jewish settlement scheme, but this did not materialize. British Honduras has an area of some 8,800 square miles and a population of some 59,000. Its economic life has been built up almost entirely on its forest resources, principally mahogany, but in recent years efforts have been made to diversify the economy by encouraging agricultural development. A number of Jamaicans who have immigrated over a period of years have a tradition of settled agriculture, and plans for settling peasant farmers from Barbados and other West Indian islands have been discussed. If we can make possible the settlement of new communities and thereby foster the development of the resources of British Guiana and British Honduras, we shall not only aid the Caribbean territories but also make a major contribution to the solution of a serious post-war problem. (*The Crown Colonist*, March, 1947.)

Resettlement in British Guiana and British Honduras.

THE Committee on Higher Education, appointed by the Governor of the Gold Coast, has made the suggestion that the Colony should eventually have its own university so that the future leaders and most highly-trained teachers should be educated in the Colony itself. The Committee's report stresses that there is no desire to conflict with the development of the University College at Ibadan, Nigeria, and they are quite prepared to co-operate fully with Ibadan "until the time comes when this country's needs justify the provision of these courses in the Gold Coast as well as in Nigeria". A comprehensive scheme to cover the interim period is advanced, and it is pointed out that an ideal site for a university is available on and around Legon Hill, some two and a half miles from Achimota. Capital cost of developing a university college from the present stage is estimated at £750,000 over ten years, which it is hoped could be made available from the Colony's surplus balances. An endowment is suggested as a means of meeting recurrent costs (estimated at £63,000 at the end of five years, and £90,000 at the end of ten). Commercial and industrial undertakings, it is felt, might contribute towards the endowment, whilst the Colony's share of the £4,500,000 set aside for colonial higher education could be added. Further, the people of the Gold Coast themselves might make substantial contributions. (*The Crown Colonist*, April, 1947.)

A Gold Coast University.

TWO members of the Crown Film Unit, R. Kingston Davies and W. S. McAllister, have arrived in East Africa to begin a three years' film-making tour. They plan to make a series of documentary films for distribution in Britain and America, presenting the problems of the territories of East Africa. Mr. Kingston Davies has had several years' experience making films in East Africa and speaks Swahili fluently. Mr. W. S. McAllister was a film editor in the Ministry of Information and edited such notable films as "Target for To-night" and "Listen to Britain". "Our aim", Mr. Kingston Davies said in an interview, "is to do the job which only films can do: to bring out in human terms the details of everyday life, and the effect upon it of the transition from African to Western civilization. We hope our films will show that Africans have much the same interests and ambitions as the people of other countries." The subjects chosen cover a wide range—education, transport and road building, Government administration and Tribal administration, the development of the economic resources of the colonies and conservation of the land. Erosion is a grave problem in the East African territories and has been made chronic by the wasteful methods of native agriculture. It is also proposed to make, for the first time, a film on

Film-making in East Africa.

the story of the European settlements in East Africa from their beginning to the present day. The work of this Film Unit will be complementary to that of the Colonial Film Unit, which is out there at the moment, and which is making films for African audiences. (*Colonial Office Press Section*, March 18, 1947.)

THE Secretary of State for the Colonies has agreed in principle to the recommendation of Sir Philip Mitchell, Governor of Kenya, that the Legislative Council of Kenya should be granted a non-official majority. The Governor's proposal is that the official members should number fifteen and the non-officials twenty-two, of whom eleven would be Europeans, five Indians, four Africans and two Arabs. There would also be a Speaker. As a result of joint discussions between the Governor, African representatives of the Council and European and Indian members, it has been agreed that the African membership should be increased to four. These four Africans shall each be assigned to represent the African interest for a separate area, namely (1) the Nyanza Province, (2) the Central Province, including Nairobi, (3) the Coast Province and (4) the Rift Valley Province and the remainder of the Colony. As regards the selection of Africans for nomination as members of the Legislative Council, the wisest course will be to follow the present practice under which suitable individuals are nominated by the Governor after seeking advice from the local Native councils, although they will in future be selected as representing the interests of a particular area instead of the general interests of all Africans in the Colony. Arab affairs can adequately be represented on the Legislative Council by two members. It is proposed that the Liwali of the Coast should be relieved of his duties as an official member, and that steps should be taken to appoint a nominated unofficial member in his place. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, April 10, 1947.)

Non-official Majority for Kenya Legislative Council.

MR. R. H. BASSETT, Commissioner for Development of Agricultural Marketing, Ceylon Government, went to Kenya in July, 1946, under instructions to examine the position of native marketing in the Colony, and to make recommendations for future organizations. In his report, just published, he has unhesitatingly recommended that the Kenya Government should create a separate and permanent Marketing Department for the marketing of producers' crops. He says it is evident that if it were not for the temporary, though beneficent, effect of the Emergency Food Control Organization for the collection of his crops, the native producer would be at the mercy of competitive exploitation by the various middlemen who deal in primary products under the ordinary peace-time commercial system. Incidentally, the Kenya Development Report, which the Legislative Council is now debating, gives this marketing question priority over other forms of development, and Mr. Creech Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, has emphasized the same necessity in more general terms. (*African World*, March, 1947.)

Marketing Department to Protect the Native Producer in Kenya.

IN his Budget speech to the Legislative Council on December 3, 1946, His Excellency the Governor outlined the purposes of the newly-formed Department of Public Relations and Social Welfare. The main responsibilities of the public relations side of the new Department are to stimulate and increase production, to assist in social development, *i.e.* to raise the general standard of living, and to act as a two-way channel of information between Government and people. To increase production and to teach the African to conserve the natural resources of Uganda and to develop and expand them, articles, films and photographs will be used. Arrangements have been made to obtain from England new mobile cinema vans and projectors, and a greater number and variety of suitable films, to enable the Department to reach those who are not, as yet, literate, and to reinforce the information published by the Department. A two-way channel of information between the Government and the people is essential for sympathetic co-operation between them, and it is the responsibility of the Department to keep the Government informed of the thoughts and the needs of the people. In this a great public service can be rendered by the European and vernacular press in correctly representing public opinion. The main purpose of social welfare is to further by all available means the social advancement of the peoples of Uganda. The Department will assist Native Governments and Native Administrations to extend social activities of all sorts. Cultural, occupational and recreational facilities will be encouraged by means of promotion of community life, and the use of the village hall or other community centres. One important task of the Department will be to survey the field and take appropriate measures for the development of mass literacy and adult education. This will entail the establishment of library facilities. Measures for the social regeneration of children, adolescents and adults who constitute a social problem will also be taken, and this will necessitate the formation of a probation service. (*Information, Kampala*, January 4, 1947.)

Department of Public Relations and Social Welfare for Uganda.

THE institution of a local Higher Civil Service from January 1, 1947, has been approved by the Secretary of State. The main object is to enable selected persons of Zanzibar domicile to take some of the higher posts hitherto held by Europeans. The progressive replacement of European administrative officers by Arabs is the first stage in long-term policy announced in 1943, implementing the Government's intention of associating the people of the island as closely as possible with all branches of administration. Persons suitable for appointment may have to undergo an advanced course of instruction in England or elsewhere, or may be promoted from within the Government service without further training. Appointments already made include two Assistant District Commissioners, an Assistant Superintendent of Police, and an Education Officer. (*The Crown Colonist*, March, 1947.)

Zanzibar's New Local Higher Civil Service.

THE National Convention on the future of Newfoundland, elected to study the financial position of the country and to recommend suitable forms of government to be placed before the people in a national referendum has recently appointed delegations to go to London and Ottawa. The correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writing in the issue of April 18 says: "The London delegation is charged with the raising of a number of topics. The public debt of Newfoundland is guaranteed as to principal and interest by the British Government, and the question arises as to how this guarantee will be affected in the event that Newfoundland decides (*a*) to return to full responsible government; (*b*) to confederate with Canada; or (*c*) to continue Commission government either in its present or in some modified form. The delegation will also discuss the concessions made to the United States Government in 1941 by the British Government whereby American military, naval and air bases were established in Newfoundland without the consent of the Newfoundland Government and without any *quid pro quo*. The operation of the Gander Airport is also to be a topic for discussion; why should a great airport be maintained by Newfoundland at a loss when it is used solely by foreign companies?" The other delegation will go to Ottawa after the London delegation has returned to Newfoundland, and will discuss terms on which Newfoundland might possibly become Canada's tenth province. "It is beginning to appear," continues the correspondent, "that whatever forms of government may be submitted to the people, the real choice will be between responsible government and confederation with Canada, and present indications are that the latter will probably win, unless strong denominational pressure is brought to bear on a large section of the community. Even with this pressure, if the terms of confederation are sufficiently attractive the vote will undoubtedly go to union with Canada. It is expected that strategic considerations combined with the now proven mineral wealth of Labrador (assigned to Newfoundland in 1927 by a judgment of the Privy Council) will lead to favourable terms with Canada." (*Manchester Guardian*, April 18, 1947.)

Future of Newfoundland.

AFTER a lapse of six years, Ceylon once again has an official representative in London. Though much in need of repairs, Ceylon House in Cockspur Street, overlooking Trafalgar Square, has reopened its doors. In Kensington an official residence

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for Ceylon's representative has been bought. It is intended not only as a suitable setting for the Ceylon Commissioner, when the island achieves near-Dominion status with the birth of a new Constitution this year, but also to enable a fuller interpretation of Ceylon to be given on the social and cultural sides. The Commissioner will provide the liaison between the Ceylon Government and Whitehall. If, as the Ceylonese hope, their country is admitted into UNO next year, that will mean a group of important new duties. Economic conferences and negotiations are also certain to take place. Another problem, of high importance to future relations between Britain and Ceylon, is the planning of wide amenities for Ceylonese students in England. (*The Crown Colonist*, February, 1947.)

Ceylon House in London.

ON March 14 it was announced that a Commission on Higher Education had been appointed to make recommendations on the development of university education in Malaya. The Commission, which left the United Kingdom for Malaya at the end of March, is under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, Director of the London School of Economics, and its members include Professor W. Pugh, Deputy Vice-Chancellor and Professor of Geology at Manchester University; Professor G. Pickering, Professor of Medicine at London University; Dr. Ivor Jennings, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon; Mr. Leonard Barnes, member of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies; and Sir Han Hoe Lim, member of the Singapore Advisory Council. The Commission will be primarily concerned with arrangements for the creation of a University College, of which the King Edward VII College of Medicine and Raffles College will form part as a first stage in the development of a University of Malaya. King Edward VII Medical College was founded in 1904 to train local practitioners, and it soon gained a high reputation among the medical schools of the Far East. It gave a six-year course similar to that given in the United Kingdom, and its diploma is recognized by the Medical Council of Great Britain. Its Dental School conducted a five-year course and awarded a diploma. The College held annual post-graduate courses in malaria sponsored by the Health Organization of the League of Nations. Raffles College was opened in 1928 to supply qualified teachers for secondary schools, and provided three-year courses in arts and science leading to a diploma. A certain number of its students took the University of London degree examinations. (*Background to News from the Colonies*, No. 112, April 1, 1947.)

University Education in Malaya.

THE Burmese elections took place on April 10. With 210 seats to be filled, Aung San's Anti-Fascist People's Independence League (the AFPIL) had nearly ninety uncontested, and it was taken for granted that the AFPIL would win a heavy majority and would form the first Government of independent Burma. Commenting on this situation in an editorial, the *Manchester Guardian* says it is almost as certain that the Assembly, when it meets, will declare for independence rather than for Dominion status. This need disconcert no one here. If the Burmese did not claim the name of independence they would certainly want the substance of it; and there is a far better chance that Burma and Britain will remain on close terms, politically and commercially, if the Burmese feel themselves free to choose. Aung San himself declared this week that he looks forward to close relations between the two countries, but is not yet in a position to say just what form the relationship should be. Burma is fortunate to-day in having no serious problem of external relations; no strong and aggressive foreign power stands on her frontiers and bedevils her domestic politics. But the war and the Japanese occupation have left plenty of damage to be made good, and the normal development of the country will need all the statesmanship her rulers can bring to it. The progress of Burma will, in fact, be extraordinarily interesting to watch. It is not quite like any other country in the East. It differs from India not only in scale but also in its relations to the industrial civilization of the West. Though India (like Burma) is still preponderantly a rural country, industry has already established and domesticated itself there. In Burma industrial production is slender. There has been a deep western penetration into the country, but it has been extractive, exploitive, in its nature; it has sought raw materials for export rather than for local use—oil, teak, rice. Industry has been little more than a by-product of the export of raw materials.

The Burmese Elections.

What should the attitude of the British Government be towards the new rulers of Burma? It will be wise to give to Burma what help, advice and encouragement we can, without being officious, while she is getting on to her feet. British undertakings have a big commercial stake in Burma, and there is no question of simply cutting the cables and leaving them to founder. On the other hand, there has been no indication so far that they are likely to be unfairly treated; and the more Burma leans on British aid in the next few years, the less likely are they to suffer from discrimination or confiscatory measures. Britain is already, by general agreement, playing a useful part in settling the relations between the Burmans and the non-Burman peoples in the country. (*Manchester Guardian*, April 14, 1947.)

THE Government of India has appointed Mr. Sudhir Ghosh to the newly-created post of Public Relations Officer to the Government of India in London. The post which comes under the Information and Broadcasting Department of the Indian Government is attached to the Indian High Commissioner's office in London. It is probable that in time it will take over the functions at present discharged by the publicity section of the India Office. Mr. Ghosh, who is in his early thirties, was educated at Calcutta and Cambridge. He was associated with the British Cabinet Mission in Delhi, helping to make Mr. Gandhi's point of view known to its members. Although the Muslim League will not approve the appointment, it is generally felt that Mr. Ghosh, who is a confirmed Anglophile, is an excellent choice and will help to maintain cordial relations between Britain and India. (*Manchester Guardian*, February 14, 1947.)

Indian Public Relations Officer for London.

THE thirty-fourth Indian Science Congress was held at Delhi between January 1 and January 8, and was attended by delegates from Great Britain, Canada, the United States, France, the U.S.S.R. and China. Pandit Nehru presided. The chief part in organization was played by Sir Shanti Bhatnagar, who occupies in the Government of India a position akin to that of the secretary of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in Great Britain. It is largely due to him that India is establishing five new Government-controlled research institutions, one of them in physics. During the Congress, lectures on general scientific subjects were given by the delegates to audiences of about 2,000. There was also an Exhibition of Scientific Instruments in the buildings of the University of Delhi. Part of this was contributed by the Army, which showed much of the equipment it had developed for tropical warfare. There was an exhibition by the Meteorological Office of instruments and also of its methods of giving warning of flood and storm. The chief items, however, were the manufacturers' exhibition of instruments. There was a considerable variety of laboratory equipment, most of it the ordinary equipment suitable for students' laboratories. The delegates visited works of irrigation, including the hydraulic laboratory at Lahore and a field laboratory for hydraulic models at Madhopur. The development of hydraulics, both in experiment and practice, has in India reached a level beyond what has been achieved in Great Britain. (*Nature*, March 15, 1947.)

Indian Science Congress.

THE first International Conference on the future of the native peoples of the South Pacific was held in Canberra in the first week of February. At the closing plenary session representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States, France, the Netherlands, Australia and New Zealand signed an agreement constituting a South Pacific Commission. This Commission, which will consist of two representatives of each member Government, will act as a consultative and advisory body to the Governments administering those non-self-governing territories in the Pacific Ocean which lie wholly or in part south of the Equator, and east of and including Netherlands New Guinea. The Commission is the outcome of the Australia-New Zealand Agreement of 1944 (see *The Colonial Review*, Vol. III, page 208) in which those two

South Pacific Commission.

Governments agreed to promote the establishment at the earliest possible date of a South Seas regional organization to secure " a common policy on social, economic and political development directed towards the advancement and well-being of the native peoples themselves ". This proposal was discussed at the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in May, 1946, and towards the end of the year Australia and New Zealand, as the joint originators of the plan, convened a conference in Canberra to discuss the establishment of such a Commission. This conference was held between January 28 and February 6 this year.

The South Pacific Commission established by the Agreement is modelled largely on the Caribbean Commission, and its functions will be to advise the participating Governments on matters affecting the economic and social development of the non-self-governing territories falling within its scope and on the welfare and advancement of their peoples. The expenses of the Commission and its subsidiary and auxiliary bodies will be apportioned in the following proportions—Australia 30 per cent, France 12½ per cent, the Netherlands 15 per cent, New Zealand 15 per cent, the United Kingdom 15 per cent, the United States 12½ per cent. The agreement provides for the immediate establishment of two auxiliary bodies: a Research Council and the South Pacific Conference. The Research Council will be a standing advisory body. Its functions will be to maintain a continuous survey of research needs and to recommend and arrange research undertaken. It will be able to appoint technical standing research committees for particular fields of research, and similar *ad hoc* committees to deal with special problems. The South Pacific Conference will be established as an advisory auxiliary body, in order that the Commission's work may be associated with representatives of the local inhabitants and of institutions directly concerned with the territories falling within the Commission's scope. Its members will be delegates from these territories, appointed to ensure the greatest possible measure of representation of the local inhabitants, and they will discuss and make recommendations to the Commission on such matters of common interest as fall within the Commission's competence.

An annexe to the agreement details the work to be undertaken in the immediate future in research into native agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries and forestry, improved methods of village hygiene, infant and maternal welfare, and the control of certain diseases, the study of mass literacy methods, a survey of labour conditions, and many other social and economic problems. Emphasis is laid in the agreement on the importance of training Natives to take part in all such undertakings.

The conference agreed that the six member Governments should contribute £A,40,000 to finance the establishment of the Commission and that this should be supplemented by a budget for the first year's work as soon as the Commission was formed. (*Background to News from the Colonies*, No. 109, February 17, 1947.)

Plea for Union and Self-Government by Samoa.

THE all-Samoan Fono of representatives of all Samoan districts, Faipule, Fautua and Judges, held on November 18, 1946, at Mulinuu, decided not to accept the Draft Trusteeship Agreement presented to them by the New Zealand Government. Instead they have submitted a letter embodying the views of the Samoan representatives, culminating in three demands, to the Administrator of Western Samoa, Apia. They expressed their appreciation of the progress of social services and the sympathetic treatment accorded to them during the past ten years by the New Zealand Government, and said: " On the basis of the sacred rights of self-government, as upheld and defended by the British Commonwealth of Nations, and on the principles of the Atlantic Charter, we feel confident that our resolutions, as set out hereunder, will be granted: 1. We humbly beseech that Samoa be granted self-government. 2. We earnestly pray that New Zealand will see fit to act as Protector and Advisor to Samoa, in the same capacity as England is to Tonga. 3. We sincerely pray that the unnatural division of the islands of the Samoan group, enforced by the Three Powers in the past without the consent of the Samoans, be left in abeyance until a meeting can be arranged between Eastern and Western Samoa." (The division of Samoa into Western and Eastern Samoa, under Germany and the United States respectively, was enforced by the Three Power Treaty, signed by Great Britain, United States and Germany in 1899. Since 1918, Western Samoa has been under Mandate.) (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. XVII, No. 5, December 16, 1946.)

The Dutch-Indonesian Agreement.

THE culmination of thirteen months' negotiations between the Dutch and Indonesians was reached when the Linggadjati agreement, better known as the Cheribon Agreement (see *The Colonial Review*, Vol. V, page 13), which was initialed by the delegations of both parties last November, was formally signed at the Palace, Batavia, on March 25. The signatories for the Dutch were Professor Schermerhorn, Dr. van Mook, the Lieutenant-Governor-General, and Mr. Max van Poll, while Indonesia was represented by Dr. Sjahrir, Dr. Gani, Mr. Roem and Mr. Soesanto. Thus ends a long period of internal strife and uncertainty, during which there have been many times when agreement between the Dutch and Indonesians was almost despaired of. The first meetings took place just over a year ago under the chairmanship of Lord Inverchapel. These were followed by a complete break, which was overcome after the arrival of the Dutch Commission-General, when Lord Killearn was asked to preside over the resumed negotiations. The deadlock over the Cheribon Agreement was caused by the so-called " Jonkman interpretation ". Mr. Jonkman, Minister of Oversea Territories, in commending the draft agreement to the States General towards the end of last year, explained that the Indonesian Republic could only be granted *de facto* recognition until the union between the kingdom of the Netherlands and the United States of Indonesia had been fully worked out in legal form. The deadlock was solved in a curious way when the Netherlands Government conceded that its interpretation of the terms, which it wanted to treat as part of the document, should be binding only on itself. The Dutch Conservatives, of whom the war-time Prime Minister, Dr. Gerbrandy, is still the spokesman, denounced this compromise as a capitulation to Indonesian demands. Under the agreement just signed, the Republic of Java, Sumatra and Madura receives *de facto* recognition, and the United States of Indonesia will be set up under the Dutch Crown by 1949. It is the general hope that the conclusion of this important chapter in post-war events in the Far East will herald a period of greater prosperity in Indonesia, and that the Dutch and Indonesians, working together, will be able to reconstruct the country's economic life. (*The Times*, March 26, 1947.)

The Cypriots' Choice.

THE determination with which the Cypriots have come to grips with Lord Winster must not pass unnoticed. If asked by plebiscite to-day what future they would prefer for themselves, a very considerable majority (excluding the one-fifth of the population that is Turkish and Moslem) would unhesitatingly answer: " Union with Greece." What is the force that moves them to wish to leave the British Empire, within which they are economically fairly secure, and unconditionally to join a State that is politically in chaos and a prey to inflation? They say, almost unanimously, that the motive is not hostility to Britain. Is it the notion that a British decline has set in in the Eastern Mediterranean? Or is it due to past British imprudence, or to Communist influence, or merely to Greek sentimentality? The last is the major part of the explanation. Greeks, for all their individual success in commerce, are not collectively a nation of shopkeepers, because as soon as two or three of them are gathered together their Mediterranean emotions take charge. No other explanation can account for the Cypriots' readiness to plunge into Greece's chaos without thought of safeguarding their tranquillity and economy by claiming at least some measure of local autonomy. Is Greek sovereignty, for instance, incompatible with retention of a place in the sterling area? Only the moment for their present display of feeling is prompted by outside events. Of these, far the most potent is a siren call from Greece. On February 28, just before rising for two months, the Greek National Assembly dealt with two similar resolutions on Cyprus, one from the Sophoulis Liberals and the other from the Government parties. The Government seized on a topic productive of unity and expressed its unshakable confidence in Britain's capacity to apply the principles of self-determination. Here was a fillip to the Cypriots compared with which the British exodus from Egypt or the careless American disclosure that the State Department favours a Greek Cyprus carry small weight. (*The Economist*, April 5, 1947.)

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POLICIES AND ADMINISTRATION

WHITHER SOUTH AFRICA?

Condensed from a paper read at a joint meeting of the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the Royal African Society, March 18, 1947, by Professor S. H. Frankel, Professor of Colonial Economic Affairs, Nuffield College, Oxford

S. H. FRANKEL

IT is my object to draw attention to some of the fundamental economic forces which have fashioned modern South Africa ; to certain beliefs and institutions within the framework of which these forces have operated, and to certain decisions which now confront the people of South Africa in relation to the organization of their economic activities in the future.

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the modern history of South Africa can be characterized as a struggle between the feudal eighteenth-century society of the European immigrant population which penetrated from the South, and the pastoral pagan Bantu societies which migrated from the North, eventually to be overcome by the European colonists. The Industrial Revolution, and the World Economy, burst upon South Africa with the discovery of diamonds, and subsequently gold. These unforeseen events encouraged also the final stage of exploration of the African Continent as a whole. With these mineral discoveries there began, not only a new political, but also a new economic era—both for the patriarchal society of the white and for the tribal organization of the black man. Diamond production proved the most effective means for obtaining surplus wealth with which to obtain from abroad the capital instruments which South Africa so sorely required in order to open up its vast territories and to span them with modern means of communication. Moreover, it altered the manner in which Europe regarded the Cape Colony and established it in the eyes of the old world as a land of new possibilities in its own right in place of a somewhat troublesome halfway house to India.

The diamond pioneers, by establishing the financial nexus between Europe and Kimberley, enabled the South African Colonies to take full advantage of the second miraculous occurrence—the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886, which led to a renewed wave of migration of capital and men from overseas to the economically barren interior. It is significant in reaching an understanding, not only of the past, but of the present, that ever since the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, both South African and overseas experts were often more concerned with uttering warnings as to the not far distant decline of the industry, than with its real potentialities. It is probably due to this pessimism that economic policy in South Africa towards mining, taxation and labour questions has been unnecessarily affected by what might be described as " the mining-camp mentality ", which is more concerned with what might happen when the mining camp may be deserted than with the conditions which have to be fulfilled in order that it should continue. Gold has played the same part, relatively speaking, in the emergency of South Africa as an economic power, as coal did in Great Britain. It did not, it is true, feed the furnaces of its export industries. It, itself, provided the exports with which in turn South Africa bought, from abroad, the capital and consumer goods which have established modern standards of life for its inhabitants. Gold-mining continues to occupy this pre-eminent, and so far irreplaceable, position in the South African economy.

With the end of the Boer War came the third wave of migration of men and capital. This was followed by radical alteration in the technique of mining and metallurgy, which led to the opening of the deep level gold mines, and the great boom in 1911. There followed the first World War, the rise in cost of mining, and the steady decline with minor cyclical interruptions until 1932. Thereafter, the series of changes in the world price of gold encouraged those boom conditions which, with very minor setbacks, lasted until the war, were fanned by the war economy and have gained a new lease of life through the discovery of the remarkable new goldfields of the Orange Free State, and the large capital investments from abroad which they have stimulated. Just as in the case of the first World War, so the second World War gave a great impetus to the growth of manufacturing industry and much of this expansion is again likely to prove permanent. Moreover, throughout this period of the modern economic history of the Union, agricultural production has drawn heavily on the capital resources made available through mining activity and has expanded in response to both export and growing home markets.

In the face of this repeated beckoning of the finger of fate, who would dare to be a pessimist in regard to the natural resources of South Africa ? In addition to gold and diamonds and platinum, exploration has disclosed important base mineral resources—in particular, valuable low-cost coal and iron deposits, which have enabled the creation of an iron and steel industry and could, given those changes to which I shall refer later, lead to a wide complex of modern chemical and engineering industries based thereon. Moreover, South Africa contains large areas suitable to specialized agricultural and pastural production for export, and other regions well able to produce by modern methods all of the food supplies for a much greater population than that which now inhabits the country.

This cursory glance at the natural resources of the country can usefully be supplemented by a brief account of noteworthy changes in the national income. If we take the periods 1911/12 to 1919/20, and 1922/23 to 1928/29, and 1932/33 to 1938/39, each of which, broadly speaking, commences a year after a depression or recession reached its lowest point (and each of which ends with the peak year of the subsequent boom), we get three comparable periods in the history of the Union which are of great interest. We find that the national income at constant prices per head of the gainfully employed population increased at an average annual rate of 1·4 per cent in the first period, 2·5 per cent in the second, and 5·3 per cent in the third period. It is not possible for me, in the course of this brief address, to examine these changes in detail, and I have, therefore, to content myself with drawing attention to certain significant aspects.

First, I should like to draw attention to the fact that the Union is still greatly dependent on international trade, and obtains a large comparative advantage therefrom. The present equipment of South Africa in material capital (and in its location), and also in the nature of the skill of its inhabitants, is of a kind which, in one way or another, is largely based on a system of production for export. It is noteworthy that of the total value of exports (excluding re-exports) in the period 1932/33 to 1938/39, the exports of minerals accounted for over 76 per cent (of which 71 per cent were gold exports), whereas the average annual value of agricultural exports accounted for only 20·07 per cent. This decline in the relative importance of agricultural exports, which has been almost continuous, is not likely to be arrested without those institutional changes to which I will refer later.

The extent of the expansion of manufacturing industry is shown by the remarkable increase in the net product of secondary industry. Twenty years ago this amounted to about £32,000,000, in 1938/39 it had reached nearly £70,000,000, and the preliminary estimate for 1944/45 is over £95,000,000. This expansion has naturally been reflected in a large growth in the number of workers employed. From 124,000 in 1916/17 the number rose to 352,000 in 1938/39, to 390,228 in 1940/41, and to 471,000 in 1945. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the great expansion in manufacturing industry, the value of the exports produced by it remain very small. It was only just over £2,500,000 for the period 1932/33 to 1938/39, equivalent only to 2·5 per cent of the Union's total exports. Even more important is the fact that 50 per cent of all raw materials used in manufacturing industry had to be imported. Manufacturing industry itself was thus not able to supply more than an insignificant proportion of the exchange resources which it required for its productive activities and their expansion. These exchange resources had to be obtained from the sale of the Union's other exports.

The Union's experience in this connection had more than local significance. It throws into sharp relief the problems of industrialization in other African territories and, indeed, in other

backward areas of the world. It is sometimes hastily assumed that more effective employment in such territories can be provided by increased self-sufficiency and by the diversion of labour resources from industries producing for export to industries producing for the home market—in particular to secondary industries. The experience of the Union shows the fallacy of this belief and indicates the importance of maintaining exports, either in the form of additional manufactured products, or in the form of raw materials. If an economy has attained to certain income standards on the basis of appreciable advantages from international trade, then if these advantages should for any reason be reduced in the future, the national income per head will fall, unless the structure of the economy can be so modified as to make good the loss of the real income from this source.

The second point to which I would invite your attention is that notwithstanding the fortunate opportunities and the developments to which I have referred, the overall picture which the Union's economy presents is still one of great poverty for the mass of its inhabitants. The general poverty of a large proportion of the people of the Union has been the main aspect of its economic life. I suggest, however, that it is not the most significant conclusion which can be drawn from the relevant data. If we examine these figures we can detect certain tendencies of considerable importance. In the first place, it is clear that there has been a steady and very substantial rise in the average income per head since Union. Non-European incomes are very much lower than European incomes, but what is here most significant is that the incomes of the non-Europeans who have been drawn into the orbit of modern economy have increased so greatly as compared with the primitive subsistence standards of the tribal economy. In 1942/43 there were 671,812 Natives employed in private manufacturing industry, in mining, and on the South African railways and harbours. These earned total incomes amounting to £39,220,000, or an average of £59·4 per head (as compared with an average of £39 per head in 1936). The number of Europeans employed in the same industries was 240,776, who obtained incomes totalling £80,252,000 or £333·3 per head. The non-European incomes earned in these industries should be contrasted with the incomes of those occupied in subsistence production in the native areas. For these, rough calculations made in 1936 indicated an average income of about £3 per head per occupied person. It is probable that this figure in 1942/43 had reached about £5 or £6. While a large part of the non-European peoples in the Union is still confined to subsistence production yielding an extremely low standard of life comparable to that which continues to dominate the economy of most of Africa, it is probably true to say that the most characteristic feature of the Union's economic history during the last fifty years has been the tempo with which its indigenous peoples have been swept into, and have benefited from the modern economy.

At first sight one might, on the basis of these trends, be tempted to assume that the Union is merely repeating the economic experience of other societies subjected to the pressure of industrialization, and, therefore, to forecast that the trend of average income per head is likely to be steadily upward, except for temporary setbacks due to world economic events and cyclical fluctuations. Unfortunately, the industrial revolution in South Africa cannot be said to be proceeding automatically on these lines. The tide of economic change which has swept South Africa has not created a mobile integrated economic society, but an economy which is composed of a peculiar series of non-competing income-creating groups. For the most part these groups are stratified horizontally, not in accordance with their actual or potential income-creating powers, but in accordance with the racial origin of their members. There is very little opportunity for the members of one group to promote themselves by their own efforts into membership of a higher income group. In consequence of this system " skilled wage rates are high, both in relation to unskilled rates and in relation to the average productivity of labour. . . . Whereas in the western world the spread between the highest and lowest rates of wages is usually about 30 per cent, and seldom more than 50 per cent, in the Union it is several hundred per cent ".*

The economic structure of capitalist economy in South Africa is thus one of industrial caste. Whereas in non-caste societies men are promoted on the ladder of achievement, with appropriate allowances for minor non-economic factors, in South Africa the non-economic factors predominate and non-European workers can climb only a few notches of the economic ladder to find the next section barred to their advance. Indeed, for the great mass of non-Europeans, there is only one section of the ladder—that of unskilled labour, and that section has very few rungs of promotion. For all practical purposes the laws, customs and institutions of the Union have the effect of bringing about a situation in which productive power is circumscribed by race. Over large sections of economic enterprise those responsible can increase or decrease the size of the team, but they cannot easily vary its proportionate racial composition, or alter the scale of remuneration, or the nature of the tasks allotted to the different races of which the team is composed.

The " multi-racial team system " of organizing labour prevents the full development of latent income-creating power through specialization, appropriate incentives and individual economic mobility. It also disturbs the whole process of investment and the organization of production in accordance with the most effective combination of capital and labour in the social interest. The general picture which emerges from this analysis is that of a society standing halfway between a feudal, or patriarchal organization of effort on the one hand, and a modern open economic society on the other.

In my opinion, the most important task now facing the Union is that of conducting an objective, independent and expert inquiry into the following questions :

(1) The effect of the present organization of South Africa's economic life and labour on the productivity of the country.
(2) What alterations in existing forms of economic organization would increase productivity, and would raise the national income, and, while at least maintaining existing high income standards, would raise those of the economically backward sections of the community.
(3) The effect on different races, classes of workers, and producers of any changes in economic organization which may be found necessary or desirable.
(4) The practical measures which may be necessary to compensate or assist those races, classes of workers, and producers who may be detrimentally affected by economic changes required to raise the incomes of the under-developed sections of the community, while ensuring the maintenance of those higher incomes consonant with the aspirations of modern civilization.

The Europeans in South Africa have throughout their history raised the standards of the indigenous peoples, not through the work of temporary residents, who return after a while to a metropolitan country across the seas, but by constructing a new modern society in the midst, and with the help of the native peoples. I believe that the unfolding economic history of South Africa may well contain constructive lessons of great importance for the modern world which is still excessively preoccupied with the belief that the economic progress of under-developed societies must proceed on exclusive nationalistic lines. The existence of a permanent European population with high economic and cultural aspirations has been the main cause of the relatively rapid economic advance of the indigenous peoples of South Africa. South Africa's problem is how to maintain and increase income standards all round instead of diluting those already achieved. It is a problem of modifying old and creating new institutions, a problem of change and a problem of assistance to those detrimentally affected by the change, a problem of growth and of social experimentation rather than of dogmatic ideologies.

I am aware that there are some who might raise an objection to the assumptions on which this suggested inquiry is based. In particular, they might argue that in a multi-racial society there can be no general interest, but only the particular warring interests of its diverse racial groups. In my view, there now exists an objective world economic solidarity, which is an inescapable reality and affects the lives of individuals in every community on the globe. This world economic solidarity exists whether we like it or not, but there is a distinction between it and our subjective solidarity, the solidarity which we feel and create

* Report No. 282 of the Board of Trade and Industries " Investigation into the Manufacturing Industries in the Union of South Africa " First Interim Report, 1945, para. 412.

by an active attitude of our mind and soul. For the full realization of the benefits of world economic solidarity the subjective appreciation of that solidarity must enter into the consciousness of the peoples of the world. If it is true that the world as a whole is indeed an economic unity, and that perhaps nothing is more important for the future of all of us than a realization of this truth, how much more justified is it to postulate an objective economic solidarity in any particular country, no matter how racially diverse may be the composition of its inhabitants, and to stress the necessity of a subjective realization of this inescapable fact. Indeed, there is no single part of the multi-racial society of South Africa which can even at this moment of great prosperity afford to be oblivious to the direction and rate of movement of the society as a whole.

As I see the position, the Union now stands before greater opportunities than ever before in her history. The constructive forces of industrialism have advanced further within her borders than in any other territory in Africa. A large, new generation of men and women is emerging from her schools and universities, equipped as never before, to grapple with South African problems. Moreover, in the last twenty-five years great advances have been made in dealing with the educational and sociological problems of its diverse peoples, and a larger proportion of these than exists anywhere else in Africa has benefited from contact with, and the discipline of modern economic processes.

Yet notwithstanding the great economic tasks which the Union has already performed in developing its backward inhabitants, there is a very great danger that, intoxicated by the economic windfalls which the war and the new mining discoveries have unfolded, the dragging effects of the outworn system of labour organization which still predominates will again be overlooked, and that the country will, as a consequence, be unable to realize those very opportunities which have encouraged the remarkable spirit of economic enterprise which now exists.

There are significant signs that the Union cannot cope effectively with its growing economic responsibilities. For the real meaning of the desperate struggle against poverty of a large part of the urban proletariat, both black and white, is that, although its money income is higher than previously, its efforts have not yet been so organized as to yield the much higher living standards required by an urban industrial working force. The need to house, feed, clothe and educate this continuously growing urban proletariat throws a tremendous strain on the Union's economy. The strain in the towns is paralleled by a strain in the country where agriculture is faced with the need for a radical change in its customary organization of work and life if it is to keep pace with the new demands made upon it for food and raw materials by an improving national standard of nutrition on the one hand, and by world changes in agricultural techniques on the other hand.

In mining, the strain is clearly visible in the steady rise in gold-mining costs, which come up against the ceiling of a fixed price for gold over which the Union has no influence. Apart from monetary factors, the basic cause of this rise in cost lies in the rigid labour structure of the industry. The same strain on labour resources is shown in manufacturing industry by its inability to compete more effectively in world markets.

Here, then, are objective problems which challenge all classes and all sections in the Union. Their solution is as vital to employers as employees, to producers as to consumers, to one race as to another. They constitute the supreme challenge of South Africa's natural and human environment—a challenge which the Union must meet and which cannot be escaped by taking merely monetary advantage of good fortune, which is as liable to obscure basic economic realities as misfortune will ruthlessly expose them in all their nakedness. On the extent to which the Union succeeds in grappling with these problems will depend, not only such mundane matters as the rate of growth of the national income, but the role which the Union will play in the rest of Africa, to which it is already imparting so much, and could impart so much more.

In the last resort, the future of the Union depends upon the power of those with whom decision rests, to make not merely economic but, rather, new moral decisions. In saying this I do not have in mind the application of a ready made or absolute moral yard-stick—as if the problem involved were simply that of questioning the moral worth of the people of the Union. That is too simple, even if at times a very popular method of escaping from reality. The men and women of South Africa on whom the responsibility for decision in these questions now rests are no better and no worse than other men and women which compose the human family of nations and societies. Like these they are encompassed by fears and doubts—some peculiar to their own environment and history, others which they share with their fellow-men across the seas. Their problem, like those of other peoples, is to disentangle right from wrong and to illumine the consequences of fear-impelled social action by the fearless light of reason based on social justice and greater human understanding. As Professor Ginsberg has recently written : " In a changing and highly complex society the moral problems that arise require for their solution very often not so much fresh moral insight as a scientific analysis of the situation which might render possible the application of known principles. . . . Similarly, the problem of justice between nations or social classes is often intractable, not so much on account of the obscurity of the moral principles involved, but rather because of the difficulty of calculating in advance the consequences of the different lines of policy that are possible, especially the remote consequences. In any event, even if a divergence of moral principles be involved, the rational solution of a social conflict requires in addition to moral insight and the will to act on it an exact knowledge of the objective conditions of adjustment and thus a combination of ethics with physical and social science."

It is in this sense that I conclude that the future of South Africa depends mainly on objective inquiry, and a supreme will to act on the results thereof, into those fundamental problems of economic organization which have been allowed to lie too long under the shadow of fear and doubt. I believe that, if these problems are resolutely attacked, the Union is likely to experience an era of development greater than any in her past, and that the peoples of South Africa have no reason to believe that they cannot cope with them nobly in the interests of the Union, of Africa, and of the world.

The East African Groundnuts Scheme

Condensed from an address by Mr. Frank Samuel, Managing Director of the United Africa Company, Ltd., to a joint meeting of the Royal African Society and the Royal Empire Society on Wednesday, March 26, 1947, and an article in the "Crown Colonist" of April, 1947, by Dr. H. Martin-Leake, formerly Principal of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture

FRANK SAMUEL

THE great undertaking into which His Majesty's Government is entering, which is fully described in the White Paper entitled *A Plan for the Mechanized Production of Groundnuts in East and Central Africa** has its origin in the alarming world shortage of oils and fats, the effects of which are so clearly visible in our own attenuated fat rations. The White Paper makes it clear that a detailed examination of the probable trends of world production and demand shows that in the absence of special measures on a larger scale than any at present in operation, oilseeds, oils and fats are likely to fall short of the world's requirements for a long period, extending probably beyond 1960. Vegetable oils constitute a large proportion of the total world consumption of edible fats, and they are also required in vast quantities for technical purposes, as, for example, the manufacture of soap, paint and linoleum. They derive from two sources —plantation crops which take from seventeen years to come to maturity such as coconut oil, palm oil and palm kernels, and olive oil, and annual crops such as groundnuts, linseed, sunflower seed and rapeseed, and cottonseed which is, of course, itself a by-product.

Of the various types of annual oilseeds, the groundnut is the most highly desired for conversion into edible products, containing, as it does, about 43 per cent of oil, and the cake residue is a valuable cattle food. The groundnut also has the virtue that it will grow in poorish sandy soils and does not require heavy rainfall. Provided the spread of the rains is satisfactory, 30 to 40 inches per annum is regarded as ample. But, despite the

* See *The Colonial Review*, page 58 of this issue.

speedy growth of annual oilseeds, it is not expected that the normal sources of supply can be looked to for any large increase in production. Oilseeds produced from these sources in the Tropics are, in the main, the product of marginal labour of tens of millions of men, women and children whose main occupation is subsistence farming. The methods of agriculture which they employ are not far in advance of those in use in biblical times.

It was the appreciation of these, among many other factors, together with the brilliant investigation and report prepared by the Wakefield Mission, which has resulted in His Majesty's Government entering upon this vast scheme, described in a leading article in *The Times* as " the boldest and most comprehensive scheme ever launched for the development of backward territories ". It is proposed, in a period of six years, at an estimated capital cost of some £26,000,000, and by utilizing the most highly mechanized forms of land clearing and agricultural development, to clear and bring under cultivation an area approximating 5,000 square miles, of which about two-thirds will be in Tanganyika and the balance in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia. The total area is equivalent in size to the whole of Northern Ireland, or about two-thirds of the whole of Wales. The areas affected consist mainly of tsetse fly-infested bush country which is virtually uninhabited, and consequently problems of resettlement do not arise as land is not being taken which is at present under cultivation, or capable of being cultivated, by the indigenous peoples.

There is but little surplus labour available in Tanganyika, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, and the most complete mechanization is therefore necessary. No operation will be performed by hand for which mechanized equipment is available. Immense fleets of heavy tractors, bulldozers, angle-dozers and rippers will be needed in the clearing operations, to be followed by fully mechanized equipment for cultivation—light tractors equipped with modern implements, ploughs, disc harrows, cultivators, planters, diggers and combine harvesters will be used. It is estimated that the initial land clearing and the construction of the necessary installations will require a labour force of 25,000 at the peak of operations in 1949 and 1950, whilst the actual farming operations when the whole area is under cultivation will call for only 32,000 African workers of whom about 8,000 will be of special categories—tractor drivers, hospital orderlies, clerks and so on. It is believed that these categories will be filled mainly from the ranks of discharged Askaris who received specialized training during their military service, and for many of whom suitable employment is not at present available. The total number of Europeans required for the land clearing and constructional operations is about 500, and for the permanent operations of the project approximately 750. This figure includes, in addition to unit managers and engineers, specialized personnel such as surveyors, soil conservation experts, doctors and labour and welfare superintendents.

Whilst the primary purpose of this scheme is to grow groundnuts in large quantities, and the figures of employment to which I have just referred are those envisaged directly in relation to groundnut production, it is obvious that the economic benefits will extend far beyond the undertaking. As, for example, the water supplies and the improved means of communication required to serve the groundnut areas, and the eradication of the tsetse fly, will facilitate the opening up of other large areas in which the mineral and agricultural resources lie to-day beyond the range of economic development. Looking further to the future, it is possible to see other economic developments arising out of the conditions created by this project. The good fodder provided by the tops of the groundnut plant, and the abundant pasturage provided by the grass leys—which will cover roughly half the total acreage brought into cultivation—suggest that stock farming might in time become an important industry in these groundnut areas. The agency responsible for this East African development is specially charged with the responsibility of developing the whole of the resources within the areas concerned. From the outset the cereals required for feeding the African labour will be produced within the areas by the same fully mechanized agricultural methods as will be employed in the groundnut production. It is the intention that the areas shall, in so far as is possible, be self-supporting.

In this undertaking there can, of course, be no question of exploitation of the land, and consequently it is intended that only half the total developed areas should be under groundnuts at any one time, the remainder being under a grass ley, or possibly sorghum or sunflower. If the last-mentioned rotation was found to be agriculturally sound it would, of course, raise very largely the oil production from these areas. The rotational methods to be used will be the subject of constant research, and it will be ensured that the fertility of the soil is maintained, and wherever necessary raised, by the use of fertilizers : indeed, the expenditure on these may well amount to some £2,000,000 per annum. It is further proposed to employ the modern methods of contour cultivation, terracing and ridging from the outset, so as to avoid any danger of soil erosion and to ensure the fullest conservation of humidity in the soil. The application of scientific knowledge and research is essential for the fullest realization of all the possibilities of this undertaking, and consequently it is proposed at the outset to set up a research section whose primary task in the earlier years will be to conduct research and trials to make possible the maximum economic production of groundnuts by the use of liming materials, fertilizers, suitable varieties, methods of soil conservation and rotation and methods of disease control.

To make possible the development of the selected areas in the Southern Province of Tanganyika—areas amounting in all to one and one-third million acres—a new railway and harbour with deep water berths, bulk storage and port installations will be built at a cost estimated at some £2,500,000, whilst the development in areas situated in the Central Province will necessitate substantial additions to the rolling stock of the Central Line and to the equipment of Dar-es-Salaam harbour.

The establishment of settled communities of African labourers and skilled artisans with their families will require the most careful study from every point of view. The anthropologist, the doctor, the scientist, the entomologist and other specialists will all play their part in ensuring that these village communities set a new standard for community life in East Africa. In addition to a scientifically balanced diet, the villagers will have progressively the benefit of trained medical services with pre-natal clinics and health centres, of education and welfare officers, and of canteens and meeting halls where they may make their purchases and develop their own ways of life. It is a vast field for experiment, but the goal before us is the creation of a settled self-contained community producing its own leaders and providing a basis for education in agricultural methods and civic responsibility.

But I have yet to touch upon the most important, namely the economic aspect of this undertaking, which has for its object the production of wealth from these unpopulated lands. Let there be no misunderstanding here ; this is no case of the heavily overburdened taxpayer being called upon to make further sacrifices for the advancement of colonial peoples ; on the contrary, the whole basis of the scheme is its economic soundness. After the most careful screening of the detailed estimates of costs and yields per acre, after increasing the former and reducing the latter, and after including in the figures Mr. Dalton's approved interest of 2½ per cent per annum on all Treasury advances, the estimated cost per ton F.O.B. East African ports amounts to £17 18s. on the lowest estimate of yield ; it is assumed that during the first four crop years the fair market price on the same basis will not fall below £30 per ton—and it may well be very much higher—and that thereafter it will not fall below £20 per ton. It is thus apparent that apart from the substantial relief in fat supply which will arise from this scheme, large savings will be effected in this country's food bill.

A vast agricultural operation of this kind, involving the use of all the latest techniques of mechanized production in remote and undeveloped areas, clearly involves considerable risks. Serious difficulties and delays, many of them unforeseeable, may arise in the course of the undertaking. The view taken by His Majesty's Government, after making the most careful investigation possible of the financial aspects of the scheme, is, however, that these risks are justified by the critical shortage of oils and fats in the world to-day, and by the prospect of continuing shortage to which I referred at the beginning of this talk. I should make it clear that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government that the undertakings shall be transferred to the Governments of the territories concerned at a time and on terms to be agreed in the light of the experience of the working of the project, and it is envisaged as the eventual goal to transfer the control to the

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African people themselves, but this ultimate stage of the development must, of course, be dependent upon the emergence of skilled and trained African staff for the efficient management and operation of the scheme.

Pending the passage of the Bill establishing the proposed Corporation, my Company has willingly agreed—upon the invitation of the Minister—to act as Managing Agents for the Government, and we have been charged with the heavy responsibility of bringing this vast undertaking into being and of laying solid and lasting foundations upon which the new Corporation will be able to build an enterprise which *The Times* described as inviting comparison with the Tennessee Valley Authority.

I firmly believe that agriculture, and agriculture alone, can form the solid foundation for any real improvement in the standards of living of the African peoples. No one can deny that present standards are deplorably low—in many cases large sections of the population are existing on a nutritional standard which borders on the starvation line, whilst elsewhere a diet completely lacking in animal proteins renders millions of the people incapable of hard or sustained effort. And all the time, intensifying this problem, there is the natural increase in the population, growing in ratio as grants from the Colonial Development Fund result in steady improvement of medical and health services. It would seem that the only prospect in the coming years for the mass of the people in tropical Africa is a constantly diminishing standard of life unless the productivity of the soil can be raised, and that rapidly, and unless means can be found to bring under cultivation lands of marginal fertility which would appear to have remained neglected throughout the centuries. Any one who believes that we can afford to await the gradual education of the mass of the people, so that the improved educational basis will of itself create conditions for a large increase in productivity is deluding himself—unless, of course, he is willing that masses of the population shall at best go grossly undernourished during the period that will be required for that education to become effective. And then again, what prospects are there of bringing education to masses of undernourished people ?

Great sums are being made available to Africa through the Colonial Development Fund, and a large part of these monies is being employed to improve social services, but I submit that these grants will not in the long run serve any useful purpose unless at the same time means are devised so to develop the soil that it will yield the wealth necessary to develop and maintain those services and generally to raise the standard of living. The large increase in agricultural output arising from the introduction of western methods would, of course, be achieved with far less effort by vastly fewer people than are at present engaged in subsistence farming, but there are surely solid grounds for believing that the labour at present so uneconomically employed which would be released from its present toil, could be occupied in the creation of further wealth through the development of industry and services which would, without doubt, go hand in hand with agricultural progress. I recognize that an agricultural revolution in Africa is easy to speak of but hard to realize, for the conservatism of the African people is deep rooted. But surely progress has been resisted by masses of people in all ages and in all lands. The East African Groundnuts Scheme will, I am convinced, by providing a practical demonstration of the wealth and health, social welfare and prosperity which large-scale scientific agriculture can bring to Africa and her people, do much to overcome resistance to change.

H. MARTIN-LEAKE

In an article in the *Crown Colonist*, April, 1947, from which the following extracts are taken, Dr. H. Martin-Leake draws attention to what he considers some doubtful aspects of the scheme. He says : " Great emphasis is rightly laid in the White Paper on the necessity for soil conservation and for raising the fertility of the land. The question is whether the technical methods recommended will secure those desirable ends. For the maintenance of fertility reliance is placed on the ploughing-in of plant residues and the grass ley without animal wastes. It is extremely doubtful if such a rotation, so closely approximating to monoculture, makes adequate provision for the humus status of the soil under tropical conditions. The humus factor, though recognized, is, in fact, relegated to a purely secondary role, and the problem of soil fertility is considered from the purely chemical angle of replacing by fertilizers the plant nutrients removed.

" The groundnut is a leguminous plant, the value of nitrogen to which is stated to be possibly the carrying forward of the plant to the phase of developing effective root nodules. The reaction of leguminous plants to nitrogen has not been fully worked out, but it is certainly not as simple as here depicted. While these plants can add to their nitrogen supply through nodule formation, there is evidence to show that really healthy growth is obtained only on land rich in humus. Failure to set seed is a prominent sign of ill-health. The point is vital to the whole project, since the commercial product is the seed. For this reason, it is essential that the humus status of the soil be placed in the forefront. In the absence of an interlocked animal industry, where is that humus to come from ? The scheme involves the employment of a labour force of some 32,000 labourers—a force which, if small for the area involved, would give, with the families, no mean contribution, through an organized sanitary system, to the available supply of humus. Yet this source, which might have appeared in the forefront, linking up as it does the agricultural and social aspects of the project, is not even mentioned.

" The project envisages 107 units of 30,000 acres each, in Tanganyika (80 units), Kenya (10 units) and Northern Rhodesia (17 units). These units are scattered over a wide area with differences of soil and climate which suggest that no uniform cultural system is likely to meet the various circumstances. Essentially it is a case in which trial and error will play a large part, for agricultural science has not yet become so standardized that a dogmatic application of theory to a particular case can be made. The organization adopted is a single, Government-owned and financed Corporation and is, consequently, highly centralized. For technical advice it is clearly intended that it shall rely on the technical organization for agriculture in the United Kingdom. Experience in Hawaii offers an extremely apt comparison in this connection. The technical services of the Hawaiian sugar industry are employed by, and responsible to, the industry, and the development of highly specialized machinery, among other activities, has placed Hawaii in the forefront in mechanized agriculture. Efficiency in a technical service, in the sense of capacity to deliver the goods, is at its maximum when that service is employed by, and responsible to, the industry. This fundamental principle is entirely ignored in the present project. Local initiative must be severely restricted by the dual need for satisfying two masters—the local agents and the technical advisers who, being in England, have direct and constant access to the supreme authority, the Government, and who, secure in independent posts, can never be held responsible. Here is duality of control which may be fatal to efficiency."

Nigeria Under the New Constitution

THE new Constitution for Nigeria came into operation on January 1, 1947, and the new Legislative Council under the Constitution met for the first time on March 20 in the Council Chamber of the Secretariat in Lagos. The new Constitution provides for (1) Regional Councils for the Northern, Western and Eastern Provinces. The Northern Council consists of two chambers—the House of Chiefs (representing the Chiefs of the Northern Provinces) and the House of Assembly—while in the Western and Eastern Provinces there is in each case a single Chamber known as the House of Assembly. Each of the Houses of Assembly has an unofficial majority. The Regional Council thus established will bridge the gulf between the people and the Government of Nigeria by decentralization and will bring the native authorities within the legislative machine. (2) The Legislative Council, with an unofficial and African majority, consists of the Governor as President, thirteen *ex-officio* members, three nominated official members, twenty-four nominated unofficial members and four elected members ; eighteen of the nominated unofficial members are appointed by the Regional Councils, six are appointed by the Governor and two are chiefs appointed by the Governor from those chiefs who are members of the Western House of Assembly. Direct election is retained for the three members from Lagos municipality and the representative from Calabar municipality. The new Constitution is to be generally

reviewed at the end of the ninth year, but particular modifications may be introduced from time to time.

The Governor, Sir Arthur Richards, in opening the first session of the Council, read messages expressing good wishes from His Majesty the King and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In his opening address, from which the following extracts are taken, the Governor said : " I can say without affectation that I feel it to be a privilege to preside over this, the first meeting of the Legislative Council of Nigeria under the new Constitution. This Constitution is planned to enable the leaders of Nigeria to take an increasingly active part in framing the policy which will govern its progress, in directing its revenues to desired ends, and in adjusting its income to its policies as well as fitting its policies to its potential income. In dealing with a country of this magnitude, peopled by races of such different traditions and ways of life, it is clear that there must be within the main structure of Government a large measure of devolution. It is sometimes overlooked that there already exists in many parts of Nigeria a system of self-government so well adapted to the habits and thoughts of the people that any attempt to break it up and to impose a paper system based on alien thought and custom would be condemned at once by public opinion. This Constitution is firmly based on African institutions and is built up through Village Councils and Native Authorities and Provincial Councils. The younger and more educated generation can and should find an outlet for their civic ambitions by participating in local government first, *i.e.* in the work of local Councils and Native Authorities. But what Nigeria needs to-day is builders of foundations. It is a simple task to establish a new central legislative assembly, but it is not a simple task to make it live and work.

" I am aware that a group of Nigerians claim immediate full self-government. It is perhaps a natural claim to make for the impatient patriot who has had access to western education and political thought. But they are as yet untested in positions of responsibility and to transfer all political authority suddenly to their untried hands would be but a sham democracy. At present you have in Nigeria a large measure of local self-government, but in the main structure of Government you have a corps of advisory and executive Europeans whose purpose is to carry on the work of the country, and to help to train the Africans who will ultimately take their place. It is not enough to have men capable of doing this job or that, you need also to foster institutions and a system of government which will place ultimate control in the hands of the adult citizens of the country, and will provide these citizens with a means of expressing their views, and of educating themselves to express them and so of choosing their own Government."

Caribbean Federation

Condensed from an article in " The Manchester Guardian ", March 28, 1947

BRITISH Cabinet Ministers have repeatedly quoted the case of Jamaica as an instance in which the Labour Government's pledge of fitting the colonial peoples for greater responsibility is being carried out. They may, within the next year or two, be able to quote other instances from the West Indies. The Secretary for the Colonies is now considering the proposals of a conference of delegates from the eight Legislatures of the five colonies comprising the Windward Islands and the Leeward Islands for federation and constitutional reform.

The colonies of the Windward and Leeward groups are mere specks on the map. They cover about 1,200 square miles and their total population is a mere 360,000, but the decisions which were taken at the Conference on Closer Union at St. Kitts in late January are regarded among West Indian progressives as the corner-stone of the future West Indian Dominion. The vast majority of the delegates were elected members of Legislative Councils speaking for their colleagues. Their chairman was a coloured West Indian, Sir Clement Malone, the Chief Justice of the Windward Islands and Leeward Islands, himself a Liberal politician before his elevation to the Bench. Professor C. G. Beasley, the Economic Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies, gave them the benefit of his advice on the financial implications of a federation of the two groups. While the business of the conference concerned only the Windward and the Leeward Islands, it was considered so important that political groups in the other colonies sent observers. The task of the delegates was to agree on a way to end a waste of effort and untidiness that calls for rearrangement, diffusion, and variety where concentration and symmetry should prevail.

The delegates eventually reached agreement on an amalgamation of the Windward Islands Colonies with the Leeward Islands Colony, that the new Colony should be called " The Caribbean Federation ", and that its headquarters should be the island of Grenada in the Windwards. The Whitehall proposal that there should be a strong central Legislature found ready acceptance and it was recommended that it should have exclusive legislative power with regard to twenty-seven specific subjects, in addition to other subjects which might be declared by the island Legislatures to be within its competence. It would also have exclusive powers of taxation in respect of Customs, income tax and post office. Other recommendations include the setting up of a Tariff and Excise Board to report on matters of external trade and review the special problems of individual island industries.

Education is one of twenty-eight Government Departments which would come under the control of the Federal Government, but Federal authority would be restricted to policy and higher education, the systems of primary and secondary education —they are separate throughout the islands—being left to the island Councils. The wisdom of this is, however, gravely doubtful, having regard to the difficulties encountered by the local government in carrying out development and welfare educational projects, particularly in St. Lucia.

The constitutional aspect of the conference's recommendations reflects a progressive trend. The recommendations fall short of willingness to assume full responsibility, but they would ensure that the people's representatives share in the formulation of policy and take full responsibility for legislative decisions. The Jamaica Constitution is followed with regard to the appointment of elected members to both the Federal and the Islands' Executive Councils and to the manner in which the Governor would exercise his reserved powers. The committee system, with chairmen elected by the Legislature, is also recommended for the island Legislative Councils and it is suggested that statutory provision be made for this. Adult suffrage with a literacy test —the signing by the voter of a registration form—is recommended, and for membership of the Federal and Island Legislatures income qualification of £100 a year or ownership of unencumbered real property of a value of £200.

Official and nominated members are to be retained in both the Federal and the Island Executive Councils, but they must not together exceed the number of elected members. The Legislative Councils are to have no nominated members, but while the officials would be retained they would not have the right to vote, and the chairman, an official, would have only a casting vote. The Federal Executive Council would comprise seventeen members under the presidency of the Governor, eight unofficials elected by the Federal Legislative Council from its membership, one from each of the participating territories, three ex-officio members, and five nominated unofficials appointed by the Governor to ensure adequate representation to " all important sections and interests ". The Federal Legislature would comprise the Governor as president, with casting vote, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary (ex-officio and without vote), and twenty-one members elected by direct vote of the electorate, three each for Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, Antigua, and St. Kitts-Nevis, two for Montserrat, and one for the Virgin Islands.

The progressive view is that the retention of the property and income qualifications for membership of Councils and the retention of nominees in the Executive Councils has little to recommend it in the light of democratic practice and that persons having no place in the Legislature have no business in the Executive where policy is to be formulated. It is conceded, however, that adult suffrage (even with a nominal literacy test, which many think should not be imposed) and popular election of members of the Central Legislature are happy omens.

Promise of financial aid from the British Treasury during the federation's formative years has no doubt helped to attain such a large measure of unanimity as had at first been thought impossible. The conference's recommendations, however, have still to

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be adopted by the various Legislative Councils before the draftsmen can begin to shape the Bill that will eventually be placed before Parliament. It is probable that two hurdles will first have to be cleared. St. Kitts does not like the disparity of representation between the Windward Islands (twelve) and the Leeward Islands (nine) in the Central Legislature, while the dominant Labour members in the St. Vincent Legislative Council are opposed to centralization and want a federal system in which the islands will retain their autonomy.

Cyprus and Greece

Abridged extracts from an article by The Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, C.H., in "The Sunday Times", April 6, 1947

THE RT. HON. L. S. AMERY

IT is nearly seventy years since Disraelian statecraft included Cyprus in the British orbit as an advanced base for the defence of Turkey against a Russian menace. We may still need her as a link in the chain of bases for airborne troops on which our future defence must rest. That will depend largely on what alternative sites we retain or abandon. Meanwhile we can at any rate claim to have done our duty to the island and to its people. What was once a derelict and poverty-stricken backwater of the Ottoman Empire is to-day one of the most prosperous communities in the whole Mediterranean world.

Its population of 450,000 is two and a half times what it was in 1879, and its standard of living infinitely higher. Much good work, especially in recent years, devoted to forestry, irrigation, agricultural research and demonstration, and, not least, to agricultural co-operation and credit, all helped by war expenditure, have cleared the peasantry of their debts and set them well on their feet. Even more rapid progress is expected from the Ten-Year Development Plan which the Colonial Development and Welfare Act has made possible. The people themselves have travelled far from their former state. More than two generations separate the vigorous, go-ahead Cypriot youth who are making their way, not only in their own island, but in Egypt, South Africa or England, from the downtrodden *rayah* of Turkish days. Nor has the once indolent Turkish minority been left untouched by the general awakening of a people, long intellectually fallow, but well able, in innate wit, to hold their own with any others. In the late war Cyprus raised some 15,000 volunteers, over 5,000 of whom served abroad and won their fair share of military distinctions as well as of knowledge of the world and of confidence in themselves. Such a community will naturally wish to conduct its own local affairs and to feel satisfied with its own place in the world.

For a generation and more past, all political activity in the island has centred, so far at any rate as the Greek majority is concerned, not on immediate local issues, but on the demand for union with Greece. The demand was bound to be raised more insistently than ever after the war. It has now once again been presented to the Colonial Secretary by a formal delegation and has been met with the customary reply that no change in the status of the island is in contemplation. No other reply was possible. To hand over Cyprus to Greece in her present condition would, indeed, be a tragedy for the islanders. It would mean for them the loss of all the present and prospective benefits of the new British policy of generous development in order to share in the catastrophic financial situation of Greece. It would mean sacrificing the opportunities open to Cypriots all over the Empire as British subjects. Above all, it would mean the intrusion into the quiet life of the island of the fierce party conflicts which are tearing Greece to pieces and threatening to make her recovery almost impossible. No wonder such a prospect is viewed with inward misgiving, not only by the Turkish minority, but also by many who in public ardently profess their advocacy of "Enosis".

For all that, the agitation will persist and will continue to face the British Government with the alternatives of conceding an extension of self-government which will only be used to further the "unionist" campaign, or of keeping the island indefinitely under Crown Colony government. Is there no solution which can preserve for Cyprus the practical advantages of her position in the British Commonwealth and yet meet those elements of genuine sentiment, as well as of personal interest and ambition, which underlie the campaign?

To find an answer to that question it is necessary to ask what are the driving forces behind the movement. There is, of course, the Greek Church, still under the influence of the Ottoman tradition which identified nationality with religion. There are the able young men who feel that their professional and political ambitions would have much wider scope, not only in the island, but in the kindred kingdom. There is a certain inferiority complex attached to being inhabitants of a colony and not part of a mother country. Above all, there is a genuine desire for some sort of outward expression of the Cypriot Greek's desire to be recognized as a member of the wider Hellenic community.

Can this desire, these natural ambitions, be met without severance from the practical advantages, as well as from the wider spiritual community, of the British Commonwealth? Many years ago, when I was Secretary of State for the Colonies, I studied the possibilities of a solution which the turn of the political wheel prevented me from following up, but which may still be worthy of serious consideration. It is a solution all the more appropriate, perhaps, because it is based both on the experience of ancient Greece and on that of our modern British Commonwealth. In ancient Greece certain city states expressed their sense of special relationship to each other by a treaty admitting the citizens of each to the political rights and social privileges of the other. In our British Commonwealth to-day, where the several Governments are entirely independent of each other, they yet all recognize the "common status" of British subject and, even where there are special local conditions for the exercise of full national citizenship, they are acquired on much easier terms by fellow subjects than by aliens.

Why should not such a situation be created by special treaty between the British and Greek Governments for the benefit of Cyprus? What I would suggest is that any Cypriot should, after a minimum period of residence in Greece, be entitled to enjoy all the rights and privileges of a Greek citizen without forfeiting his status as a British subject outside Greece. Conversely, any Greek citizen settling in Cyprus should, without loss of his citizenship, similarly become entitled to all the rights and privileges of a British subject in Cyprus—and possibly, after a longer period of domicile, to those of a British subject outside of Cyprus as well. In that fashion it should be possible to meet both individual Cypriot ambitions and the wider sentiment, both in Cyprus and in Greece, for a recognition of an underlying community of culture and ideals. Instead of a source of conflict Cyprus would become a recognized link of union between Britain and that small nation for which she has always felt a special affection. As Cyprus attained to complete self-government she would, in fact, be simultaneously a member of two Commonwealths, enjoying two wider patriotisms which are never likely to be in conflict with each other.

The British Withdrawal from India

Condensed from an article in "The World To-day", March, 1947

ON February 20, the Prime Minister startled the country, and indeed the world, by making an announcement regarding the Government's intentions to transfer power in India, "into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948". There was nothing new in the long-term statement of policy. But the fixing of a definite and near date for its execution transformed a proposition to which intellectual assent had long been given into an actual impending event, the practical consequences of which were of the most profound significance. Moreover, the nearness of the date gave rise to misgivings that it might not prove possible to carry through so great an operation in an orderly and reasonable manner in so brief a time.

It might seem that in the absence of agreement between the Indian parties the British policy should have been, as it was in the war years, to stand fast and make it clear that they were not prepared to move without agreement. But this would have ignored one of the fundamental factors in the situation: the tremendous surge of nationalist feeling, stimulated by the hopes aroused by the Cripps Mission and the Cabinet Mission, and intensified by the emotions that have swept through Asia since

the war. A stonewalling attitude would have provoked a dangerous conflict with impatient and suspicious nationalism, a conflict, moreover, in which the British would have been made to appear as fighting against that very policy of self-government for India which they were sincerely pursuing, and which might well have left a permanent embitterment of feeling.

Meantime, the administrative position has been changing fast. Responsible Governments under the Government of India Act, 1935, have been restored in all those provinces where, owing to the resignation of the Congress Ministries at the beginning of the war, the Constitution had for over six years been in abeyance. An interim Government has been formed at the centre which, though it functions nominally under the Government of India Act of 1919, appears virtually to act as an autonomous Government. In this rapid loosening of British control, some of the timing may have been unfortunate. Administrative changes may have run ahead of political stability. But, broadly, these results were bound to show themselves sooner or later in the process of transfer of power. The British are engaged in the formidable task of disengaging themselves from an administration which has been responsible for the safety and well-being of some hundreds of millions of people for many generations, which had established on firm and deep foundations peace, order and justice, and which had become an integral part of the life of the people. The guiding spirit of the administration could not be withdrawn in a moment. But during the period of transition the responsibility still remains with the old rulers, while their power to discharge it is steadily draining away. That is the position that has now been reached in India, a position of administrative danger, which cannot be too much prolonged.

What then of the line of policy that His Majesty's Government have announced ? Is it a rash gamble ? Is it a realistic attempt to face up to a dangerous and complicated situation ? From the administrative point of view a fixed and near date for a great change of this nature must always be an embarrassment. There can be no certainty that the elaborate processes required will have been completed, that the contemplated treaty between Britain and India will have been settled, that the outlines of a new Constitution will have been drawn with sufficient definiteness. At the best there may be a good many ragged ends, when the time comes for handing over.

But the crucial question is whether the policy advances the prospect of Britain being able to leave India in conditions that will not lead rapidly to disorder and chaos. The best guarantee against that would be agreement between Congress and the Muslim League. No one can assert with confidence what effect the fixing of an early date for the withdrawal of the British will have on that problem. It takes the controversy out of the field of long-term manoeuvre. It brings the parties sharply up against the realities and the responsibilities of decision. If agreement is reached between the parties, the policy will have justified itself fully. If there is no agreement, then the British Government will be faced with critical decisions. They will have to make certain dispositions in advance for the handing over of our power to more than one authority. The ultimate peace of India may well depend on the wisdom of their choice.

To many people one of the most painful aspects of the situation is the fact that we shall be in no position to safeguard the interests of the minorities. There has, however, for some time been a growing realization that when India attains independence we cannot enforce any guarantee for the treatment of minorities. The greatest minority—the Muslims—will evidently receive full consideration, either by agreement with the Congress or in the final dispositions to be made by the British. For the great body of scheduled castes who follow Dr. Ambedkar it is hard to see what can be done. They have already been seriously prejudiced by the Cabinet Mission Plan, which built up the Constituent Assembly, naturally enough, on the basis of the provincial elections. But the provincial electoral system, as the result of Mr. Gandhi's famous " fast unto death ", works inequitably against the followers of Dr. Ambedkar and in favour of those who have thrown in their lot with the Congress. The minor minorities seem to appreciate the fact that their future and prosperity depend on maintaining good relations with the majority rather than on fighting it. The Anglo-Indian community, to whom the British Government have felt a special obligation, were bitterly disappointed at the Cabinet Mission's proposals. But they faced the facts realistically, and in spite of the strong pull of tradition and sentiment and considerable opposition within the community, they have adopted at the recent elections the policy recommended by their leader of identifying themselves with the national movement, and accepting without reservation their position as one of the Indian communities, instead of trying to maintain themselves as a forgotten outpost of the British Empire.

Ever since the British announced their intention that India should be left to frame its own constitution and to decide whether it would remain within the Commonwealth or not, it has been recognized that the termination of political relations need not mean the termination of relations of friendship or the breaking of cultural and personal ties and the bonds of commerce and industry. Whether these will survive must depend on the circumstances and the manner in which the British resign their old-time power. If they were to leave in conditions of turmoil and hatred arising from conflict with the forces of nationalism, the relations between the two peoples might be poisoned for many years. But if Britain can lay down her task in friendship, the relations of the two countries may be reborn in a new spirit of equality and trust and common interest.

Ceylon's New Constitution

Abridged extracts from a Background Note on Political Progress in Ceylon issued by the Empire Information Service, Central Office of Information, March 17, 1947

IN the summer of 1947 an important event in British colonial history will take place with the inauguration of a new Constitution in Ceylon. Under this new Constitution, Ceylon will be the first British colonial territory with a non-European population to receive fully responsible and representative internal self-government, with the assurance that it is intended to be the foundation " upon which may be built a future Dominion of Ceylon ".

The new Constitution provides for complete internal self-government and, except for matters relating to defence, external affairs and safeguards against racial or religious discrimination, the new Parliament of Ceylon will have complete control over the Ceylonese, a mixed population of more than 6,000,000. Based on the British parliamentary system there will be two chambers —one, a House of Representatives consisting of 101 members, of whom six will be nominated and the others elected by universal suffrage ; the other a Senate of thirty, of whom fifteen will be elected by the House of Representatives and fifteen appointed by the Governor. There will be a Cabinet of Ministers collectively responsible to the Ceylon Parliament ; a Prime Minister appointed by the Governor as the person most likely to command a majority in the newly elected House ; other Ministers appointed by the Governor on the recommendations of the Prime Minister, and Parliamentary Secretaries appointed by the Governor to assist the Ministers in the parliamentary and departmental duties. The only classes of Bills which the Governor will be required to reserve for His Majesty's assent are those relating to defence and external affairs, and those which in the Governor's opinion are likely to involve discrimination against any racial or religious community, or those which have evoked serious opposition from such a community. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will retain the power to legislate by Order in Council only for defence and external affairs, and to amend or revoke the Constitution.

Before the new Constitution can be brought into being, elections must be held in accordance with recommendations for " weightage " for the minorities. This has meant that a census has had to be taken in order that new electoral districts might be demarcated. As a result of the war, no census had been held in the island since 1931, when its scope was limited owing to financial difficulties. The census that took place in February, 1946, was planned on an ambitious scale and designed to give not only population statistics but to survey agriculture and industry, showing the number of acres under cultivation, the types of crop, the number and nature of commercial establishments, their labour strength, etc. The complete results have not yet been worked out, but the following population figures have been

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released. For purposes of comparison the 1931 estimates are also given :

	1931	1946
Total Population	5,306,871	6,650,825
Europeans	9,577	5,292
Burghers, Eurasians, Euro-Ceylonese	34,728	36,104

The next step that had to be taken before the elections was the delimitation of electoral areas to be carried out in such a way as to ensure that the minorities would be in a position to represent their interests. As recommended in the Soulbury Report, the Commission, appointed by the Governor in 1946, to do this, consisted of three people unconnected as far as possible with politics. Their job was to divide each province into electoral districts, and in areas where there were large minority groups to create multi-member constituencies if necessary. The difficulties the Commission had to contend with were many. Voting strengths as well as actual numbers of people had to be taken into account ; the physical features of certain areas affected transport which in turn affected the delimitation ; and representation of certain minorities was hard to attain since for occupational reasons they are scattered over many areas and do not form single concentrations. The Commission began its work in June, 1946, and by September had completed its task after working on the census results and hearing representations from all communities. The island is now divided into eighty-nine electoral districts to return ninety-five members to the new House of Representatives, and the Commission has created five multi-member constituencies, in which a voter has as many votes as there are seats provided for in that district. Of the minorities the Ceylon Tamils will be able to return thirteen members, and the Indians seven, both communities being able to return one more member between them in a multi-member electoral district ; the Muslims will be able to return four members and have a strong voice in two single-member constituencies. The majority community under its two categories of Low-Country Sinhalese and Kandyans can return thirty-two and thirty-six members respectively.

Until recent times it cannot be said that Ceylon had any " political parties " in a national sense. There were groupings and associations of people for particular purposes, and these groupings were at times based on some philosophical or ideological principle, but the principle was upheld only for some specific aim and not used as a basis on which a whole Ceylonese way of life might be built, but only as a basis on which might be built a Sinhalese or Tamil way. Between the groups themselves, " political " relations have been confined mainly to manoeuvring for a larger number of seats in the Legislature—and this manoeuvring has been usually engineered by a communal group endeavouring to gain greater representation for itself and not for the people of Ceylon as a whole. It was this kind of difficulty which had led the Donoughmore Commission to propose a system comparable to the League of Nations Standing Committees and to seek to discourage communal nationalism. In recommending a Constitution based largely on the British model, the Soulbury Commission pointed out that though the people of Ceylon had not reached the same stage of political development as the people of Britain, it seemed better to devise a Constitution somewhat in advance of the stage already reached rather than behind it. The proper working of the British Constitution is conditioned by the party system, and the Soulbury Commission was well aware that Ceylon would find it difficult to work her new Constitution until parties became divided on political and economic rather than on racial lines. The regulations laid down for the Delimitation Commission by means of which they were to ensure the adequate representation of minorities would, it was hoped, lessen communal cleavages, and in their report the Delimitation Commission point out that they have worked on a territorial basis in which the communal element (*i.e.* safeguarding minorities by multi-member constituencies) will probably lessen communalism since it will force candidates and voters alike to non-communal ways of thought. Whether this will actually happen only experience can show, and events since the acceptance of the new Constitution show that there are now emerging political parties with definite policies and programmes.

Up to the beginning of 1947 two parties have come forward strongly. These are the United National Party under the leadership of Mr. D. S. Senanayake (leader of the State Council), and the Lanka Swaraj Party. Both parties claim to be non-communal since they are made up of members of all communities and creeds. The United National Party in its manifesto states that it stands for " equal rights and opportunities for every citizen . . . for the unity of all communities . . . the well-being and progress of the masses ". The party has produced a seven-point programme, the chief points of which are that the State should guarantee prices of essential agricultural products by regulating imports and where necessary act as distributing agent ; that industrial development should be initiated and subsidized by the State ; that monopolies must be under public control and that where competition would be beneficial the highest level of working conditions, housing, etc., should be maintained ; and that the free educational system on national lines should be continued.

The Lanka Swaraj Party has stated that its object is to " make Ceylon the home of a sovereign, free and democratic system of Government . . . assuring all inhabitants individual liberty and economic security . . . ". The Swarajists advocate the extension of representative local institutions and increasing decentralization ; partnership " in authority, counsel and funds " between national Government and private interests or local government ; equal pay for equal work for men and women ; nationalization of road motor transport ; planned national economy that does not eliminate private enterprise ; the removal of all controls except those on rice. Both parties seem agreed on the necessity for increasing agricultural production, developing industries and completing the hydro-electric scheme.

In addition to these main parties there are several left-wing parties, *e.g.* the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Bolshevik-Leninist Party, as well as a Communist Party which so far have neither aligned themselves with any other groups nor put out any programmes. One former communal association—the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress—is entering the political field on its merits as a communal party on the grounds that it considers that there is not the remotest likelihood of a two-party system emerging in the near future ; that Ceylon will probably be run by a succession of Coalition Governments and Coalition Oppositions, and in that case the Tamils can be of most use by remaining a cohesive and disciplined group, representing their own race.

The Asian Relations Conference

Abridged extracts from an article in " The Times " of April 15, 1947, by their Delhi Correspondent

THE Asian Relations Conference recently held at Delhi may be regarded as an outcome of the decline of European political influence in the East, more particularly in South-east Asia, and the concomitant growth of national consciousness among Asian peoples. In brief, it was an expression of the " freedom movements " in the East, which, beginning with the turn of the century, derived their original inspiration from western ideas of liberalism and self-determination and have since been strengthened by the results of two world wars. The proceedings generally were marked by a moderate approach to the political, economic and social problems of the East. Credit for this must go to the sponsors, the Indian Council of World Affairs, and to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whose " brain-child " the conference was. He set the tone with the denial, in his inaugural speech, that this was a pan-Asian movement directed against Europe or America. " We have no designs against anybody ; ours is the great design of promoting peace and progress all over the world." Twenty-four Asian countries were represented at the conference. They were Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bhutan, Burma, Ceylon, China, Georgia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kirghizistan, Korea (the American-occupied zone), Malaya, Nepal, Outer Mongolia, Palestine, Philippines, Siam, Tajikistan, Tibet, Turkey, Uzbekistan, and Viet Nam. Over 200 delegates attended, the strongest and most numerous delegation being that from India. The six Soviet Republics were well represented by men of culture and science.

Having regard to the diverse elements and interests meeting together for the first time, the conference was more productive of agreement than might have been expected. On the subject of racial problems and inter-Asian migration a four-point programme was adopted as follows : (1) Complete legal equality of all citizens ;

(2) complete religious freedom of all citizens; (3) no public social disqualification of any racial group; and (4) equality before the law of persons of foreign origin who have settled in a country. A report on agricultural reconstruction and industrial development laid down certain general principles on which progress should be based. It includes this reference to foreign capital: "Great care must be taken in determining the conditions under which foreign capital is imported. Among such conditions should be considered the desirability of imposing limits on profits and ensuring the maintenance of minimum living standards." Another controversial subject was the transition from colonial to national economy, but here, too, the report refrained from polemics and confined itself to generalizations, as that in making the transition to a national economy a State should free itself of the dominance of foreign political influence, capital, and personnel. The subject of "national movements for freedom" produced a report more political in content than the rest. It mentioned the "intensive and widespread urge in Asian countries to terminate foreign domination". It was realized that western colonial Powers, particularly Britain, could not afford much longer to hold Asian countries in political subjection. The question therefore resolved itself into the speedy termination and peaceful transfer of political power. Referring to frequent appeals by delegates for more active help for those countries engaged in a struggle for freedom, an Indian delegate pointed out that, short of a declaration of war, it was difficult to visualize what form such help could take, except moral support. This realistic and statesmanlike view was later endorsed by the plenary session. The same report on "national movements for freedom" stated that delegates from India and China had promised their full support in getting Burma and other Asian countries admitted as members of the United Nations and other international organizations.

What emerged from all this was that, apart from the emotional unity engendered by a meeting of countries whose voices have not hitherto counted for much in the councils of the world, there is an ideological kinship between those parts of South-east Asia (including India) which have been or still are under European domination. This sense of kinship applies in lesser degree to the Far East (China and Japan) and still less so to the Middle East. It can hardly be said to apply to the Soviet Republics of Asia. During a discussion on the need for a common language for Asia, it was admitted that English, being already the international language of commerce, was the obvious choice. This point of view was also expressed by Mahatma Gandhi at the concluding session. On the last day of the gathering it was announced that a permanent Asian Relations Organization was to be created. A provisional General Council was chosen, with representatives of all participating countries (except French-occupied Indo-China), and with Pandit Nehru as its president. These decisions were taken unanimously, as also was a further decision that the next Asian Relations Conference should be held in China two years hence. Every member country was urged to set up an academy of Asian studies. Dr. Sjahrir, the Prime Minister of the Indonesian Republic, arrived in time to take part in the closing stages, and Mahatma Gandhi was also present by invitation. The world has a new force to reckon with—the awakened spirit of Asia. So far it is not openly hostile to the West, though it is highly critical of its handling of world affairs. How far the new organization will reinforce the United Nations (which it supports in principle) and in what practical ways it can help to prevent international conflict remain to be seen.

Mr. R. K. Gardiner, Lecturer in Economics at Fourah Bay College, has been offered appointment for a period of two years as adviser to United Nations Organization on West African Affairs. (*Weekly Bulletin*, Freetown, January 21, 1947.)

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In view of the increased potentialities for disease and pest control offered by the development of the newer, synthetic insecticides, the Secretary of State for the Colonies has constituted the Colonial Insecticides Committee with Professor Sir Ian Heilbron, D.S.O., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., Professor of Organic Chemistry at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, as chairman to advise him in this field. (*Colonial Office Press Section*, February 12, 1947.)

SOCIAL SERVICES

Colonial Problems as a Challenge to the Social Sciences

Condensed from an address by Audrey I. Richards, Ph.D., to the Annual Meeting of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society on October 24, 1946

AUDREY I. RICHARDS

SINCE the war a series of Development Plans for the Colonies have been issued outlining five- or ten-year programmes, dealing with such fundamental matters as water supply, transport, soil erosion measures, training of medical and agricultural personnel. These plans differ in many respects from those in operation in this country. To begin with, they are on a larger scale. They also propose greater changes in the life of the people than those usually contemplated in our Society. The industrialization of communities which are mainly at a peasant level will inevitably transform their social and economic life to an extent that is hardly possible in one of the older countries that is already highly developed economically. The mechanization of agriculture in backward areas, for instance, is likely to have revolutionary effects. The recent East African Groundnuts Commission proposes the opening up of 3,000,000 acres at present covered with uninhabitable tsetse-ridden bush. Tanganyika will thus go straight from the hoe to the bulldozer, and not through an intermediate stage of the plough. Plans for the mechanization of rice cultivation in the Gambia are also under discussion. Some of the present schemes for economic development will also need great movements of people, at least as great as those that have taken place in Europe after the war. The settlement of peasant cultivators in the Gezirah area of the Sudan, or the land settlement proposals for Kenya and for Tanganyika will mean that large numbers of African peasants will be living in new types of villages and in new forms of social groups.

The changes planned for most of the Colonies are also taking place on a wider front than is envisaged here. In England new developments in industry are discussed on the assumption that our political and legal system is on a more or less fixed base. In the Colonies the industrial revolution is synchronized with a political revolution and cannot, in fact, take place without the latter. Colonial Governments are having to plan economic and technical development on a colony-wide scale, with the government of many of their peoples on a tribal basis and in some cases of very small tribal units at that. New constitutions are being handed out together with industrial systems, instead of developing ahead of them as happened in our country. Such an experiment has probably never been made in history before, even in India or in China, which have also borrowed their industrial systems from Europe and the United States.

Systems of law that cover a few hundred thousand peoples in a small-scale society are having to adapt themselves to govern relationships both within the tribe and with members of the large-scale society with which they are in contact. In Africa, at any rate, law and legal systems will have to change at a revolutionary rate if they are to continue to function successfully. At the same time, the Mass Education Report, recently published by the Colonial Office, advocates what is in effect an educational revolution and demands the rapid multiplication of trained experts in the medical, educational and agricultural fields.

Colonial Governments are also planning in nearly every case for peoples with different cultural ideals and different social structures. A contrast between European and indigenous standards of living and ways is almost universal in our Colonies, but more often than not there are several local communities to be considered and each with their own cultural values and social groups. Chinese, Indians and Malays live side by side in Malaya; Indians, Africans and Europeans in Kenya. While most of these Colonial peoples are aiming at a European standard of living and at European levels of health and education, yet they are starting towards this goal from different points and travelling at different rates. Their economic development will have to be based on different types of social structure. Thus the Colonial planner has not only to study the physical resources of different regions and the economic levels of development, but also a series of different

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cultural characteristics. Economic plans cannot be left to the economist in fact. The sociologist has an even more important role to play in the case of Colonial development than he has when working in an older civilization, of which the social system is better known.

How have the social scientists responded to this challenge? The history of the study of the Colonial peoples is revealing. Direct observation in the field was for many years almost entirely in the hands of anthropologists. Colonial tribes were studied because they were primitive, that is to say, curious and interesting. They were not investigated in order to improve their conditions. Peoples were selected for study not because they were large, thriving, politically minded and on the verge of economic expansion, but because they were small, dwindling, or even dying out. The application of anthropological knowledge to practical problems was a slow growth. Its first development was an attempt to prevent crude clashes between Europeans and primitive peoples. Colonial Governments were rapidly extending the areas under their control and occasions for conflict multiplied. Anthropologists felt they could prevent those clashes that were based on misunderstandings. In 1926, Edwin Smith wrote his book on the *Golden Stool*, showing the distress caused to the Ashanti people by the threat to their golden stool. The value of this type of anthropology became apparent. Courses on anthropology for Government officials began to be planned at Oxford, Cambridge, London, and in Sydney and Cape Town. It was social science of a crude and simple kind, but it was nevertheless a beginning of the application of knowledge to the field of Colonial administration. The next stage of development was the direct study of culture change. The period following the last war was a time of failure of morale among most of the colonizing Powers. European contact had produced unanticipated changes among primitive peoples and many of these were seen to be changes for the bad. Physical deterioration of some of the native races took place. Depopulation in the Pacific was shown to be rapid when primitive peoples came in contact with European diseases and lost interest in their own cultures. In 1929, we find Myers, the President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, writing " the usual result of contact with white races is demoralization, physical decline and diminution of numbers ". Social changes were shown to be equally disastrous in many cases. Marriage and family life were disrupted. Morality broke down. The Europeans in South Africa were commonly described by Natives as *Amakua* or " disturbers of the peace ".

Anthropologists were rapidly developing their field techniques and beginning to leave their libraries to live for periods of twelve to eighteen months among the people they were studying. It was natural that many of them should be emotionally affected with regret at the passing of the old order. They led the attack on the white man's confident assumption that he was necessarily doing good. Anthropologists began to study the effects of European contact and to investigate peoples just because they were undergoing rapid change. Lecture syllabuses on " Culture Change " appeared in university calendars. The International African Institute initiated a five-year programme of research on the effects of European contact on African society. Papers were written on the effects on African and Oceanic societies of the introduction of money, of migratory labour, of Christianity and of new systems of administration. It was a period of study of change, but generally also a period of lamentation over the fact of change.

The war led to a new orientation of interest in this type of anthropological work. Research on the effects of change receded into the background, and the era of research as a basis of change began. The difference in outlook is, I think, more significant than many people have realized. It involved the acceptance of the inevitability of change in the social structure and economic life of the simpler peasant peoples in spite of a possibly heavy cost in terms of temporary maladjustments and disillusion to the peoples concerned. It went even further than that. Caught up in the era of Colonial planning, anthropologists found themselves considering not only how to cushion the effects of change but how to bring changes about as rapidly as possible—to study local grouping in order to facilitate the spread of mass education on the planning of social services, for instance. The planning of research as a basis of development led to a new grouping of the social sciences. The field is no longer to be left to the anthropologists alone. In 1941, the Secretary of State for the Colonies set up a Colonial Research Committee, and in 1942 a Social Science Research Council composed of representatives of most of the relevant social sciences, such as anthropology, sociology, economics, political science, law, psychology, education and linguistics. This is the first combined Social Science Council that has ever been set up in this country for any purpose. This joint plan of attack in Colonial research has also been reflected in teamwork in the field. A recent survey of Ashanti province in the Gold Coast was done by an anthropologist, an economist and a geographer; and similar teams are planned for other types of work.

Besides demanding the co-operation of different experts, colonial development schemes have meant planning for continuous research. The special funds provided by the 1940 Welfare Development Act made this possible for the first time. Since its first meeting in 1942, the Social Science Research Council has considered the need for collecting basic statistics as to population and health and employment—statistics which are available to most civilized Governments, but do not exist in most Colonial areas. Estimations of the total national income of several Colonies, *i.e.* Jamaica, Northern Rhodesia and the Gambia, were made for the first time. Social and economic surveys have been planned or are being proposed. In Kenya an investigation of the efficiency of African labour on the railways is under consideration. Other schemes proposed are more definitely of a sociological type. The first scientific study of family and village life in Jamaica starts this year. Kenya will soon have three anthropologists at work studying the possibilities of carrying out new land settlement schemes. Research into indigenous law is proposed in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia and is being financed in the Gold Coast. At least three important pieces of research are being carried out in the education sphere—one is a study of women's life and labour in the Cameroons, which is to form the basis of development of a new education policy for women, another is the investigation of girls' education in the Gold Coast, and a third is the application of intelligence tests in schools in the West Indies. Studies of local government have also been given a high priority in the Council's plans. These are all pieces of research done specifically in order to facilitate change. Some of the funds given to linguistics, in fact, were granted in order to make possible the development of indigenous languages for use as a medium for propaganda for carrying out campaigns.

New lines of advance for the social sciences open up rapidly. It seems likely that we shall soon be in a position not only to carry out research as a basis of change, but to experiment in change itself. No doubt, as in other fields of social science, comparative work must be the most common substitute for the experiments carried out in other sciences on the laboratory table: that is to say, for example, in order to find out whether the British policy of educating children in the vernacular in their earliest years is better than the French policy of education in French from the infant school, we should really make a scientific study of the results of both policies; and such work has in fact already been contemplated. Again, if we want to know whether the Kenya Local Native Councils are a more hopeful basis for democracy than the Uganda system of indirect rule, we should compare the results of both systems by first-hand studies in the two Colonies.

But shall we not also have to make comparative experiments ourselves? The Tanganyikan plans for opening up millions of acres of bushland for new settlements provide an opportunity of this kind. If we want to plan a happy and successful social life for the new peasantry we shall create, would it not be possible to establish communities of different types and observe their success over a certain period of years? The nutrition team that is starting for the Gambia shortly has some such idea in mind with respect to the rice cultivation by mechanical means which is planned for that colony. The stage of social experimentation in the Colonies may have been reached.

Finally, the plans conceived by the Colonial Social Science Research Council depend on the setting up of local centres of research in the Colonies themselves. Unless the Universities planned for West and East Africa and the West Indies can undertake their own research, we shall not get any of the necessary continuity in the study of rapidly changing society or the necessary supply of trained students. An anthropological research

centre already exists at Livingstone (the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute) with five anthropological investigators in the field. Funds for a Social and Economic Research Institute at Makerere in East Africa have been voted. It is hoped that work will be done in connection with the new West Indian University and with higher Centres of Education in West Africa. Such regional development is necessary if the people of the Colonies themselves are to orient their interests to the social problems of their own countries. Most of the social scientists in India and China have been trained on English and American text-books, and they are only beginning to make direct studies of the social conditions in their own countries. In the Colonies we need to see history, sociology, economics and geography recast from the point of view of the country concerned. In South Africa world history is taught against a background of South African history, and we need to get this same kind of focus of interest in the Universities of the African, West Indian and Far Eastern Colonies. Teaching and research in these local centres of higher education will call for people of unusual imagination and originality in the initial period.

Development or Welfare?

Condensed from an article in "The Economist", March 15, 1947

IN the course of the last seven years the scope of development and welfare policy, inaugurated in February, 1940, has been greatly increased. Finance from the United Kingdom can be counted upon at least until the year 1955 and to a total of £120,000,000 during this period. More important, Colonial governments no longer regard the Development and Welfare Fund merely as a means of financing isolated projects. They have been instructed to draw up ten-year plans to promote the advance of their territories all along the line; and for the execution of these plans finance from the fund is supplementary to what can be raised from their own resources and from loans.

These ten-year plans are gradually being completed, and the table at the end of this article shows the expenditure contemplated in several colonies, distributed under different heads. It will be seen that big expenditure is planned for the social services, in particular the health services and education. This is not surprising in view of the neglect of the social services in the past. The medical and health services of Nigeria, say the compilers of the Nigerian plan, "are far below the average in the Colonial Empire and, in some respects, as bad as anywhere in the world". Again, the Jamaican Agricultural Policy Committee, reporting in 1945, stated that "there can be few countries where the over-all state of rural housing is worse than it is in Jamaica". The reason for this neglect is that the colonies could not afford social services because their resources were too small. The purpose of linking development with welfare was to encourage the colonies to increase their wealth so that they could eventually support the social services out of their own resources. If assistance had been given by the British taxpayer for welfare projects alone, there would have been no prospect of colonial peoples ever being able to do without that assistance, and "he who would be master in his own house", as the Comptroller-General for Development and Welfare in the West Indies has pointed out, "must be able to meet his bills".

What, therefore, one looks for anxiously in the development and welfare plans that are now appearing is some sign that development will proceed fast enough for the colonies to be able to carry their own burden of social services in the foreseeable future. Unfortunately, this sign is nowhere in evidence. It is not that the problem is not recognized. The residual recurrent expenditure on the various projects at the end of the ten-year period is estimated, and the question of whether the colony's finances will be able to support it is then discussed. But it tends to be regarded as a financial problem only. For instance, the Secretary of State, commenting on the plan for Zanzibar, which allocates more than one-third of the total expenditure to education, pointed out that too little attention had been paid to the development side of the programme, but agreed to the heavy commitments to education provided that the people of Zanzibar are "prepared to bear the additional taxation which will be necessary to provide the finance required". Nowhere does the plan produce estimates to show that the people will be able to shoulder this commitment. At the present time, the people of Great Britain are being told that they are heading for bankruptcy if they continue to demand the same or a higher standard of living without contributing an increased output of goods and services in return. Yet the colonies are being encouraged to plan for a higher standard of living long before it is clear whether they will be able to maintain it or not.

This does not mean that development and welfare should be regarded as mutually exclusive. In the colonies, where the present standard of living is so low that for the average man life is a prolonged struggle for subsistence, it may well be that health and educational services will have a direct effect on productivity. It is certainly premature to assume, as is so often done at present, that the African and West Indian are permanently incapable of doing an honest day's work, until their attitude has been tested in a better environment than is their lot to-day. But against this must be set the fact that every extension in the health services, every success in reducing mortality, will increase the number of people whose needs will have to be met. Unless development proceeds fast enough to enlarge the absorptive capacity of the colonies, it will soon be a question not of raising their standard of living but of preventing it from falling below its present low level.

This danger is at present most clearly apparent in the West Indies, and it has been stressed in every report and survey, official and unofficial, that has been published. In Jamaica, it is estimated that 20,000 adolescents come on to the labour market every year. Even if the object of an intensive system of agriculture—at present, only one person is engaged in agriculture for every five acres of agricultural land—were achieved, it would be impossible, so the Agricultural Policy Committee declared, for the land to absorb all the available and expected manpower. If an attempt were made to solve the unemployment problem by land settlement, it would only be at the expense of agricultural efficiency, which requires increased mechanization in order that the output from the land can be raised from its present low figure. Jamaica cannot hope, so the Committee argued, to pay for all the imports required to maintain a reasonable standard of living for the islanders. The balance must be supplied locally, even though the local costs of production are high. "It is impossible, therefore, to suppose that there can be much hope for increasing the standard of living in the island, unless a determined and constructive effort is made to use the resources of the country for every industrial purpose for which they are suited." Yet, in Jamaica's ten-year plan, the sum of £250,000 is allotted to industrial development, and it is declared that "any programme of industrialization which will be feasible in the immediate future cannot but detract from the essentially agricultural background of the country. . . .". But the plan fails to answer these questions. Can agriculture, which only receives a slightly larger allocation than is given to the health services, support an increasing population at the higher standard of living aimed at and illustrated in the allocations to the welfare programme? If not, at what standard of living can the population be supported? Or, if the higher standard of living is to be pursued, how many people can be maintained at that level, and what is to happen to the surplus?

In the Fiji plan, too, the rapid increase in the population, together with the shortage of land, is admitted to raise a serious problem, but it is dismissed with the statement that the aim of raising the standard of living would consequently be frustrated if there were a substantial and uncontrolled influx of immigrants into the colony. It is true that the economic budgeting required to answer these questions would be virtually impossible in many colonies, where the essential statistics are lacking. The Kenya plan does at least raise them, and it is significant that it is the only one to attempt to scale down the welfare side of the programme to a more practicable size. But until they are answered, how can any one say whether the purpose of the plans will be fulfilled?

The truth is that, as successive Secretaries of State have fully realized, the purpose—raising colonial standards of living—cannot be fulfilled without a far greater investment of capital than is contemplated in the ten-year plans. It is thus presumably more than a coincidence that the last few months have seen a start in the formation of public corporations, first foreshadowed by Mr. Stanley in 1945, to carry out development projects in the colonies. The first is the Cameroons Development Corporation, which will

run the former German estates in the Cameroons on behalf of the native peoples and provide welfare services—for health and education—out of its own revenue.

But this pioneer scheme has been completely overshadowed by the recently published *Plan for the Mechanized Production of Groundnuts in East and Central Africa* (Cmd. 7030). Here at last is the sort of economic planning that is needed to change the face of the Colonial Empire. Welfare services will accompany the production scheme, for each unit will be a model centre of " improved standards of housing, health, nutrition and welfare ". But from the African viewpoint the importance of the scheme lies in the economic development that is envisaged—in the revolution in agricultural technique primarily, but also in the indirect development that will follow from the improved communications and water supplies in the project's areas and from the eradication of the tsetse fly. Stock-farming and local processing industries are among the secondary developments contemplated. It is difficult to decide which is the more encouraging part of the investigating mission's report (it is interesting and significant that of its three members one was chairman of the Jamaican Agricultural Policy Committee)—the vision with which they look to the future and describe the immense potentialities of the scheme, or the hard-headed practical thinking and costing which have gone into the immediate plan for producing groundnuts.

But two things should be emphasized. First, the amount of capital that will be invested in the scheme is £25,500,000; the total area involved is 3,210,000 acres; and the farming operations will employ 32,000 Africans. The combined development and welfare plans for the whole of the three colonies concerned —Tanganyika, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia—contemplate a total expenditure of only £47,000,000. This comparison shows how totally inadequate are the colonies' resources, even when supplemented by the Development and Welfare Fund, to carry out the big development schemes that are needed. Secondly, the £25,500,000 that will be granted by the British Treasury for the production of groundnuts will be forthcoming because of the world's, including Britain's, shortage of fats. In other words, the needs of the world come first; the needs of the colonies—the urgent crying need to raise their standard of living—are only a secondary consideration. What has now to be decided is whether capital, on the scale of the groundnut plan, can ever be got into the colonies primarily for their own sake.

	Development £000						Welfare £000					Miscellaneous* £000
	Agriculture	Forestry	Irrigation	Industry	Communications	Total Development	Health	Education	Town and Village Development	Social Welfare	Total Welfare	
Cyprus	571	880	934	—	495	2,880	1,292	1,002	496	—	2,790	280
Jamaica	6,055	†	†	250	1,800	8,105	5,746	3,946	—	1,872	11,564	722
Nigeria	2,998	918	—	261	11,384	15,561	10,439	7,686	8,394	384	26,903	6,184
Sierra Leone	500	96	178	110	1,155	2,039	1,000	721	910	77	2,708	509
Kenya	6,587	459	—	100	2,186	9,332	847	2,435	3,605	35	6,922	1,332
Tanganyika	1,408	268	—	—	6,945	8,621	3,004	1,905	3,284	—	8,193	1,069
Zanzibar	130	—	—	—	19	149	340	500	329	—	1,169	—
Northern Rhodesia	2,294	314	300	—	2,170	5,078	1,598	1,536	1,670	—	4,804	2,700‡
Fiji	226	2	—	—	1,040	1,268	1,173	513	1,448	—	3,134	105

* Includes items classified as " miscellaneous " in the plans and other items, such as tourism and fisheries, which are either peculiar to one colony or not large enough to specify separately.

† Included in agriculture.

‡ Includes £1,500,000 for " rural development," that is, centres for training Africans for both development and welfare projects.

Nigerian Antiquities

The following extracts are taken from an account by Mr. K. L. Murray, Surveyor of Antiquities, of Nigeria's first exhibition of Antiquities

K. L. MURRAY

THE first public exhibition to be held in Nigeria of its antiquities was opened in Lagos on December 7, 1946, and visited during four weeks by over 30,000 people. The exhibits, which comprised only about one quarter of what has been already collected for a Nigerian museum, consisted chiefly of articles obtained during 1946 since the appointment by the Nigerian Government of a Surveyor of Antiquities. Although nearly all the works were of first-class quality, many carvings as good as or better than those exhibited were not shown as they would have overfilled the gallery. None of the famous works from Ife, moreover, were on view, nor the archaeological collection which has to be kept stored in boxes at Jos, from where it has mostly come, as there is nowhere to set it out, nor any of the many hundreds of stone carvings from Esie in Ilorin Province. It is hoped that an exhibition of this nature will be a yearly feature of the Exhibition Centre in Lagos until a permanent museum has been built.

The most important exhibit was the unique collection of bronzes which were found near Awka in the Onitsha Province in 1939 (see *Man*, January, 1940; J. O. Field: " Bronze Castings found at Igbo "). The age of these is unknown, but from indications in their design and workmanship it is possible that they are at least 600 years old and date from soon after the introduction of *cire-perdue* work into Nigeria, which is assumed to have been between A.D. 800 and 1200. Their richness of decoration suggests a Persian influence but nevertheless has distinctly West African characteristics. Among the most outstanding articles are a brazier-like pot with grasshopper decorations, two snail shells one of which is surmounted by an animal—probably a leopard—decorated with spirals, curious coils, several of which end in snakes' heads and are profusely decorated with birds, human heads, flies and beetles, and pendants including a human head with facial markings similar to those on the ancient bronze heads from Ife, an elephant's head and two rams' heads. There are also several oval bowls shaped like a calabash cut in half but ornamented with handles and a decoration of small spirals.

Two other archaeological exhibits were shown: a few rings and small pottery cylinders which were recently dug up near Lake Chad and are locally said to belong to the Sau, an allegedly giant race who were the original inhabitants of this part of Nigeria; and a small collection of unusually shaped pots that were found under a tree in the depths of the forest near Akure in Ondo Province where the Nigeria Forestry Department has established a sawmill. Several earlier finds of the Sau have been lost to Nigeria as there was no museum or official collection at the time, but it is probable that once systematic archaeological work can be carried out much will be found. There are still in existence at many of the sites of Sau settlements giant pots which take at least four people to lift. Local legend says that the Sau carried three of these pots at a time to draw water! It is possible that the pottery found near Akure is pre-Yoruba. None of the present Yoruba in Ondo Province have been able to identify these works which are somewhat similar to pottery used on graves or for

sacrificial purposes by certain " Pagan " tribes in Northern Nigeria.

Conspicuous among the exhibits and attracting much interest especially among Hausa visitors was a collection of articles that belonged to Lord Lugard and which has been presented to Nigeria by his brother, Major Lugard. This included various brass pots and jugs from Bida, and a Union Jack and a pennant of the Royal Niger Company which Lord Lugard, then Captain Lugard, carried when he made his expedition to Nikki in Bornu in 1894 in order to secure the British position on the Niger. Also from Lord Lugard's collection was a bronze panel from Benin representing the Oba Ohuan, which judging by the fineness of its modelling is probably a comparatively early work. This, and another panel representing a Portuguese officer, which was purchased in London by the Nigerian Government, were the only examples of Benin work in the exhibition. In 1897 all the ivories and practically all the bronzes were carried away, so that now there are only about fifty examples in Nigeria, whereas there are over 2,000 in Europe and America. The Nigerian Government hopes to be able to purchase some of these Benin bronzes, probably in Germany where there was a large collection before the war, and £25,000 has been provided for this purpose.

The ethnological exhibits were so displayed as to bring out chiefly their artistic qualities, for it is these which probably provide the chief interest for the younger generation. It was sometimes a difficult question to solve as to whether, for example, a legally prohibited " juju " from Onitsha Province—a carving of a girl five feet tall—should be shown as a plain wood carving or clothed as a " juju ". In the latter aspect its appearance gained a kind of sinister force and life in comparison with which the unclothed figure looked dead. African carvings are made for use and gain from being in their appropriate surroundings. Masks, for instance, are made to be worn, and to be properly appreciated must be seen in motion. In the case of the Raba " juju " a compromise solution was adopted : the many clothes that might have aroused derision were removed, but the skull and spear that was part of its paraphernalia were put alongside in order to give some suggestion of its former sinister life. Visitors seemed to appreciate this solution : the opponents of the old religion appeared to feel that in this exhibition the pretensions of the old religions were exposed ; others were intrigued in seeing displayed, and now apparently powerless, things that, only as recently as their childhood, had aroused awe and terror. Others seemed to feel pride in the existence among Africans of the supernatural and felt that these carvings and their known associations were some indication of this. The aesthetic approach, however, was not altogether lacking and many expressed appreciation of the higher standard of the old work compared with that of to-day.

A central place in the exhibition was given to seven ancestor carvings in hard wood, representing elders with plaited beards, from Oron in Calabar Province. On account of the variety in the treatment of their faces and their dignified and ascetic appearance these works are most unusual. It is proposed that a museum should be built at Oron to house such carvings, for many of the surviving examples, lying unprotected and neglected in the open under grass and weeds, are rapidly deteriorating.

Skin-covered heads from the Cross River area were conspicuous exhibits. Although fine examples are to be seen in museums in Europe, it is hard to find undamaged specimens in Nigeria. One of the finest examples, a Janus-head well over life size surmounted by curling horns, was a mere wreck. The horns were in pieces and the last bits of soot-blackened skin were peeling off. It seems that there are few men left who know the special technique of shrinking an antelope skin on to a wood carving. The state of the specimens in the exhibitions—there were six, originally good, examples—showed how urgent is the need to save Nigeria's remaining antiquities.

There was a good set of masks from the creek districts of Epe, Okitipupa and Ijebu. These somewhat surrealist-looking works are worn on the head like caps with the faces looking up at the sky, because they represent water spirits whom the carvers, so they say, saw floating and sunning themselves on the water. Usually they have horns and long mouths, which are often derived from those of species of fish and water beasts. Few examples of these works seem to have reached Europe. Two slender, seated figures for an extinct fertility play of the Bende area were fine works. In use they were carried fixed to a tall basket on the head of a dancer who wore blue and white robes. Yoruba carvings shown included typical headdresses for the Gelede cult. True masks which fit simply in front of the face are not so common among the Yoruba as among other Nigerian tribes, but there was one in the exhibition which attracted attention : a mauve-coloured " Egungun " mask representing a Mohammedan priest. Masks from Calabar Province, from Orlu and Afikpo provided an interesting contrast in styles which would have helped to disprove a common idea that Africans carve " ugly " masks because they are like children who cannot do better. There were Ibibio " Ekpo " masks of fine proportions and striking refinement of expression, besides " fierce " and pathological masks giving the carver's interpretation of diseased states. From Afikpo there was a mask of the latter type which was roughly carved in keeping with the expression of the subject of the carving, and as a contrast a smooth symmetrical mask from the same place representing a " beautiful " maiden spirit, together with another mask for a dancing spirit which was a fantasy based on no recognizable human or animal form. Other masks were two boldly carved and painted works from a village in the forests beyond the Cross River, a rare and unusual headdress of a Jukun tutelary spirit, the mask of a secret cult of the Mumuye tribe in Adamawa, masks from Idoma, Enugu, Agbor and Idah, each of which had their characteristic style, and a mask of the Chamba tribe which was outstanding for the power and simplicity of its design.

African Education in Northern Rhodesia

Abridged extracts from the Annual Report of the Director of African Education for the year 1945

A CONSIDERABLE advance in elementary and primary education has been achieved during the past eight years. The initial aim—to make education popular with the African—has been successful. Indeed, if there is any danger, it arises from the possibility that schools alone may be taken by the African as the only measure of progress, and that this " faith " may obscure the " works " that are also necessary for salvation. The stage having now been reached where education is popular, the next step appears to be to ensure that it is as good and efficient as circumstances allow. To this end it is proposed that during the next few years effort will be directed—particularly at the elementary level—towards securing adequate teaching staff and supervision for the schools that are already assisted. But as long as some 70 per cent of the total enrolment in primary schools is to be found in the first two years of school life and only one in three pupils passes from the first year to the third, it must be confessed that a great deal of educational effort is wasted. A combination of better teaching and closer supervision, together with the introduction of regulations for compulsory attendance (for which a number of Native authorities are already pressing), should go far towards achieving a better and more economical balance. This consolidation of elementary education, the provision of more practical courses for girls and the expansion of secondary education are the most urgent tasks.

In Northern Rhodesia the Primary School System extends from Sub-standard A to Standard VI, and covers a period of eight to nine school years. There are three stages : (*a*) Elementary, Sub-standard A–Standard II ; (*b*) Lower Middle, Standards III and IV ; (*c*) Upper Middle, Standard V, Standard VI Lower and Standard VI Upper. The Upper Middle School Course was originally of two years' duration, but a third year has been added to provide for a year of practical work which may take the form of a handyman's course or agricultural training, according to the needs of the locality and the staff available. Not all schools have yet found it possible to introduce this additional year. There is a tendency to establish so-called Beginners' Classes preparatory to Sub-standard A ; but while the intention is no doubt admirable, it is extremely doubtful whether the introduction of kindergarten work can be justified at this stage of our educational development. In the Southern Province a scheme by which school gardens in the maize belt were supervised and used for demonstration has now been in operation for five years. A plan for

training African Supervisors for these gardens was added three years ago. It is therefore satisfactory to hear from the Expert Committee investigating Tonga land-holding and land usage that the schools have already had a beneficial effect on agricultural practice and that the Committee recommends an extended use of school gardens in future. There have been no major changes in the curriculum of the Primary Schools. The Oxford English Readers for Africa is the series most generally used in the schools. It is not possible, owing to the diversity of conditions in the territory, to lay down any hard and fast rules regarding the language policy to be followed in schools, but the general scheme in force is as follows: I.—Sub-standards A and B. (*a*) The mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction at first, but should give place to the nearest official vernacular. (*b*) Literature should be provided in the nearest official vernacular. The list of official vernaculars (there are four at present) may have to be extended for this purpose. II.—Standards I, II and III. (*a*) The nearest official vernacular should be used as a medium of instruction and English should be used as a subject of instruction. (*b*) A series of language books on each of the official vernaculars is required. (*c*) The teachers should receive special training in the teaching of English and should be the best teachers of English available. III.—Standards IV, V and VI. (*a*) English should be introduced as the medium of instruction, but the vernacular used in the earlier classes should be an important subject of study and the subject of vernacular research for the pupils. (*b*) Text-books on the vernacular languages as in II (*b*) above will still be required together with plenty of literature in graded English. In some schools oral English is introduced at Sub-standard B: failure to introduce English in the third year of school life would be most unpopular. There is little hope of evolving a dominant vernacular or Union language.

Compulsory education for the age-group 12–16 years is in force in the Copperbelt townships of Ndola, Kitwe and Chingola and at Broken Hill and Livingstone. On the Copperbelt in particular, the administration of the Regulations imposes a heavy strain on the Education Officers and the head teachers, but the growing acceptance of compulsory education as an institution combined with an increasing employment of more efficient attendance clerks and attendance officers is easing the burden. In spite of Native Authority orders, large numbers of children below the age of 16 continue to come to the Copperbelt for work. In areas where education is compulsory, many have been caught and sent home but still more congregate in the centres where no attendance officer threatens their "Whittington" existence. One of the many interesting developments of Mrs. Hay's work in "Mass Literacy" has been the institution at the Copperbelt schools of special classes for the educationally backward adolescents—children of 13 and 14 years of age who find themselves compelled to attend school for the first time. Mrs. Hay ran a course for teachers selected to tackle this problem: the course included the application of Mass Literacy technique to the teaching of adolescents, and the teaching of simple civics, handwork and physical training. The experiment has been generally successful, and whereas these adolescents had previously the worst record of school attendance, their classes both at Nkana and Ndola now have the best.

The future nature of the Jeanes Course is under discussion in view of the intention of other Social Service Departments, such as the Medical and Agricultural Departments, to train a much greater number of African assistants, who will take over some of the functions which Jeanes teachers have hitherto tried to perform. It was noted in the last report that new entrants to the Jeanes Course are combining the course with that for the Higher Teachers' Certificate. It is probable that the amended Jeanes Course will be of one year's duration and open to teachers with the Higher Teachers' Certificate who have been teaching for not less than four years and that the course will be directed more specifically to school inspection and supervision and less towards general "uplift". It is proposed, however, to retain a measure of instruction in village welfare in a more restricted sense that will include the technique of mass literacy, the use of propaganda, the organization of village and district shows and the exploitation of modern media of instruction and recreation. It is possible also that a certain number of experienced teachers and others will be trained for work in district development under the aegis of the Commissioner for Native Development. In the meantime, no praise can be too high for the work which the majority of the older Jeanes Supervisors have done and are still doing. The Education Officer, Northern Province, states: "Without their reports, educational supervision would become a farce," while the Education Officer, Barotse Province, writes: "In acting as links between the schools and the Native authorities and the parents, they have been invaluable and by intensive propaganda they have been largely responsible for the awakening of interest in education."

The Munali Training Centre, a Government institution situated in Lusaka, is the only school in the territory which provides a full academic secondary course. The year under review saw the addition of a Form IV to the existing Forms I, II and III, and the introduction of two Forms I. It had been hoped to admit fifty boys to the parallel Forms I at the opening of the new school year in September, but the quality of the applicants did not justify this and only forty could be admitted. Admission is gained through the Standard VI examination backed by the recommendation of the Principal of the candidate's school. As secondary education was only definitely introduced into the territory in 1940, Northern Rhodesia has hitherto lagged behind the East African territories in its provision for higher education. The development plans of the Social Service Departments will require a considerable number of young men—and possibly women—with Higher College qualifications, and the plans of the Department envisage a reasonable expansion of secondary school facilities to enable an increasing number of students to go forward to institutions of further education.

Training in the following branches of technical education is given at Munali Training Centre: carpentry, building construction (including painting, distempering, etc.), thatching, metal work, blacksmithing, tailoring and basketry. Apprentices are accepted after passing Standard VI and follow a two- or three-year course depending on whether they have pursued a satisfactory "industrial" Upper School Course at their previous school. After completing the apprenticeship course there is a further course of training for two years for instructors and improvers. The apprenticeship course is designed to produce a qualified artisan competent to undertake carpentry and building work of a fairly high standard under supervision, and suitable for employment by the Public Works Department or private contractors. The instructor course is designed to produce men competent to teach handicraft and industrial subjects in the Lower Middle and Upper Schools and to undertake normal constructional work with the minimum of European supervision. During the year under review there were forty-eight apprentices and thirteen "instructors" in training in Munali. Most Upper and Lower Middle Schools practise some form of manual training in addition to gardening: generally, it is the making of Kimberley bricks and their use in simple building, elementary carpentry and thatching. Native arts and crafts too are encouraged where suitable instructors can be found. The Education Officer, Barotse Province, reports that considerable attention is paid, notably in the Paris Mission Schools, to this activity. During the year, 130 village handicraft instructors—male and female—were employed in Barotse schools for this purpose, and grants were made by the Barotse Treasury towards the cost of their salaries. It is common in Africa for the amateur to have to undertake substantial building programmes: otherwise the work would never be done. That this obligation can have a distinct educational value is demonstrated by the experience of the Education Officer, Central Province, who, during the past five years has, perforce, built up a strong "building team", composed of a cadre of artisans, sawyers and thatchers, which expands to considerable dimensions in the building season. It bases itself on the nearest school workshops in the area of operation, and the instructors in charge of the shops take control. Swarms hive off when there is a scattered programme, which is usually the case. The team during its five-year life has done over £9,000 worth of work: the buildings erected number 216, and include nineteen school-blocks ranging from seven-classroom building with office and store to two-classroom and office buildings. The training of "learners" is a special function of the team. Men and youths seek admission as "learners" to the workshops of the central village schools. They are paid a labourer's wage and assist with whatever work the shop and building team have in hand, learning what they can from the instructors as they go along.

The number of girls enrolled in the schools was 36,298, an increase of 5,460 over the previous year, but the large majority leave after Sub-standard A. Progress in female education depends on propaganda, a much greater supply of women teachers and the provision of practical courses in homecraft. Work among adult women is as essential as girls' work, and it is suggested that this should follow the lines of mass literacy, more female helpers to work among village women in their homes, paying particular attention to mothercraft and nutrition, larger equipment grants for women's work, medical training for midwives and nurses, refresher courses for teachers' wives and premarriage courses. There were sixty women, the majority the wives of students, in the Women's Section of the Jeanes School, and twenty wives of Chiefs were in attendance for four months. The normal course for women is one or two years, but as some of the men students were spending a third year at the Jeanes School, an extra year was also provided for their wives. In addition to academic instruction and homecratt, which is under the care of the Women's Education Officer, the Sister in charge of the Clinic takes the first-year women in hygiene and child welfare, the second-year in ante-natal care, simple village midwifery, first-aid and elementary home nursing, and the third-year in more advanced midwifery and home nursing.

Generally speaking, concludes the Director, there is a growing sense of responsibility among African teachers and other educated Africans. It would be idle to pretend that this sense of responsibility is by any means a common phenomenon at present, but it is growing. A great step forward will have been taken when our people appreciate that advancing status implies additional responsibilities as well as additional prestige.

Notes on Articles

International Organization, Vol. I, No. 1, February, 1947. In the first number of this new publication, Mr. Harvey H. Bundy, President of the World Peace Foundation, sets out its purpose and scope. The overwhelming difficulties, he says, in post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction, have dictated the wisdom of sharing knowledge, resources and responsibility in the effort to create a peaceful and stable world. International organization is becoming an increasingly important part of the study and understanding of international relations. Recognizing this, the Trustees of the World Peace Foundation decided in 1946, to issue the present periodical under the direction of a competent Board of Editors. They hope it will perform a unique service to teachers, students, and specialists in the field of international organization. In addition to several articles on world problems by well-known authorities, the present number brings a summary of the activities of various international organizations, i.e. the United Nations ; specialized agencies, the ILO, Unesco and others ; intergovernmental, regional, war and transitional organizations. One third of the periodical is given over to documents on international organizations.

Oversea Education, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, January, 1947. In an article on " Systems, Methods and Devices in Foreign Language Teaching ", I. Morris discusses the question whether method is a subordinate or a predominant factor in the teaching of a second language. He points out that one must first learn to distinguish clearly between the two main aspects of language, as a system and as an activity—an organized system of signs, a code or codification, comprising words, collocations, patterns, usages and also a mode of social behaviour, a series of acts of communication. He then proceeds to describe the systems, methods and devices in foreign language instruction and ends with a quoted suggestion that " in the present multiplicity of methods and textbooks it is absolutely necessary for real and permanent progress that we should come to some sort of agreement on general principles ". The same journal has an article by David F. Anderson on " Reading or Speaking First ? " in the teaching of English as a foreign language. He describes the two main lines of approach : the Oral-cum-Direct Method, or Oral-Ostensive approach and the Reading approach, and discusses their merits.

The Round Table, March, 1947. An article entitled " The Empire and the Middle East " deals mainly with the problem of Egypt and Palestine. Events, says the author, have been moving rapidly in the Middle East. The British Government has made a declaration of its views on Palestine, and has decided to lay the whole problem before the United Nations. The negotiations for a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty have broken down after many months. Agreements of importance have been announced between the British and American companies interested in Middle-Eastern oil. Is the general pattern of British policy in the Middle East, as disclosed by these events, satisfactory ? The answer to that question closely affects the wider peace structure and is of deep concern to the whole Commonwealth. British Middle-Eastern strategy in the two great wars of this century was based upon the key position of the Suez Canal. Axis penetration to the Indian Ocean would have been fatal to our wider strategy. But there was also a more immediate danger. If Germany had overrun the Middle-Eastern oilfields, she would also have captured those of the Caucasus. If we had lost the Middle-Eastern supplies and become dependent upon those of America alone, while Germany's oil resources were *pro tanto* increased, the fortunes of war might well have been entirely different. The campaign which kept the Germans from the Lebanon, Syria and Iraq depended on the Suez base. It was fortunate indeed that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 gave us in the Suez Isthmus a Mediterranean base open upon its eastern side to reinforcement and supply from every corner of the globe. The recent Anglo-Egyptian negotiations have lapsed through disagreement upon the ultimate right to independence claimed by the Sudan—an issue which the Egyptian Government are submitting to the United Nations. In the meantime, and until a new treaty is negotiated, we retain our rights of occupation in the Suez Canal Zone. While the Egyptian Treaty negotiations were in progress, statements have been made to the effect that the British Government desired to establish a base in Palestine. Any such idea would be a new departure in our Palestine policy and would presumably require approval by the United Nations in a new trusteeship agreement. But Palestine remains the cardinal issue in British Middle-Eastern policy. We cannot afford to take any chances about the security of the Middle-Eastern oilfields and the transport of oil from them. The fact is that one of the two great reservoirs of an element essential to modern civilization lies in territory inhabited by nations which do not possess the industrial and other resources necessary to ensure their own independence and immunity from aggression. It was clearly foreseen by those who framed the Charter of the United Nations that security must be built up by regional systems of insurance against aggression comprising the States most vitally concerned. The sooner and more firmly such regional systems are established, says the writer, the better the prospects for world peace. The interests of the British Empire and the Arab League are in this respect completely complementary ; neither can be safe without a regional system of security worked out in partnership. For this the goodwill of the Arab States is indispensable, and on that our course of action in Palestine will be the deciding factor. We are bound in due season to secure the confirmation of our Mandate in a new trusteeship agreement and the plan put forward by Mr. Bevin —the building up of a unitary, self-governing, bi-racial State in an undivided Palestine—would require for its successful discharge the co-operation of other Powers in one essential matter—the provision of asylum in other countries for the greater number of dispossessed European Jews. It also remains as true as ever that only co-operation between the two Semitic peoples under the aegis of a powerful trustee can exorcize the spectre of perpetual strife and bloodshed from the Holy Land.

The Middle East Journal. Vol. I, No. 1. January, 1947. In an address delivered in Los Angeles, Loy W. Henderson, Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, summarizes the objectives of United States policy in the Near and Middle East. The main objective of the United States in that area is to prevent rivalries and conflicts of interest from developing into open hostilities. This part of the world is of tremendous strategic value, in view of its importance as a common highway by sea, land, and air between the East and West ; it possesses great mineral wealth, and it has potentially rich agricultual resources. In spite of these facts the majority of the populations in these countries are poverty stricken, and are not so advanced politically, economically and technically, as the peoples of the Western world. Our primary policy with regard to that area, therefore, is to take whatever measures may be possible and proper to promote directly and indirectly the political and economic advancement of the Near and Middle Eastern peoples and to support in that area the principles of the United Nations. We should endeavour to create conditions favourable to the orderly development of the resources of the area, free from the exploitative, discriminatory, and restrictive practices which have caused friction in undeveloped areas in the past. Among the specific policies to be followed in promoting the advancement of this area are the lending of our support to enable the independent countries in that area to maintain their political independence and territorial integrity ; and the initiation by the United States of an expanding programme of assistance which would vary in each country according to its individual needs and in response to its specific requests. Such assistance may be cultural, economic, financial, or technical ; it may be implemented by sending special missions, by providing technical experts or advisers to the interested Government, or, in some instances, by facilitating the extension of credits for purposes of rehabilitation or modernization of the country's economy. In addition, we are endeavouring to strengthen the economic relations existing between the United States and these countries and in general we consider it important to the security and prosperity of the world as well as of the Near and Middle East that the doctrine of the open door be fully applicable to that part of the world.

The same journal brings an article by Afif I. Tannous on " The Arab

Tribal Community in a Nationalist State". The writer says that at present the Arab tribal community of the Near East constitutes a large segment of the total population and exists in various stages of transition from a completely nomadic pastoral to a fully settled, agricultural economy. Most of the Arab countries have already achieved complete or practically complete independence. Their leaders are taking stock of national resources, and their governments are facing the future with long-range plans of reconstruction and development. The tribal community is being given due consideration and is figuring as an important factor in such national planning. The writer proceeds to give an analysis and appraisal of the tribal community organization and makes some suggestions regarding a national plan for "tribal affairs". (1) Thorough research in tribal organization and comprehensive understanding of the tribal way of life should precede any attempt at drawing up plans or the application of projects for settlement. (2) A plan for tribal development, or a project of tribal settlement, should be inspired and tested at every step by the ultimate objective of raising the standard of living of the tribal community and of enhancing its contributions—biological, sociological, and economic—to the national life. (3) Gradual settlement, involving transitional stages rather than a radical change from nomadism to agriculture, is the soundest and safest procedure in many cases. (4) Settlement should be undertaken only on the basis of voluntary co-operation by the tribal people concerned. (5) A plan for settlement should take into consideration and should provide for not only agricultural production in the narrow sense, but also all aspects of community life simultaneously. (6) Follow-up work in the form of an extension programme is extremely essential and should be made a permanent feature of the newly developed community.

Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, December, 1945. In a detailed article the Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute of Social Studies in British Central Africa, Dr. Max Gluckman, outlines a seven-year research plan for the Institute. The plan aims at the systematic analysis of social problems in British Central Africa. The Institute's work is designed to stimulate general public interest in social problems and in sociological research by the following methods: (*a*) enrolling of members (now about 200); (*b*) organization of discussion circles, language classes and lectures; (*c*) the publication of 1, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers*, general sociological and psychological studies; 2, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, Human Problems in British Central Africa*, which sets out what these problems are and what scientific research of all kinds contributes to understanding and solving them; other technical officers assist in writing this journal; and 3, *The Communications from the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute*, giving detailed analyses of specific problems; (*d*) the distribution of books from our reference library; (*e*) answering of queries. Dr. Gluckman ends with suggestions for collaboration by the Institute with other bodies and collaboration in social research throughout Africa.

The same journal contains a series of articles on "The Colonial Museum". The first one, by Neville Jones, deals with the need for collecting and preserving objects of Native material culture and discusses the problem of suitable collectors. In his opinion the museum staff might be assisted in this task by District and Native Commissioners, Missionaries, other people living among Natives, and last but not least by those Natives who are capable of receiving training in scientific collecting. J. Desmond Clark takes as his subject the museum as a public service, particularly as an educational factor, and suggests the use of the museum assets in programmes for Adult and Child education, both European and Native. The artist's point of view is represented by Mrs. Margaret Trowell who bases her paper on work at the Ethnological Museum of Makerere College. The author stresses the difficulties of representing the material cultures of such a heterogeneous population as found in Africa, especially as these material cultures of the various tribal groups are rapidly disappearing or becoming hopelessly mingled owing to increased facilities for travel. The use of sociological research in museum display is the theme chosen by Dr. Max Gluckman for his contribution. He outlines the type of exhibits contemplated in order to show the relation of the facts of mineralogy, ecology, zoology, hydrography, pathology, etc., to man's life in Africa. W. V. Brelsford considers the reasons why a museum can be particularly useful to the Administration. The museum will provide the administrator with the historical, cultural and social background to the life of the Native peoples among whom he works. Finally, H. C. Humphrey gives the layman's impressions of an African Museum. He has visited the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum and points out the improvements which in his opinion would increase the usefulness of such a type of museum.

Colonial Cinema, March, 1947, publishes interesting details on the cinema in the Gold Coast and Malaya. The systematic growth of the Cinema Branch of the Gold Coast Department of Information during the past six years has produced an organization well equipped to play an important part in dealing with the problems of peace, and the reorientation of policy to meet these needs is reflected in several new developments in its work. The planning of the activities of the mobile cinema vans which are to be increased from five to six this year, is to be directed towards the development of campaign work. When the subject of any campaign has been decided, one main film dealing with it is chosen and a suitable programme of films built round it. An important part is being played, for instance, by the vans in the present drive against *swollen shoot*, the disease which is threatening the whole future of cocoa-growing in the Colony. The policy of the local production unit is to film only those subjects which are more or less particular to the Gold Coast Colony. An interesting contrast with the work of the mobile units is provided by a new scheme for the establishment of static cinemas, to be run by Native Administrations. The first experimental cinema was started at Odumase in January, 1947, under the Manya Krobo Native Administration.

The newly formed Malayan Union has also set up its own Film Production Unit under the control of the Department of Public Relations. The event is an important one in documentary film history, particularly because of the wide geographical and racial coverage which the unit can achieve. It will really have the status of the South-east Asian Unit, and potentially it is capable of exercising a wide influence. Most films will be made in Malay, Chinese, Tamil and English, and additional language versions will be recorded for other countries in the area so that showing will not be reserved for Malaya alone. The unit will be run as a public service and its aim will be to improve the standard of living and education in the area. The development of non-theatrical showing is going ahead even faster. Shortly there should be a number of sixteen and thirty-five millimetre projectors on the road daily, giving shows all over the Union. The Malayan Film Unit's function will largely be to help the population of South-east Asia to fit more securely into the pattern of modern world economy and to bring about a better understanding between East and West.

Race Relations, Vol. XIII, Nos. 3 and 4, 1946, brings an article by Dr. Ellen Hellmann on "Progress in Native Education". The author deals with Native education in South Africa; she maintains that informal education, as obtained in tribal society, is not suited to the present economic and social system and must be replaced by formal education, with the school as its central institution. The amount spent on Native education has increased appreciably: £428,000 in 1935, rising to £1,226,000 in 1941. The revised estimates for 1946-47 put the vote for Native education at £5,500,000 but the total vote of Native education includes the vote for Native school-feeding, which is £680,000. The Government now contributes 50 per cent of all provincial expenditure on services. There is accordingly no reason why the provinces should not cover the whole field of Coloured and Asiatic education falling under their jurisdiction. There are, however, more than—at the outside—one-third of Native children not at school at any one time. Indications at present are that, particularly in the sub-standards, the conditions in the schools—over-crowding, lack of equipment, inadequate teaching—are such that the turnover is frighteningly large and the wastage correspondingly great. The author comes to the conclusion that a revision of the whole system—not merely increase in enrolment but a resolute and purposive refashioning of the whole structure—is a condition of progress for the Union of South Africa.

The South African Outlook, February 1, 1947. In an address on "Democracy and a Mixed Population", Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, Director of the Institute of Race Relations, explains the difficulties of the racial situation in the Union of South Africa. He says that the fact that the strength of the Coloured vote is concentrated in a few centres, makes it ineffective in influencing the attitude of the bulk of the Cape members of Parliament and makes it an insignificant factor in the attitude of Parliament as a whole. But, he continues, colour bars in personal thought and act have a far greater effect upon race relations than the colour bars which are to be found in legislation. We shall have to consider fundamental questions of personal and social relations as well as economic and political issues. The same journal publishes a statement issued by the Federation of African Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia of the comparative statistics in regard to African Education for the years 1935 and 1945.

The News Letter of the League of Coloured Peoples, Vol. XVI, No. 90, of April, 1947, has an interesting article by Dr. Eric E. Williams in which he gives his views on the function of the University in the West Indies and the type of curriculum which is desirable. The British West Indian University, he says, should be permeated with the idea of the connection between education and democracy. The most practical service it should render to the community should be its programmes for adult education. The University should leave the campus and reach out into every home in the community. By forum discussion, extension work, films, wireless and the travelling library, it should give its constituents a more competent understanding of their environment, increase productivity, educate the future voters and legislators and give them a grasp of the social and economic problems and the relation of these to "culture". The University should correspond to the social structure of the British West Indies. With a weak middle class, the masses of the people form the only basis of any really enduring movement. If the University is to exercise an abiding influence in the West Indies it must focus its attention on the masses of the people whom all

its proposals for education must serve and whose development will serve education. In the curriculum, agriculture and education are more important than law. Surrounded by French and Spanish-speaking people, the University should develop that multilingual facility which leads to social development and liberal culture. Social work, music and fine arts should be major activities. General courses in social sciences, humanities and natural sciences, and a course in West Indian life and culture should be part of every student's first year course. The University should promote popular sentiment in favour of the trends to federation and a broader Pan-Caribbean outlook, for the most pressing need in the British West Indies to-day is federation. He doubts the wisdom of affiliation to the English Universities. The emphasis on " standards ", which is the justification of this close relation with London University in particular, works to the detriment of the satisfaction of local needs. He feels that the West Indian University should be an independent university whilst seeking inspiration in the best modern thought and practice.

The National Christian Council Review, February, 1947. In an article on " Teacher Training in Post-War India," Miss M. Mathew, Principal of St. Christopher's Training College for Women, Madras, outlines a programme for the " education of teachers ". She divides Teacher Training into three departments : training of College graduates, training of Secondary students and training of Elementary grade students. In view of the introduction of Basic Education in Post-War India, three types of teacher training are necessary : 1, Training as teachers of Pre-Primary (Nursery Schools) Schools : Women teachers are needed for this branch of work. 2, Training as teachers of Junior Basic and Senior Basic Schools : Three-fourth of these teachers shall ordinarily be women. 3, Training as non-graduate and graduate teachers of High Schools, Headmasters, Headmistresses and Inspectresses, etc.

China Newsweek, No. 228, February 27, 1947. This weekly, issued by the U.K. Office of the Chinese Ministry of Information, brings President Chiang Kai-shek's announcement of new emergency economic measures for China. These measures deal with foreign exchange, internal loans, income tax, price control, wages and salaries, private enterprise, banks, agriculture, industrial production, and export and import.

France, January 24, 1947. In an article entitled " The Reform of the Djemaas ", Paul Bernard deals with the development of rural councils or djemaas in Algeria. In 1863 the French administration had initiated the formation of about 1,200 village or tribal councils who were charged with the conduct of public business. The members of the councils, however, were not elected but appointed by the Administration and the whole institution did not work very satisfactorily. A law, passed in 1945, gave the councils more practical value by obliging them to meet regularly and extended their powers by making their decisions independent of approval by the town councils. The law hastened the final evolution by allowing the djemaas to transform themselves into municipal centres or into a so-called rural township. To-day between 100 to 160 such municipal centres are in existence. Their main functions are the distribution of the allotted quota of commodities and the development of rural education.

La Revue Coloniale Belge, February 15, 1947. An article on social reform in the Belgian Congo by Pierre Piron deals with the status of the so-called " évolué ", the educated negro. Education for natives in the Congo was instituted with the purpose of conferring on the évolué the civil rights of a citizen. But in practice the educated native stands without a real status between the untutored native whom he regards as a savage, and the European who does not accept him as an equal. The writer urges the creation of an organization which will aid the development and final absorption of natives and proposes four stages of native society : the first comprising all natives, uprooted from their tribal communities, who have followed for five years a profession or a trade ; two intermediate stages according to the standard of education ; (*a*) a diploma for medium or professional studies of a lower grade, and (*b*) a diploma for medium studies of a higher grade. The fourth stage comprises the " assimilated natives ". Their status would be a kind of naturalization, on a social basis, which would allow the native who is fit for it, to become an integral part of European society. The assimilated native, or Colonial Belgian, would live in the European quarter and share the activities of the white population. He would have entrance to civil and military employment in all public services and to the political life of the colony.

It is announced by the Colonial Office that the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the approval of the Prime Minister, has appointed Sir Charles Jeffries, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., to be a Joint Deputy Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in succession to Sir Arthur Dawe, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., who retired because of ill-health on April 5. (*The Times*, April 10, 1947.)

Book Notices

On Governing Colonies

W. R. CROCKER. (George Allen & Unwin. 1947. pp. 152. 10s. 6d.)

In a note in the acknowledgments, the author refers to the fact that this book was written in his spare time while on military service in India. This obviously set limits to the reference material available, and is reasonable excuse for some of the omissions which might have tempered some of the criticisms made. The introduction is in part personal, outlining the African experience of the author and defining the geographical limits of the area under consideration, namely those parts of Africa with which the author is acquainted. This is followed by a chapter on Africa and Africans, which suffers from generalization, a danger which the author shows himself to be aware of. The main part of the book is taken up with the question of where to begin, which is answered in a manner which most people would regard as reasonable, and an examination of policy and practice in British, French and Belgian territories. Short chapters follow on self-government and the white official, the former including a considerable amount of quotation from the African press, the latter emphasizing weaknesses in the British service. The concluding chapter brings together shrewd estimation of and comment on the colonial problem of to-day. The book is written in a stimulating style and exhibits a personal attitude to the subject which is to be welcomed.

Welfare and Planning in the West Indies

T. S. SIMEY. (Oxford University Press. 1946. pp. 267. 15s.)

Professor Simey has written a book of outstanding importance, based on his experience during the three years he served as Social Welfare Adviser on the staff of the Comptroller of Development and Welfare in the West Indies. The object of his book, he says, is " to demonstrate the possibility of attacking the social problems of the West Indies from new angles which offer more favourable prospects of success in the future than those which have become traditional ". West Indian readers will have no doubt of Professor Simey's sincerity of purpose, and future administrators and planners in the West Indies will have to face up to his criticisms and conclusions : they cannot be ignored. His investigations and discussion are very relevant to similar problems in other colonial areas and his analysis of " the nature and operation of the social forces which have shaped West Indian society and caused so unhappy a gulf to yawn between Governments and the governed " will repay careful study by all concerned with welfare in the colonies and with colonial administration. His early chapters describe the Origins and the Organizations of West Indian Society. He considers the more important factor in the shaping of the social institutions of the Negro peoples of the New World, not to be the inheritance of culture patterns from Africa, but the economic forces brought to bear on the Negro peoples during the period of slavery and later. This being so, " social reorganization must imply economic reorganization ". The outstanding fact concerning the masses of the people is their poverty. At the time of emancipation the condition of the masses was deplorable, and ever since they have struggled against adverse economic conditions. The conditions under which the masses live is contrasted with that of the comparatively very small middle classes " whose progress has shown what the people might have achieved in more favourable circumstances ". It is not possible in a short notice of this kind to do more than draw attention to a few of the conclusions to be drawn from Professor Simey's illuminating and provocative discussion of the " Economic Foundations ", " Social Welfare Schemes " and " The Rebuilding of West Indian Society ". The lack of economic foundations, he concludes, makes futile any attempt to produce really reliable plans for the social reconstruction of the West Indian Colonies. " The policy underlying the Development and Welfare Act is only workable if the economy of any given colony can be so stimulated as to produce a flow of wealth large enough to support a standard of social services and social life which will bear comparison with that of the other partners in the Commonwealth." " There are only two ways of overcoming the stalemate of the conclusion that the West Indies are poor, that there is no sign of any action being taken to alleviate their poverty in any significant degree, and that the goal of political and economic self-sufficiency is therefore unattainable. The first is to undertake economic planning and reorganization on a sufficiently comprehensive scale to provide the economic basis for the equality which is so eagerly desired. The other is to reshape the existing West Indian social structure on a new and specifically West Indian basis, so that, though living conditions may differ in many respects from those in Great Britain or North America, the West Indian citizen can nevertheless feel proud of his status as a self-reliant citizen of the world, able to look the intruder in the face without a sense of inferiority. The neglect of the first alternative has directed attention almost exclusively to the second. Both should of course be provided with every means that can be brought to bear on the problems to be solved." Professor Simey finds that the schemes put forward so far for the reconstruction of social and economic life, are disintegrated and unbalanced. " In an unindustrialized country industrial costs are always high and a series of piecemeal attempts to establish this or that industry must inevitably

fail. . . . What is urgently required is a plan for the general development of industries in the West Indies, based on detailed investigations into suitable industries and estimates of the probable total requirements in power and skill. . . . The task must be tackled on a large scale if it is to be tackled at all. . . . It is desirable that the responsibility for producing a general plan for the social, political and economic development of the West Indies should be placed on the shoulders of a single officer or agency of Government, for it has become so diffused that the task of planning may be said to have gone by default." Professor Simey gives equal emphasis to the social factors in the reorganization of life in the West Indies. One of the most pressing needs, he says, is to assist West Indian Committees " to build for themselves a culture in which they can ' rest ', and of which they can be proud ". There are encouraging signs, seen in the paintings, drama, poetry and literature that a West Indian culture is in process of formation.

In order to achieve the desired ends in the West Indies, co-operation is essential between the people, their leaders and the officials of the Government, and Professor Simey does not mince his words in this connection. The civil servant in the West Indies " must feel secure both as regards his conditions of employment and his relationships with people around him . . . he must be adjusted socially and emotionally . . . he must possess a reasonably accurate understanding of social forces, and he must have a clear policy shared with his colleagues, to apply when he has to deal with them. It is open to the gravest doubt whether this is in fact the case at the present time. . . . If a new attitude of mind and a new training is required for the civil servant in the colonies, the same may be said of his colleagues at home . . . it will not be possible to achieve a new outlook in the Colonial Empire until evidence of a new outlook is first apparent in Downing Street." There is a need, too, for co-operation at a different level. The colonial peoples must make an energetic effort to co-operate with British officials and to understand the point of view of Great Britain. The ordinary British subject must also learn to adopt a new attitude to the colonial people if he is to remain a citizen within the Empire. " The fact that young West Indians are continually kicking against the pricks should be regarded as ground for at least a cautious optimism about the future. The very aggressiveness of West Indians must be accepted as evidence of the rise of a young and vital people. West Indians must serve the world by never ceasing to call attention to their problems until due attention is paid to them." Let us hope the young West Indians and their British colleagues will give this work the careful study it merits.

Journey to Accompong

KATHERINE DUNHAM. (Holt & Co. New York. 1946. pp. 162. $2.50.)

One puts down this book wishing there was more of it. It is only a day to day diary of the author's short stay among a remote hill people in North-east Jamaica, yet it gives glimpses of the peoples' lives, their work and leisure, their relationships, their songs and dances, which supply knowledge of a kind that is not often available about the West Indian people. It is true these people are remote and somewhat separate from the Jamaicans and have retained some of the distinctive features of their old culture. That is why the author went to stay among them, in order to hear and record songs and folk tales and see the old dances. These diary notes show something of the clash between law and magic, between religion and morals, between modern education and folk culture. They show, too, the adaptation to environment, and the relative success of hard working peasant agriculturists in a fertile though mountainous country.

The Oppenheimer Series. Edited by J. P. R. WALLIS.
3. The Northern Goldfields Diaries of Thomas Baines.

Vol. I.—1869–1870. Vol. II.—1870–1871. Vol. III.—1871–1872. (Chatto & Windus. 1946. pp. 854. £4 10s. per set.)

The publication of the Diaries of Thomas Baines in the Oppenheimer series makes accessible for the first time the story of one of the most important of the prospecting investigations in that part of Africa now known as Southern Rhodesia. The importance of this record lies not in any special contribution it made to the gold mining industry ; in fact, the failure of the London directors to give the prospectors adequate support almost completely stopped hopes of great commercial success. Thomas Baines did far more than might reasonably be expected of any leader of a prospecting party, going to the extent of pledging his own credit, and raising funds by selling his paintings and giving lectures, in order to raise funds which should have been forthcoming from his employers. " Whenever he was out of touch with civilization, Baines was scrupulous in keeping copious diaries," tabulating topographical findings with copious annotations, recording temperatures and altitudes, calculating latitudes from stellar and solar observations, keeping faithful records of floral and faunal observations and jotting down anecdotes from his hunter friends. Even more important, in many respects, are his records of the men and women he encountered. The prospecting journeys recorded in these diaries took place in the transition period, when the relatively isolated contacts of white men with the Matabele were being replaced by more continuous and powerful contacts of concession-hunters, but had not reached the stage when European intrusion had become uncontrollable by Matabele authority. Of special value is the record of Lobengula's character as presented by Baines, correcting and modifying the better-known picture presented by the Moffat records. Baines not only records his observations on people and things, but makes shrewd and sometimes humorous comment on historical features such as the pretentious but impotent claims of the Portuguese and Boers over dominions which later were to fear the name of Rhodes. The editor has prefaced the diaries by an introduction which gives in outline the chief features of Baines' life and character, and each volume is illustrated with reproductions of paintings, some in colour, and sketches made by Baines on his journeys.

Crisis in Africa

L. SILBERMAN. (Fabian Publications, Ltd., and Victor Gollancz, Ltd. 1947. pp. 21. 6d.)

This pamphlet is meant by the author as a call to Britain to pursue a more imaginative, direct and enlivening policy in her Empire. To this end he emphasizes the present-day progress and rapid changes in African native society. " The war ", he writes, " has activised colonial peoples as they have never been shaken up before. There is a growth of nationalism and communalism, and an isolation of Western man, Western liberalism and the labours of secure and self-effacing governments. These and other forces will reshape our Traders' Empire." The author indicates new ways and ideas by which the " Traders' Empire " can be turned into a " Development Empire ", preparatory to a free Commonwealth of coloured peoples.

Have We Failed in Nigeria?

WALTER MILLER. (Lutterworth Press. 1947. pp. 156. 6s.)

Dr. Walter Miller has spent forty years in Nigeria and exhibits in his latest book a spirit as refreshingly fearless and independent as all who have had contact with him would expect. He examines the main features of administration, social services, law and the activities of the Church in Nigeria, and makes a charge of almost complete failure proven. He picks out a number of features of British colonial practice, as he has observed it in Nigeria, for most severe condemnation ; inconsistency in the practice of indirect rule, the dread of any " new way " which—as in the Roman Colonial Empire long ago—would put " our craft " in danger, and failure to apply " that pressure which by now would have resulted in a far happier, educated and free people ". Dr. Miller's statement may be regarded by some readers as harsh and perhaps embittered, and it is certain that he is over-influenced by some of the worst features of Northern Nigeria, but two facts need to be kept in mind before casting criticisms and constructive suggestions aside. Dr. Miller is probably as close if not closer in intimacy of contact with the ordinary Native in Northern Nigeria than any other European ; secondly, the reflections contained in this volume are shared to a very considerable degree by a large number of Government servants, who for various reasons find it necessary to be discreet in their utterances. The picture presented is not the whole picture, but it is a considerable element of the whole. Made compulsory reading for every M.P., it might result in that constructive and urgent interest in Parliament for colonial affairs which, at present, is so lacking, and which is the indirect cause of so much of the failure depicted by Dr. Miller. It is a book to be read by Government official, missionary, trader, educated African and all concerned with colonial affairs.

The Anatomy of Lango Religion and Groups

T. T. S. HAYLEY. (Cambridge University Press. 1947. pp. 207. 21s.)

The author who is a member of the Indian Civil Service in Assam spent some months among the Lango in Uganda. His main interest was a study of the various groups among the Lango people, based on social and territorial ties. He made use of J. H. Driberg's study of the Lango people, though he disagrees at certain points with some of Driberg's conclusions. The greater part of the book is an account of Lango religious ceremonies. The author suggests it should be regarded primarily as a reference book, and he has supplied an extensive glossary of Lango terms for this purpose.

New Day Ascending

FRED L. BROWNLEE. (The Pilgrim Press. 1946. pp. 310. $3.00.)

This history of Negro emancipation in the United States is ably recorded by Mr. Brownlee, for twenty-six years Executive Secretary of the American Mission Association. The Association celebrated its hundredth anniversary in the autumn of 1946, and *New Day Ascending* has been written for this occasion. The book guides the reader from the early days of slavery at the beginning of last century through the many trials of the Negro race and their would-be helpers to the achievements of modern education, culminating in the establishment of numerous Negro schools and colleges. It describes what the Association has done for the health, training, social and religious care of coloured people in the United States.

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Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd.
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No. 96, *Some Fables* ; No. 100, *An English Family at Home* ; No. 101, *Saint Columba* ; No. 102, *Some Famous English Women* ; No. 103, *Prayers for the Daily Task.*

Kitabu Kizuri Kwa Watu Washindao Shambani

A. B. WALFORD. (The Sheldon Press. 1946. pp. 46.)

A handy guide to farming for Africans written in Swahili.

A First Year Course in Science for African Schools

A. V. CARPENTER. (Longmans, Green & Co. 1946. pp. 135. 3s. 6d.)

This small book, described as an introductory Course in Science, deals with the measurement of weight and volume ; solids, liquids and gases ; the measurement of temperature, elementary ideas on gravity, laws of motion and light ; a little elementary astronomy ; the composition of water and the elements of electricity. Apart from one or two insignificant references to African application in the exercises there seems little to justify the description of this elementary text-book as one especially suitable for African schools.

Sudan Colloquial Arabic

J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, M.A. (Oxford University Press. London : Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1946. pp. 176. 7s. 6d.)

Spoken Arabic has not evolved into a language in its own right : it has no literature, and even broadcasts in the colloquial are disliked by the educated classes. A knowledge of the written language, moreover, is necessary for a proper understanding of the Arab mind, yet the use of the local dialect is indispensable in everyday life. Mr. Trimingham's book is an excellent introduction to the vernacular speech of the Sudan, scholarly in its accuracy and practical in its method. The author has wisely confined himself to the urban speech of the capital which, he says, is becoming increasingly the standard for Sudan Arabic. There are a few specimens of the rustic dialect of the Gezira, but fuller treatment of tribal and provincial peculiarities would only confuse the beginner for whom the book is intended. It would also be inappropriate in a book of this compass, to discuss the influence of Egyptian Arabic and of the written language on the speech of the educated classes. It is to be hoped that the use of the International Phonetic Alphabet will not deter prospective users to whom it may be unfamiliar : it has so many advantages over other systems of transcription that the effort of mastering it is well worth the trouble.

The book can be confidently recommended to all whom duty or pleasure may take to the Northern Sudan : even the needs of the housewife are catered for.

What Shall I Say?

G. F. EARL. (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. 1947. pp. 144. 2s.)

This excellent little book is a simply written guide in English for teachers of African vernaculars, providing examples of the kind of work that will lead most rapidly to command of the native language. It includes also eminently practical notes on technique and method. The main divisions in the book are spoken and written composition, and the written work includes two sections on letter-writing.

The greater part of the book is devoted to exercises for spoken or written work, all, as far as such a generalization is possible, closely related to the background of African village children, and many providing for activity both in and out of the class-room. They are ingenious, lively and concrete.

While it would be quite possible to complain of the balance of the book (too much time is devoted to speechifying and too little to group discussion : adjectives are dealt with very fully—verbs and adverbs rather skimped) it is difficult to imagine any one teaching language anywhere in Africa who would not desire to have a copy by him and use it constantly as a source book for ideas, and to many an African teacher " who loves his job but finds it difficult " it will be a godsend.

Studies and Reports Received

His Majesty's Stationery Office

Making Citizens. (1946. pp. 62. 1s.) This booklet reviews the aims, methods and achievements of the Approved Schools in England and Wales. It has a number of excellent illustrations showing the progress of this type of school since the beginning of the century. The book has been written by one of the Inspectors of the Children's Branch of the Home Office after many visits paid in the course of his official duties. He describes the group of children from which the pupils are drawn, the buildings where they find their home, the methods of training adopted and the extent to which the schools fulfil the functions for which they are designed. For any one responsible for the welfare of difficult children this account will make interesting and helpful reading.

Among Those Present. The official story of the Pacific Islands at War. (1946. pp. 95. 1s. 3d.) A well-illustrated account of the Polynesian and Melanesian war effort from the Solomons to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and southwards to the New Hebrides. In jungle warfare the Pacific Islands' natives gave valuable help to the Allies, but of perhaps greater importance was the general loyalty of the islanders to the allied cause. Had their attitude been different, the

reoccupation, for instance, of Guadalcanal would have been a much more arduous task. From the start the Americans got unstinted co-operation whereas the Japanese got none. That factor influenced the whole course of the fighting.

Proposals for the Future of Palestine. (Cmd. 7044. 1947. pp. 14. 4d.) The White Paper deals with the recommendations made in the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and the resulting " Provincial Autonomy Plan " for Palestine. The constitutional proposals put forward by the Arab States Delegations to the Palestine Conference on September 30, 1946, are then set out, and the final proposals submitted by the British Delegation to the Palestine Conference on February 7, 1947, which were communicated to representatives of the Jewish Agency.

Report of the British Goodwill Trade Mission to Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon and Cyprus. (1946. pp. 67. 2s.) Having travelled across these four countries, the Mission was impressed by the need for close co-operation between them on problems of common interest, such as air communications, and also by the mutual advantage they could draw from the study of each other's economic problems. Where common problems arise, some of the suggestions in this report might be applied to other countries in the Middle East. The Mission interpreted its main task to be the investigation of the future possibilities for British export trade in the supply of quality goods and services. With this approach to its task, it was necessary also to make some examinations of the social and labour conditions in the countries concerned. Members of the Mission were able to bring expert knowledge and experience from the engineering side of British industry. Attention was therefore directed to industrialization and public works, which call for practical planning and the proper co-ordination of economic projects. The scope of this report, although it cannot claim to be exhaustive after so short a visit, is therefore wide, and attempts to cover in broad outline the whole economic potentiality of these countries and the markets in which British trade may develop.

The Recruitment and Training of Youth Leaders and Organizers. (Scottish Education Department, Edinburgh. 1946. pp. 39. 9d.) The first report issued by the Scottish Youth Advisory Committee was published in March, 1946, and dealt with " The Needs of Youth in These Times ". The second report, which the Committee now presents, has among its main recommendations the recruitment of an adequate supply of voluntary workers which is vital to the continuance of most of the voluntary youth organizations and to the development of the youth service as a whole. The Committee sees no essential incompatibility between voluntary and paid leadership. It should be the aim of all concerned with the development of the youth service to ensure that the benefits of both types of work are understood and are made full use of in every locality. The training of candidates for the youth service should be of such character, standard and duration as would give it equal professional standing with that of the training colleges for teachers and the University Departments of Social Study. A body appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland should be set up to exercise certain supervisory and organizing functions in regard to the training of full-time youth service workers. The responsible body should have power and funds at its disposal to make special arrangements with voluntary bodies and other suitable agencies for the development of the practical facilities which they can offer.

A Plan for the Mechanized Production of Groundnuts in East and Central Africa. (Cmd. 7030. 1947. pp. 48. 1s.) This publication contains a plan submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Minister of Food by Mr. Frank Samuel, the Managing Director of the United Africa Company Limited, on March 28, 1946 (see p. 40 of this issue). The proposals submitted by Mr. Samuel provide for the clearance and planting of seventy-three units of land in Tanganyika, each 35,000 acres in extent, of which three-sevenths would be under groundnuts, one-seventh under an alternative crop, and three-sevenths under a grass ley. The second part of the publication brings a report, submitted by an Official Mission, after detailed and extensive inquiries in East Africa. While the immediate reason for the launching of this scheme is the urgent need for new supplies of fats for the United Kingdom, His Majesty's Government believe that its long-term importance may lie even more in the practical demonstration it will provide of the improved productivity, health, social welfare and prosperity which scientific agriculture can bring to Africa. It is intended that all the economic resources of the areas concerned should be developed in the best interests of the territories.

Inter-Territorial Organization in East Africa. Revised Proposals. (Colonial No. 210. 1947. pp. 15. 3d.) Following consultations between the Governors of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika with the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Councils, these modified proposals have been published as a basis for further discussions (see *The Colonial Review*, Vol. IV, p. 137). The proposals are framed to meet the pressing need for establishing a constitutional and juridical framework for the efficient administration of specified departments and services, now in existence or projected for the near future, which are, in fact, inter-territorial. The following constitution for the administration of the scheduled services is envisaged : (*a*) An East African High Commission consisting of the Officers for the time being administering the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. (*b*) An East African Central Assembly. (*c*) An executive organization supported in appropriate cases by inter-territorial advisory and consultative bodies.

Colonial Research, 1945–46. (Colonial No. 208. 1947. pp. 48. 1s.) This is a series of reports by the Colonial Research Committee and its branches, the Colonial Products Research Council, the Colonial Social Science Research Council, the Colonial Medical Research Committee and the Committee for Colonial Agricultural Animal Health and Forestry Research. The reports take stock of the results of some six years' working of the research provision under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. Some impressions of the rate of development may be gained from the statement in one of the tables given in an appendix. From Table II it will be seen that the cumulative total of the research allocations under the Act has this year passed £1,000,000. Table II also illustrates the way in which the work has gathered momentum. Of 105 schemes made during the period of rather less than six years since the entry into force of the 1940 Act, no less than fifty-four, or little over half, were made during the single year 1945–46. The main function of the Colonial Research Committee remains to achieve the maximum degree of co-ordination of effort as between the various branches of science represented by the specialist Committees.

Bermuda—Correspondence relating to a petition from the Bermuda Workers' Association praying for the Appointment of a Royal Commission. (Cmd. 7093. 1947. pp. 24. 4d.) Last November the Bermuda Workers' Association submitted a petition to the Governor for transmission to the Colonial Office in London. This is now published as the present White Paper together with the Governor's comments and the Colonial Secretary's reply. The Colonial Secretary advises the Colonial Legislature to deal with the grievances voiced before asking London to intervene. The trade union legislation for Bermuda should be brought up to date ; the franchise must be widened, as at present only 7 per cent of the population has a vote and the franchise is restricted by a landowning qualification. The fiscal system needs reform : at present there is no direct taxation on the wealthy, but at the same time no workmen's compensation, no unemployment insurance, no health insurance and only a deficient educational system for the poor. An inquiry into the general political, economic and social state of the Colony, concludes the White Paper, should be undertaken by the Bermuda Colonial Parliament without delay.

Report of the Commission on the Civil Services of British West Africa, 1945–46, by Sir Walter Harragin, Kt., C.M.G., Chief Justice, Gold Coast. (Colonial No. 209. 1947. pp. 189. 7s. 6d.) See *The Colonial Review*, Vol. V, p. 28.

Select Reading Lists for Colonial Studies. General Editor, M. Perham. Nuffield College.

IV.—Colonial Economics, by P. A. Bower. (1946. pp. 42. 1s.) This series of reading lists is being produced under the auspices of Nuffield College for the guidance of members of the Colonial Service who, in the circumstances of their duties, sometimes find it difficult to keep in touch with the literature upon colonial affairs. Other non-specialist students are likely to find them of considerable value. In the latest addition to the series, a short list of recent works on general economics together with key references to economic features of non-colonial undeveloped and recently developed areas are included with the catalogue of studies specifically colonial in character. Other titles in the series are :

Colonial Administration. 2s.
Rural Betterment in the British Colonies. (In preparation.)
Law and Justice in the British Colonies. (In preparation.)
Urban Administration in Africa. (In preparation.)

Application for copies should be made to the Institute of Colonial Studies, 10 Bardwell Road, Oxford.

International Labour Office, Montreal

Non-Metropolitan Territories. (1946. pp. 119.) This is an interim report which deals with the proposed conventions based on conclusions reached by the International Labour Conference during its twenty-ninth session, and with the drafting of the final report which will be laid before the next conference at its thirtieth session on June 19, 1947. A Preliminary Report was issued by the International Labour Office earlier in 1946 (see *The Colonial Review*, Vol. IV, p. 193 and p. 222). The present is the first of two reports. Its essential purpose is to transmit texts to the Governments for their amendments or comments, in preparation for a final decision. The present report contains the following : 1. Relevant extracts from the text of the report of the Committee on social policy in dependent territories appointed by the 1946 session of the International Labour Conference. It concludes with a summary of the discussions in the plenary sitting of the conference at which the Committee's report was approved. 2. The report of the Committee on Constitutional Questions also appointed by the 1946 session of the conference. This Committee made and obtained conference approval of certain constitutional changes permitting the closer participation of non-metropolitan territories in the work of the International Labour Organization. 3. The texts are given of five draft Conventions, and certain questions are put to the Governments arising from these texts and from the conference discussions.

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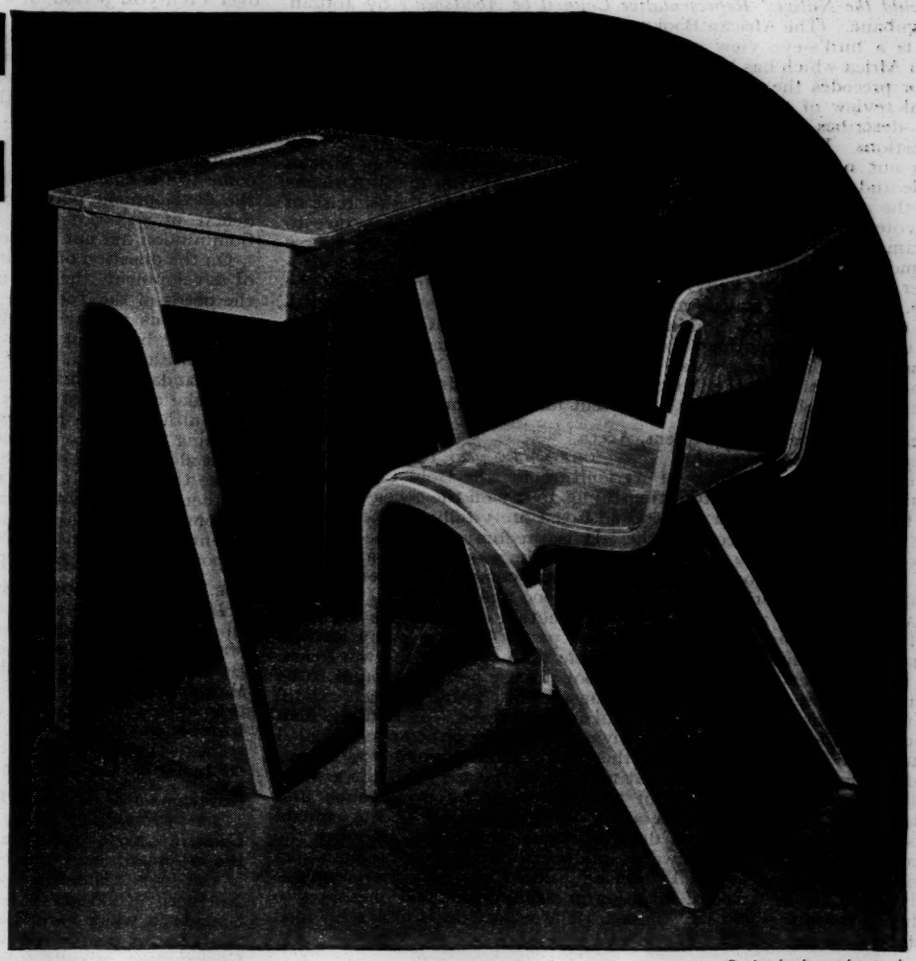

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Pro and Con Pamphlets—No. 4

Should the Natives' Representative Council be Abolished? by Jordan K. Ngubane. (The African Bookman, Cape Town. 1946. pp. 28. 1s.) This is a bird's-eye view of the Natives' Representative Council in South Africa which has been in existence now for about ten years. The author precedes the discussion of the Council itself with a short, historical review of the main developments connected with the African vote, describes the Council at work and ends with criticisms and suggestions. He thinks that the Representation of Natives' Act of 1936 holds out no hope of direct political advancement for the African people and suggests the exercise of the individual vote by all Africans with the necessary qualifications, regardless of sex. In the exercise of this vote, the African should be free to send men of his own race to Parliament and the Provincial Councils if he so desires. In the course of time, the Natives' Representative Council itself would cease altogether to function as an advisory body in the legislative machine of the State. It would be transformed into a strictly administrative institution, responsible for the administration of the Native Reserves, Native Locations, the appointments of Chief Native Commissioners, Native Commissioners and, in general, advise the Minister of Native Affairs on the administration of the African areas until such time as these were sufficiently developed to need a different form of administration.

Government Printing Department, Accra

Report on the Department of Agriculture for the year 1945–46. (1946. pp. 12. 1s.) The Director of Agriculture for the Gold Coast in his annual report has some interesting things to say on the cocoa industry. The trade and prosperity of the Gold Coast are vitally affected by the price and size of the cocoa crop. It is predominantly the greatest source of income to the greatest number of the people. The amount of cash accruing from cocoa to the agricultural community over the last twenty years has varied between £12,000,000 and just over £2,000,000 per annum. Over recent years the production of cocoa has declined, partly through the onset of disease and partly because many farmers found food-farming to be more profitable than cocoa in the war years. The rate of spread of the Swollen Shoot disease has been found to be about tenfold in five years and the question of control received careful and urgent consideration at a series of conferences of senior officers held throughout the year. The report gives in brief the position as revealed by an initial survey and explains the control scheme which was formulated in August, 1945. It aims at making the farmers and the general public aware of the ravages of Swollen Shoot by propaganda and explains the necessity for the early implementation of the control measures recommended; to do everything possible to prevent the disease from spreading northwards and southwards from the main area of infection in the Eastern Province; and to resurvey the comparatively small known areas of infection in Ashanti and take measures to eradicate the disease in these areas. The report deals also with food production in general.

Government Printer, Bathurst

Some Aspects of Local Government, by Kenneth Ewart. (1946. pp. 92. 2s.) An outline of the growth and chief characteristics of local government in England for Africans interested in municipal development in Africa.

Department of Agriculture, Dar Es Salaam

Agriculture in Tanganyika. (1945. pp. 60. 2s.) In this study an attempt has been made to describe briefly the general conditions and progress of agriculture in Tanganyika territory. It deals in two parts with African agriculture and non-Native agriculture. A number of statistical tables give the reader a good picture of the economic position of the country.

Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam.

A Ten-Year Development and Welfare Plan for Tanganyika Territory. (1946. pp. 67.) The Ten-Year Plan recently published is based on the reports of the Central Development Committee (1940) and the Post-War Planning Committee (1944). The plan provides for an expenditure of £18,004,800, of which the Territory will provide £9,445,000 and the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund £5,250,000. If the balance of £3,309,800 cannot be met from revenue or loans during the ten-year period, then part of the plan will be spread over a longer period. The main heads of expenditure are: Conservation and Development of Natural Resources, £2,958,500; Communications, £4,869,800; Social Services, £5,550,500; Railways and Ports, £2,075,000; Miscellaneous (including Township Development, Public Works and Land Settlement), £2,429,500. Under Conservation and Development £1,207,700 is allotted to agriculture and animal husbandry. £4,215,600 of the total under Communications is to be spent on roads. The main items under Social Services are £3,004,000 for Public Health, £1,905,000 for Education and £341,500 for training of ex-Servicemen. The provision made for African education in the 1946 estimates is £280,000 for the 112,000 children now attending school. To provide schools for all children of elementary school age and for approximately 25 per cent of children of post-primary age, *i.e.* for 777,000 children in 1946 rising to 947,000 in 1956, the Commission estimate that, on the basis of the limited facilities provided at present (estimated to cost £2 15s. per pupil per annum), would require an expenditure of £5,552,000 over a ten-year period, of which £2,200,000 could be provided from local resources, leaving a deficit of £3,602,000. The Commission, while recognizing that expenditure on education is a form of capital investment and that expenditure in other fields is likely to be less productive and less effective with an illiterate population, yet with the limited funds available are " firmly of the opinion that large sums cannot be spent on education if it means curtailing the development of the native resources of the Territory, on which the people depend for their very existence. After careful consideration, therefore, it has reluctantly come to the conclusion that the amount to be devoted to education in the development plan should not exceed £1,905,000 ". This leaves a deficit of £1,697,000 to be made good—a problem on which the Commission did not feel competent to advise.

On the question of available man-power in relation to the programme of development, the Commission hold there is enough man-power for the needs of the Territory, but that from one cause and another there is a serious wastage of labour. The Commission endorse the views expressed by Major Orde-Browne in his 1945 report on labour conditions in East Africa (see *The Colonial Review,* Vol. IV, p. 169) as to the low standard of efficiency of the worker, and add that " leisure appears to make an even stronger appeal to the average African than money and, although the implementation of this plan will give him health, training and the opportunity for economic and social advancement, these alone are not enough without the spark of incentive on his part to make them fuse: unless a way can be found to strike that spark, the further development of the Territory is likely to be impeded ".

Some parts of this report may have to be revised in the light of the recent developments connected with the groundnut scheme and the important mineral developments which have been recently reported.

The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia

History of the Mankoya District, by G. C. R. Clay. (1945. pp. 24. 5s.) In this fourth communication from the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Mr. Clay, who has spent some years as a District Commissioner in the Barotse Province of Northern Rhodesia, gives a detailed history of the Mankoya District. He considers the history of all the tribes inhabiting this area and discusses the influence of the British conquerors and Europeans on the development of the people. This is a very useful record—though it will obviously appeal most to those having direct contact with the area concerned.

Government of Northern Rhodesia, Government Printer, Lusaka

The Proceedings of the First Session of the African Representative Council. (1946. pp. 162. 1s.) Whatever one may think of some of the arguments and opinions set forth, this is an historic document. It is the first " Hansard " of the all-African Representative Council of Northern Rhodesia when tribal and other representatives met to consider a wider variety of questions. It is hoped that the feelings of the African people will thus be more adequately expressed, and the Government intends to put before the Council for its comments all proposed legislation affecting Africans.

A few examples of the kind of subject dealt with will give some idea of the range of discussion. On the burning issue of amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia the Council, whilst strongly resisting the proposal, recommended that a small African delegation should visit that country and investigate conditions on the spot. A system of registration of African marriages was generally supported, and the Council also wanted wider powers for local Native authorities to levy rates for specific purposes.

Government Printer, Port Louis, Mauritius

Ten-Year Plan—Memorandum on Mauritius Development and Welfare. (1946. Publications No. 32, pp. 26; No. 33, pp. 10.) These two short publications contain the ordinary budget estimates and the development budget, based on a statement of revenue and expenditure.

South African Broadcasting Corporation

Our Neighbours. (pp. 71. 2s. 6d.) This booklet contains eleven instructive talks given by various speakers for the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Prefaced by an introduction by Lord Hailey, these talks deal with the economic and cultural aspects of Tanganyika, Angola, South-West Africa, Uganda, Mozambique, Madagascar, Kenya, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

Union of South Africa, Government Printer, Pretoria.

Report No. 8, *Local Government Functions and Finances.* (1945. pp. 104. 5s. 6d.) This report has been issued by the Social and Economic Planning Council. It originated in the feeling of the Council that the growth of the national economy is being retarded by the many gaps found in local government services throughout South Africa. The report is comprised of six parts treating consecutively the development of local government functions as they are at present practised in South Africa; the effectiveness of the existing local government machinery; the principal obstacles with which local authorities have to contend; local government revenue and expenditure; local government loan finance; and, finally, the findings and conclusions of the Report are summarized.

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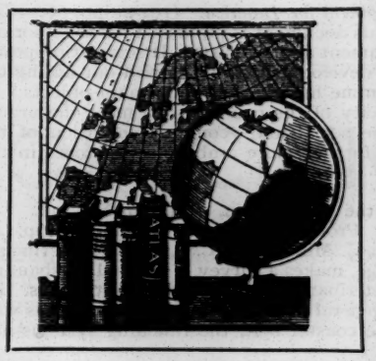

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The Government Printer, Kingston

A Ten-Year Plan of Development for Jamaica. (1945. pp. 66.) The long-term plan described in this document is published for the information of the public, and for comment and criticism. It sets out proposals for a balanced programme of development to be carried out during the next ten years. This programme has the following main objects: to increase the productive capacity of the country; to meet the urgent need for improvement of the social and economic condition of the people; and to prepare for further more ambitious advances in the future.

Development and Welfare in the West Indies. Bulletin No. 19A.

British Guiana Report, by Professor William C. Miller. (pp. 44. 10 cents.) Professor William C. Miller, M.R.C.S., F.R.S.E., Principal of the Royal Veterinary College, makes a survey of Animal Husbandry, Feeding, Management and Veterinary Services in the West Indies. He pays special attention to the general position of livestock and deals with estate-owned livestock on the coastal belt, the ranching systems and the peasant-owned livestock.

British Guiana Bureau of Publicity and Information, Barbados

The Rupununi Record, by Richard Baldwin (District Commissioner). (1946. pp. 57.) The Rupununi Record is the first of a series of handbooks giving the facts of British Guiana's administrative districts as compiled by the District Commissioners themselves. The booklet contains four sections: Topography, History (in five chapters), Economic Review and The Rupununi Indians. The last section will be of special interest to the anthropologist, dealing as it does with the social and economic conditions of the present-day Indians.

Caribbean Commission, Washington, D.C.

Caribbean Land Tenure Symposium. (1946. pp. 377.) The Land Tenure Symposium was built around the presentation of formal papers by selected technicians, followed by free and open discussion of participants and visitors. The papers may be divided into four categories: (*a*) general aspects of land tenure reform, (*b*) the agrarian situation in the independent republics, (*c*) land tenure in Surinam and British Guiana, and (*d*) the land tenure improvement programme in Puerto Rico. The following eight objectives were suggested as guides in formulating a tenure improvement programme for the Caribbean area: (1) responsible freedom of personal action; (2) equality and dignity for all tenure groups; (3) secure possession of rights in land; (4) equitable distribution of rights in property; (5) conservation and development of resources; (6) highly efficient utilization of productive resources; (7) equitable distribution of income; and (8) well-integrated community life.

Crop Inquiry Series. No. 3. *Grain Crops in the Caribbean.* (1947. pp. 125.) This is the third number in a series of reports issued by the Caribbean Research Council (see *The Colonial Review,* Vol. IV, page 252). The report reviews the development and present state of agriculture in the Caribbean area and comes to the conclusion that three outstanding needs for the future should be considered: 1. A more extensive rice cultivation, especially in Puerto Rico. 2. Greater attention to fundamental research. 3. The application of existing knowledge which, in turn, is dependent on extension of services and education.

Post-War Reorganization and Development of Education in Malaya

A Memorandum, by R. Henderson. (Departmental Report, not published, to be seen at the Colonial Office Library. pp. 66.) The purpose of this memorandum is to examine past conditions and from this to see how far education can contribute to the happiness of all. It is of the highest importance, says the author, that the type of education should be suitable to the needs of the inhabitants—Chinese, Indians and Malays. Education must be co-ordinated with the life of the country so that the needs of the country in every sphere of activity are fully met. Its task is to produce citizens, conscious of the value, dignity and necessity of their labour which should be according to the ability of each individual. Proper vernacular education is a prime factor in the life of an ordered contented community. Even if unlimited funds were available, immediate creation of a full-range compulsory vernacular educational system is a frank impossibility. Teachers must be trained and the project developed at a rate which this country can afford and without lessening the standard set. The aim of the vernacular school should be the same as the primary school in England. The reorganization of schools would include: (1) Junior and senior vernacular schools (corresponding to the junior and senior schools in England); the boys from the senior school who do not enter the technical schools going into semi-skilled or unskilled occupations. (2) Junior and senior English schools—into these will go (*a*) the pupils gaining scholarships from the junior vernacular schools, (*b*) those reaching a sufficiently high standard in the junior vernacular schools to qualify for transfer as paying pupils, (*c*) those who speak English in the home (for whom English may be regarded as a vernacular). (3) Technical schools (particularly the techni-factories—schools for woodworking trades with a factory as integral part of the building); they will train the skilled tradesman or artisan (like the present trade schools). (4) Technical high schools, a preparation for the technical college and also for posts in industry and trade requiring training of this type, but not the full professional qualifications of the technician. (5) Secondary schools, providing an academic course leading to clerical and commercial posts and to Raffles College and the College of Medicine.

The report then gives more detailed proposals for the techni-factories, for research work and local trade possibilities, and links up with education the whole commercial and social life of Malaya.

The National Research Council National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C.

Proceedings of the Pacific Science Conference of the National Research Council. (No. 114. September, 1946. pp. 79.) The objectives of the Conference, as set out in this report, were to form an effective organization of American scientists interested in the Pacific, to encourage and assist scientific research and activities in the Pacific area, and to further international co-operation along these lines. (See *The Colonial Review,* Vol. V, p. 21, under *Far Eastern Survey.*)

Institute of Ethnic Affairs, Washington, D.C.

Operational Research and Action Research, by H. A. C. Dobbs. (1947. pp. 21. 25 cents.) The object of this paper is to outline some suggestions for establishing a basic connection between the new philosophy and technique of administration first developed by personnel of the United States Indian Bureau, among others, and called by them *action research,* and a somewhat related set of ideas developed intensively in England during the war and called *operational research.*

Institute of Pacific Relations, New York

A North China Local Market Economy, by Ch'ng-Kun Yang. (1944. pp. 41.) This study of periodic markets in a county in Shantung Province is of much more general interest than its title might seem to imply. In all parts of the world where regular markets are held, they play an important part in both the social and economic life of the people. Within the limits of his selected area Mr. Yang has given us first of all a method of study which is readily adaptable to other areas. Secondly, he has shown the relation of periodic markets to local economic self-sufficiency, and thirdly he has indicated the declining value of these markets under the pressure of industrialized production and large-scale commercial buying and selling. Readers who have observed the lure of markets for a peasant population, and indeed for many casual visitors too, will be interested in Mr. Yang's analysis of the social value of periodic markets, and of their possible use as "information centres".

Government of Cyprus, Nicosia

A Ten-Year Programme of Development for Cyprus. (1946. pp. 143. 21s.) The report falls into two parts. The first part comprises the plans for those departments which are most nearly concerned with general development, namely, the Agricultural, Irrigation, Forest, Medical and Education Departments. The second part relates to more miscellaneous activities such as harbours, communications, municipal schemes, village improvements, housing, archaeology and others. The report catalogues and describes those schemes which ought to be implemented within the next ten years if the proper development of the country is to be secured.

La Revue de Madagascar, Tananarive.

Série de la Libération. (No. 21. 1945. pp. 136.)

Numéro Spécial du Cinquantenaire. (No. 24. 1945. pp. 183.) Both numbers contain a series of articles and addresses, dealing with social and cultural aspects, trade and agriculture, medical and educational services and the work of the Missions. They are illustrated with photographs and reproductions of paintings and have several maps. While the first volume, *Série de la Libération,* recalls the events of the war and its repercussions on Madagascar, the second number, *Numéro Spécial du Cinquantenaire,* which has been written for the occasion of the first session of the newly elected Representative Council of Madagascar on September 26, 1945, describes the evolution of the island during the past fifty years of French administration.

The Colonial Review acknowledges its indebtedness to the following newspapers, magazines, reviews and press summaries which have been used in the compilation of this issue: *African World, Background to News from the Colonies, China Newsweek, Colonial Cinema, Colonial Office Press Section, East Africa and Rhodesia, Empire Information Service, France, House of Commons Official Report, Information (Kampala), International Organization, La Revue Coloniale Belge, Manchester Guardian, Nature, Oversea Education, Pacific Islands Monthly, Race Relations, Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, The Crown Colonist, The Economist, The Middle East Journal, The National Christian Council Review, The News Letter of the League of Coloured Peoples, The Round Table, The South African Outlook, The Sunday Times, The Times, The World To-day.*

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

Based on articles of general interest from the daily newspapers and from various journals concerned with colonial affairs

THE King has approved the appointment of Mr. Arthur Henderson to be Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations. He will assist the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, in the discharge of his responsibility for the conduct of relations with the independent Dominions of India and Pakistan. This appointment is a consequence of the assumption by India and Pakistan of the status of Dominions under the Indian Independence Act. Lord Listowel has handed in his seals of office to the King and so brought to an end the historic office of Secretary of State for India. (*The Times*, August 15, 1947.)

Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations.

"ARRANGEMENTS to secure adequate supplies of suitable literature for Africans are well in train," said the Secretary of State for the Colonies in a statement in the House of Commons. "The subject has the continuous attention of the Mass Education Sub-Committee of my Advisory Committee on Education. Under the Nigerian Development Plan a public corporation called the Gaskiya Corporation has been established in Northern Nigeria with the objects, among other things, of increasing the supply of general vernacular literature for post-school reading, particularly in connection with the spread of mass literacy, and of establishing a vernacular newspaper for the Northern Province. The Corporation is producing the paper *Gaskiya*, the circulation of which is 22,000 fortnightly. In Sierra Leone for the past three years mission authorities with assistance from public funds have been carrying on a campaign for the extension of literacy within one of the language areas of the Protectorate, and this scheme provides for the printing and publication of suitable literature. The British Council has established libraries in West Africa and attention is being given to their further development. As regards East and Central Africa, a scheme has just been received from the East African Governments recommending the setting up of a Literature Bureau, financed from Colonial Development and Welfare funds, with headquarters in Nairobi, for the purpose of stimulating the production of books and other publications for Africans. A literature adviser for Africans in East Africa has begun to work out plans for the bureau. The Northern Rhodesia Development Plan provides for the establishment of a Publications Bureau and the scheme is being put in hand immediately. Similar measures are proposed for Nyasaland, and the establishment of a Joint Publications Bureau for the two Territories is under consideration. Northern Rhodesia already has a Government published African newspaper, *Mutende*. This paper was first published in 1935 and has been published weekly for several years now. Much attention is being devoted at the present time to the problem of encouraging the improvement of the standard of the newspapers produced by the colonial peoples themselves. An experimental scholarship scheme, under which training will be given to three colonial journalists, has been provided under British Council auspices. Consultation with organizations representing both proprietors of newspapers and journalists in this country show that there is sympathy with the ends in view, and it is hoped that further facilities will be arranged. It is also hoped to be able to arrange for the visits to this country from time to time of parties of colonial journalists. Colonial public relations officers give what assistance they can to newspaper editors. In addition there are supplied from London, through the Public Relations Office, services of news commentaries, feature articles, photographs and blocks. The aim is to avoid restrictive controls and by positive action to develop better quality alternatives." (*House of Commons Official Report*, August 6, 1947.)

Literature for Africans.

AN experiment of great importance for the political and social future of the Gold Coast came to an end with a Conference held at Achimota College in August. As a result of discussions early this year between Mr. T. L. Hodgkin, Secretary for Extra-Mural Studies, and a large number of Africans and Europeans, it was agreed that Oxford should send an extra-mural lecturer to the Gold Coast to give a course of twelve lectures. One important condition accepted by the Government was that while it should give financial and other assistance, the tutor

Oxford Extra-Mural Classes in Gold Coat.

should have complete academic freedom in his lectures and discussions. Mr. J. A. McLean, an experienced lecturer of the Delegacy, was sent out towards the end of April, and on May 13 the first lecture on "Economic History and Problems" was given at Accra. Weekly lectures and classes were also held at Cape Coast, Sekondi and Kumasi. The discussions gave evidence of a penetrating appreciation of the nature and extent of local and world economic problems. Each centre produced a core of regular students, and the written work, though submitted by a comparative minority, was copious. Classes included teachers and clerks who formed the majority, traders, newspaper reporters and policemen. At one centre a Chief attended several meetings and took an active part in the discussions. At the closing conference plans were made for resuming the classes in October with the help of local lecturers until Oxford could send another tutor. It is to be hoped that the contact established with Oxford will endure until the Gold Coast is itself able to undertake this important work. (*The Times Educational Supplement*, August 30, 1947.)

The Gold Coast Industrial Development Corporation.

A BILL, entitled the Gold Coast Industrial Development Ordinance, was published in the Supplement to the *Gold Coast Gazette* No. 59 of August 16, 1947. It provides for the establishment of a Corporation, to be known as The Gold Coast Industrial Development Corporation, with a capital of £100,000. The operations of the Corporation will be managed by a Board consisting of not less than three and not more than five directors, of whom the Governor will have the right to appoint not more than three. Private shareholders will have the right to elect not more than two. The functions of the Corporation are primarily to establish secondary industries based on the agricultural products of the country, to investigate the possibilities of other industries and to establish pilot plants to demonstrate the practicability of such industries. As a secondary object the Corporation will assist by management, investment or advice the development of established industries which offer scope for improvement on a commercial basis, and for this purpose would assist in the purchase of modern machinery and equipment. It would assist in the marketing of goods locally produced by cottage industries. The Corporation would be run on commercial lines with a view to being self-supporting. Government may, however, require the Corporation to investigate potential industries on a scale which would not be commercially worthwhile in the initial stages and, for this purpose, provision is made for the Corporation to receive grants. It is hoped that the Corporation will enable and facilitate numbers of small African companies to be formed and the early operations of such companies would have the benefit of technical advice and in some cases supervision or management by the Corporation or joint control with the Corporation. It would be the policy of the Corporation to give special consideration to the assistance of Native Authorities and Co-operative Societies who are undertaking industrial development. (*Colonial News*, September 29, 1947.)

Inter-territorial Services in East Africa.

IN a statement in the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for the Colonies said that the revised proposals regarding the scheme of inter-territorial organization in East Africa contained in Colonial Paper No. 210 have been widely discussed in East Africa. Opposition has been expressed to the revised proposals in certain quarters in East Africa, but this has been largely confined to one particular point, the proposed composition of the East African Assembly on the unofficial side. Few of those who have criticized the proposed composition of the Assembly have denied the necessity for a scheme on the general lines suggested to give constitutional backing for the operation of the inter-territorial services in East Africa and to associate representatives of the public in the control of these services. The urgency of this need has been amply shown by our experience in East Africa since the war ended, and the Secretary of State was convinced that, if the economic and general development of the three Territories was not to be hampered, the scheme proposed in Colonial Paper No. 210 should be brought into force without further delay. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided that the scheme as proposed in Colonial Paper No. 210 should be brought into force on January 1, 1948, and the necessary constitutional instruments have been prepared with this object in view. The final responsibility to Parliament for the administration of the three East African Territories will continue to rest with His Majesty's Government, as will the special responsibility of His Majesty's Government as the Administering Authority of Tanganyika under the Trusteeship Agreement for that Territory. This special position of responsibility will be secured by means of the usual reserve powers under the constitution. Secondly, the scheme is not to be regarded as a step towards political union or the fusion of the East African Governments. As stated in paragraph 10 of Colonial Paper No. 191, the scheme will leave the administration of the Territories as at present in the hands of the three Governments, and the Territories will retain existing constitutions. (*House of Commons Official Report*, July 28, 1947.)

Road Communications in East and Central Africa.

MR. IVOR THOMAS, former Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, announced in a talk on Colonial Department to the Keighley Rotary Club on September 1, that a regional scheme has been approved for East Africa which will be highly important for the economic development of the region. This is a great trunk road, known as the Great North Road, to connect the trunk road system of Northern Rhodesia in the south with the excellent main road system of Uganda in the north, and thus affording continuous road communication through the British territories in East and Central Africa. The idea is reminiscent of the Cape-to-Cairo railway which was the dream of so many people a few generations ago, but in the present age of motor transport a Great North Road will be more valuable than such a railway. The Great North Road will run through Tanganyika and Kenya, and an expenditure of £1,310,000 from the East African regional allocation has been earmarked for this purpose, £850,000 for the Tanganyika section and £460,000 for the Kenya section. In addition these territories will contribute sums from their own resources. It is further proposed to allocate out of the East African regional allocation £460,000 for improvements to the road systems of Uganda. This makes a total of £1,770,000 to be spent out of the East African regional allocation on roads. The greatest economic need of the area is communications, and this is a major contribution to the economic development of the territories. The total estimated cost of road improvements in Tanganyika is £2,576,000. These road works are estimated to last seven years and will be begun at once. (*Colonial Office Press Section*, September 2, 1947.)

Steel Production in Rhodesia.

SIR MILES THOMAS, vice-chairman of the Nuffield organization, speaking at Chatham House, disclosed details of schemes for industrial development in Africa. A plan for the production of sero-chrome steel, in which the Northern and Southern Rhodesian Governments were interested, included the building of a 300-ft. dam wall across the Zambesi. This would make possible the development of 750,000 kilowatts of electrical energy and, at the same time, would hold 53,000,000 acre feet of water in check—sufficient to irrigate and bring into production tens of thousands of acres of hitherto bare veld. "Southern Rhodesia", said Sir Miles Thomas, "can become one of the four main sources of world supply of the metal on which everything depends in peace or war, that is, high-grade steel." (*The Times*, October 23, 1947.)

Future of South-West Africa.

THE Prime Minister, General Smuts, made the Union Government's attitude to the future of South-West Africa clear when he told the territory's Legislative Assembly at Windhoek on July 10 that in terms of the League of Nations mandate it would continue to be administered as an integral part of the Union. He maintained that the Trusteeship Council was very different from the old Mandates Commission, which was an impartial body of experts. There was no guarantee that the Council would administer South-West Africa without enmity or peril to the Union. Generally speaking, South-West Africa would be regarded as a fifth province of the Union, said the Prime Minister, but the Legislative Assembly would have certain powers that the Provincial Councils did not have. As regards

our courts. We needed no help in distinguishing between right and wrong in such cases, and there were, in any case, few people in the Colonies of which I am now thinking, who were in a position to advise us or criticize our actions. To-day, the position is different. We have to take a far greater interest in the social and economic life of the people, and in these things we must have their co-operation and assistance. We must help them to improve themselves, help them to become more healthy and more wealthy and more wise; and, above all, we must help them to help themselves. Our function in the future will become increasingly different from what it was in the past. Our role must, in fact, change from an executive to an advisory one; and with the acceleration of Africanization in the Services of the African Colonies, there will be little room for the official who does not regard the training of African staff as his primary responsibility. Nor must this training be confined to the Civil Service alone. It is our duty to educate the whole population and this duty is by no means confined to the members of the education department. Education is not given only in schools and colleges. The mass of the people must be taught new and healthier ways of living, improved methods of agriculture and other work, and a greater sense of public responsibility. A fundamental characteristic of British Colonial policy is that we do not try to assimilate the Colonial peoples, but to help them to develop a higher civilization of their own, soundly based on their own traditional institutions and culture.

The maintenance and development of sound administration in a Colony depends almost entirely on the personal relationship that exists between the officials and the people of the country. The Colonial, like any one else, is naturally reluctant to admit his shortcomings to unsympathetic persons, but he knows quite well in his own mind that he has much to learn, and he is anxious to learn whatever he can. He is very sensitive; and the bad manners, or even the unsympathetic attitude of one official may be sufficient to undo a great deal of good work done by a number of others. Every Government officer should bear this constantly in mind. Each has a special and personal responsibility in this matter. The first thing, then, that the Colonial Civil Servant has to do is to make friends with the people among whom he is to work; and if he makes friends with them, and gets them to trust him, he will have laid the foundations of his life's work, and will find his duties far more pleasing and his work far more effective than otherwise. Our main job is to teach the Africans and other Colonials to take our places in the administration of the Colonies. We must try and teach them to do the work that we are doing ourselves, in order that they may replace us. It will be a long time before they are as efficient as we are, because most of them have not got the background of training that we have had over many generations, and we must accept that fact. We must accept a certain amount of inefficiency, a certain amount of criticism even from those we are trying to help, and we must accept cheerfully the fact that we are training the men who, in the end, must take our places from us. You will get little thanks, but does this really matter?

We must co-operate with the people of the Colonies and we must co-operate with one another. There can be no division of the Colonial Service into water-tight compartments, with the administrative officers working separately from the technical men, and the technical men ignoring political repercussions in their professional zeal. As I see the Colonial Service in the future, it must consist in each area of a team of men, professional and administrative, working together in close collaboration with one another, meeting frequently in committees. Not committees in which there is much talk and little action, but business-like active bodies of men, realizing that they share a common responsibility for getting things done and a common duty to the people of the country; and, above all, these committees must work with the local people, with the local Chiefs and native authorities, and get their advice and help. There is a great deal to be done and you can accomplish what you set out to do only if you take the people into your confidence, work with them, play with them, and help them to the better life which they should share with us.

A Statute recognizing West Borneo as an autonomous territory with an independent Government within the Dutch Empire was signed in Pontianak, Dutch Borneo, in May. (*The Times*, May 13, 1947.)

Colonial Finance

*Abridged extracts from Chapter V of "The Colonial Empire, 1939–1947", Cmd. 7167, July, 1947**

THE taxable capacity of most Colonies is very low and, with limited production and comparatively poor revenue, their resources for maintaining the considerable social and economic services which they are expected to provide are very restricted. During the war period, the actual revenues of most Colonial Governments—apart, of course, from the occupied territories in the Far East—showed a large expansion, although this was in great part due to the fall in the value of money. In most cases, the 1946 revenue was over twice the pre-war figures. In Nigeria, for example, the total public revenue for 1939 was £6,113,000 and in 1946 £13,717,000. At the other extreme, the revenue of the Virgin Islands increased from £15,000 to £41,000. Even off-setting the fall in the value of money these changes have in most cases meant a real improvement in the financial position of Colonial Governments and in Colonial national incomes due to the sustained demands for Colonial products and to war-time military activities including remittances and gratuities of men serving with the Forces. The expansion of revenue has been accompanied by a rise in expenditure due again in part to monetary inflation, but reflecting also increased services and increased costs of existing services. Many Colonies have also had to incur considerable expenditure in subsidizing the cost of living.

In spite of the growth of expenditure, the buoyancy of Government revenue has enabled most Colonial Governments to accumulate increased surplus balances. These they are now planning to utilize in part for programmes of development. As in this country, however, most Colonies have accumulated arrears of maintenance, against which part of their surplus balances are allocated. They have, moreover, to face the uncertainties of future economic trends and prospective new commitments for public services. Efforts are being made to expand production and trade, and, at the same time, expenditure is planned under Colonial Development and Welfare and other development programmes for the expansion of public services, including those of health and education. This expansion will leave behind the problem of maintaining the new equipment and services which are being built up against the background of the vagaries of economic fluctuations in the outside world, and with local resources not always fully developed to provide for such maintenance.

There has been, therefore, and remains a continuing necessity for assistance from the United Kingdom both to meet general expenditure in the case of the poorest territories and for special developmental and other purposes. Over the financial years 1939–40 to 1946–7, a total sum of £17,620,210 was issued from the vote for Colonial and Middle Eastern Services to various territories in the form of grants in aid of expenses of administration. In addition, grants and loans totalling £27,572,064 were issued to territories requiring a measure of assistance for specific purposes. This sum covered, in the main, the grant of £10,000,000 to the Government of Malta for repair of war damage; grants and loans to the Government of Mauritius to assist the sugar industry, to the Government of Jamaica to meet rehabilitation expenditure following the hurricane of 1944 and to the Government of Palestine to meet emergency expenditure; it also covered assistance for various other purposes, including relief of distress following natural disasters. Assistance was also extended to certain Colonial Governments over the war years from the Vote of Credit to meet expenditure, brought about solely as a result of the war in maintaining local services, or to assist some particular section of the community hard hit in consequence of the disturbance of trade and exports.

Under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, certain loans to Colonial Governments and certain advances made under the Colonial Development Act of 1929 were remitted in whole or in part. Total issues made up to March 31, 1947, under the Acts of 1940 and 1945 were estimated to have amounted to approximately £11,936,000 for development and welfare purposes of which about £6,390,000 went to West Indian Governments, and to approximately £367,000 for research purposes. In addition, £630,000 was issued for schemes approved under the Colonial

* See page 121 of this issue.

Development Act of 1929, making the total expended for the Development and Welfare (Colonies, etc.) Vote approximately £12,933,000.

Income tax is now in force in most Colonial dependencies. In twelve Colonies (including Cyprus, Palestine, Gold Coast, Uganda, Tanganyika and Mauritius) it was introduced for the first time during the war. Despite the shortage of trained staff and the unfamiliarity of the populations with this new and complex form of taxation, income tax has operated smoothly in the Colonies and has provided substantial revenue yields. The development of direct taxation in recent years has done something to correct the resort to import duties in many Colonies as the readiest means of raising the bulk of local revenue. The incidence of duties on a great variety of personal and household goods and other commodities in local demand placed an indiscriminate and unfair burden often where it could least be carried. The extension of direct taxes has in many cases helped to ease the burden and to adjust the balance between direct and indirect taxation. Colonial taxation may now be said to be much more scientific, equitable and flexible than it was before the war. There are now only ten Colonies in which no income tax is levied. These include the Far Eastern territories, where taxes on incomes, in forms adapted to local circumstances, were in operation as war-time measures up to the time of the Japanese occupation. Legislation has recently been passed in Hong Kong providing for the introduction of income tax, and the question of introducing income tax in the Malayan Union and Singapore is now under consideration by the Governments concerned. Rates of income tax vary from Colony to Colony, except that the four East African territories and the Leeward Islands group each have uniform rates. The rates applied to individuals in the Colonies are on graduated scales and there is no standard rate of tax as in this country. Rates have been increased, often substantially, during the war, but generally speaking the tax payable on a given income in the Colonies is lower than that which would be payable on the same income in the United Kingdom. In the great majority of Colonies, companies are subject to a flat rate of tax which usually lies in the range between 4s. and 7s. 6d. in the £. In Palestine companies pay a special profits tax of 10 per cent in addition to 5s. in the £ income tax, the profits tax payable being deducted as an expense in computing income tax liability.

A system of double income tax relief between the United Kingdom and the Colonies has been in existence for many years, but it does not provide for complete relief in all cases. In April, 1945, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced in the House of Commons the conclusion of a Double Taxation Convention between the United Kingdom and the United States, and said that His Majesty's Government also desired to make revised arrangements for double taxation within the Empire. Proposals on the basis of a modified version of the United Kingdom–United States Convention were accordingly made to Colonial Governments most of which have welcomed them and some of which are taking or already have taken steps to give effect to them. In British Guiana, Cyprus, Gambia, Gold Coast, Mauritius, Nigeria, Northern Rhodesia, Palestine, Seychelles, Sierra Leone and Trinidad the revised arrangements will shortly come into operation with effect from 1946.

Estate duties are in force in some twenty Colonial dependencies. As in the United Kingdom, the duties are charged on a scale graduated according to the value of the estate, though in most cases the rates are lower than the corresponding rates in this country. Rates of duty have, however, been increased in a number of Colonies during the war, but estate duties are not yet an important source of Colonial revenue.

Import duties are an important source of revenue in all Colonies and the largest single source in many. During recent years, there have been substantial increases in many import duties accompanied by very substantial increases in the value of both import and export trade. Duty increases have been imposed not only as a revenue measure but also to combat inflation by helping to absorb the margin between the selling price and supply costs of various consumer goods in short supply. Such margins would otherwise have merely swollen the existing excess of purchasing power. In a number of Colonies, export duties have been imposed or increased with the object of diverting part of currently increased prices to the public purse. In addition, levies have been imposed in several cases for specific purposes outside the need of general revenue, *e.g.* price stabilization funds, rehabilitation funds, research and labour welfare expenditure.

No new money was raised by the Colonies in London during the war, and subsequent years to date. On the contrary, there was a net repayment of debt as a result of the redemption and partial conversion of loans. The redemption and/or conversion of these loans has resulted in significant savings in interest charges, and it is intended to continue the policy of converting high-interest loans at the earliest dates permitted by the original terms of issue. The total amount of Colonial Government marketable stocks domiciled with Crown Agents for the Colonies on March 31, 1947, was approximately £74,800,000 compared with £87,460,000 at April 1, 1940. Local loans have been issued since the war started by the Governments of British Guiana, Cyprus, Fiji, Jamaica, Kenya, the Malayan Union, Nigeria, Palestine, Trinidad and Zanzibar, and other Colonies are preparing to issue local loans in the near future. Colonial Governments are encouraged to borrow as much as possible of their requirements locally not only in order to relieve the strain on the London market but as a means of affording an opportunity for local investors to share in the development of their own countries. The main obstacles to the further development of local borrowing is the absence in most Colonies of an organized local money market; the consequent lack of liquidity generally necessitates a higher rate of interest. In Palestine and Cyprus, local loans have been raised in the form of premium bond issues, a method of borrowing which has proved popular with investors in those countries.

With a few exceptions, the currencies of all Colonial Governments are based on the sterling exchange system, under which local notes are issued and redeemed against sterling deposited or paid out in London. The exceptions are Ceylon and British Honduras, whose currencies are linked with the Indian rupee and the United States dollar respectively; Aden, which uses Indian rupees; and Hong Kong, whose currency is not legally linked with sterling but is kept steady in sterling value by a modified version of the normal sterling exchange system. The volume of currency in circulation increased considerably in most Colonies during the war owing to the general expansion of incomes consequent chiefly upon military expenditure and increases in agricultural and mining prices, and the increase has tended to continue since the war, although in one or two areas there are now signs of contraction. There have been no formal changes since 1939 in the currencies of the various dependencies, except that North Borneo and Sarawak are now adopting the use of the Malayan dollar, and in the West Indies developments have been taking place towards a unified currency. During the war, the relative importance of the authorized bank note issues in the West Indies diminished owing to a large increase in the Government note issues, and arrangements were made for the gradual withdrawal of the bank note issues. In addition, as a war-time measure, the Colonies of Barbados, British Guiana and Trinidad made each other's notes legal tender. A further important step towards unification has now been taken by a conference held in Barbados in May, 1946, which recommended the unification of currency in the Eastern Group of the West Indies (*i.e.* Barbados, British Guiana, Leeward Islands, Windward Islands and Trinidad) on the basis of the British West Indian dollar (= 4s. 2d.). The Governments concerned have notified their acceptance of these recommendations. The Coinage Act, 1946, provided for the issue of cupro-nickel coins in the United Kingdom and steps are being taken to make such coins legal tender in those Colonies which at present make use of United Kingdom silver coins. In certain cases Colonial silver coinages may similarly be replaced by cupro-nickel.

In the early stages of the war, the terms of trade turned severely against the Colonies; that is to say, the cost of their imports increased much more rapidly and to a greater extent than did the prices they received for their exports. As in this country, measures were taken (especially in the Mediterranean and the West Indian Colonies) to stabilize the prices of essential commodities and to control the cost of living. These included bulk purchase by government, fixing profit margins, prescribing maximum prices, rationing and subsidization. During the war period, expenditure on subsidization became a very considerable part of the public expenditure, especially in Palestine, Cyprus and Malta. In general, subsidization expenditure was met from local revenues,

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FRANK E. TAYLOR

(Additional names reverse side)

22-6-19

COMMITTEE FOR A
DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY
111 W. 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-6342-3

October Twenty Ninth 1947

Dr W E B DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr DuBois:

It is with satisfaction that I tell you that Mr. T. A. Bisson is to be the third Co-Chairman of the National Conference on American policy in China and the Far East.

Mr. Bisson has long been a student and editor, writer and author of substantial books on the Far East. He has just returned from over a year's service in Japan as Special Advisor, Government Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. He is an academic person, recognized as an authority on the Far East, who takes his citizenship responsibilities very committedly.

The leadership of yourself, Mr. Stanley Isaacs, and Mr. Bisson, for this conference, will indicate to the public the pertinence and seriousness of the Far Eastern policy issue.

The Call to the Conference ought to be issued about the end of November. It will ofcourse be subject to consultation with the three Chairmen before it is sent out, and we will have a draft ready for consideration by the Organizing Committee when it begins meeting some time in November.

The Conference is being planned for January 16th, 17th, and 18th. This will give time for organizations all over the country to know about it and to work up delegate attendance, or to secure attendance on the part of their National headquarters or affiliated chapters here in the New York City area.

Dr. Fritchman, the Organizing Secretary, will return from the Pacific Coast and begin to work on promoting the Conference about the middle of November.

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VIRGINIA WRIGHT
RICHARD YAFFE

We plan to have a small dinner party with the three National Chairmen and Mr. Fritchman after he arrives.

The Conference planning and execution must proceed with thorough leadership participation and cooperation from the very beginning, but we do not envisage bothering the National Chairmen with the mechanical details.

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

uopwa-16-172
mr:rr

22-6-28

MAUD RUSSELL
Executive Director

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22-6-18

COMMITTEE FOR A
DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY
111 W. 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-6342-3

October 31st 1947

Dr W E B DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City New York

My dear Dr DuBois -

Here is a draft of the letter we propose to send out to the men and women who are being invited to become Sponsors for the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East.

I am se nding a copy of this draft to each of the three Chairmen and want to have from each of you your reactions and your suggestions for corrections or changes.

I will call you some time on Monday for your approval or for your suggestions of changes.

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

R.r
Encl

[End.]

DRAFT OF INVITATION TO SPONSORS

MAUD RUSSELL
Executive Director

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(*Additional names reverse side*)

COMMITTEE FOR A

DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

111 W. 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-6342-3

November Fourth 1947

My dear Mr DuBois -

A National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East was held in San Francisco in October 1946 under the chairmanship of General Evans F Carlson and Paul Robeson. Several hundred individuals distinguished by their several citizenship concerns sponsored the calling of the Conference. Six hundred and five delegates representing one hundred and ninety eight organizations attended, and for two days worked on a program of action designed to help end the undemocratic Far Eastern policy of our Government.

During the year since that Conference American policy toward China, Japan, The Philippines, Indonesia, Korea and Viet Nam has shown little progress toward becoming democratic. At present there is a nation-wide newspaper and magazine barrage calculated to prepare American citizens to accept a program of greatly extended intervention in China on behalf of the admittedly corrupt and inefficient Chiang Kai-Shek regime. The implications of this intervention should be brought home to every American citizen.

We are therefore initiating a Second National Conference On American Policy in China and the Far East. We propose to present and discuss the issues created by our present Far Eastern policy, with particular emphasis on the relationship between that policy and our domestic policy and upon citizenship well-being. A major part of the Conference, to which we hope about a thousand delegates will come, will be given to working out ways and means of implementing a citizens' plea that the United States cease acting as an enemy of democracy in the Far East and, instead, that the United States fulfill our American heritage and destiny as a land of democracy and of hope and friendliness for men everywhere.

The Chairmen of the 1947 Conference, which will be held in New York City on January 17th and 18th, are three distinguished citizens who are deeply involved in the current struggle for a democratic America and world -

Mr T A Bisson, Far Eastern wutherity, writer, editor, auther and just returned from over a year of service as Special Adviser, Government Section, GHQ, SCAP, Japan,

Dr W E B DuBois, Chairman National Association For The Advancement of Colored People, writer, auther, lecturer, and authority on on colonial issues,

Mr Stanley Isaacs, prominent New York lawyer and member of the City Council of New York City.

The Conference will be held under the auspices of the Chairmen, the Sponsors, and an Organizing Committee which will be a group of about twenty five citizens now active in various civic organizations - labor, church, political, youth, fraternal, citizenship. The Organizing Secretary for the Conference will be Dr Stephen Fritchman, nationally known Unitarian minister.

We are asking you to join with the three National Chairmen as Sponsors for the Conference and with them urge Americans to come together for two days of working on the issues and problems related to our present Far Eastern policy.

A Call for the Conference will go out late in November in the name of the Chairmen, the Sponsors, and the Organizing Committee.

Will you join in this citizenship effort to have a share in the making of a democratic Far Eastern policy? An early reply on the accompanying card will be much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Maud Russell
For the Preparatory Committee

R.r
Encl

212-6

MAUD RUSSELL
Executive Director

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22-27-34

COMMITTEE FOR A
DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY
111 W. 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-6342-3

November 20th 1947

Dr W E B DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City
New York

My dear Dr DuBois -

I am enclosing a draft of material which we want to print in the next (December) issue of SPOTLIGHT, announcing the Conference. I know that you are out of the city and that there will not be time for you to get your corrections and suggestions in - but if Mr Isaacs and Mr Bisson approve I think we may take it for granted that you would not have had serious objection to the content of this announcement.

The formal CALL to the Conferance, to be signed by the three Chairmen, will be worked out soon and that of course will be issued only after the three Chairmen have approved (and probably improved) the material.

On Wednesday evening December 3rd we will have a small informal dinner party, at the home of Mr Frederick Field, 16 West 12th Street, for the three Chairmen and Mr Fritchman the Organizing Secretary. Mr Smythe tells me you won't be back by that time - but if by any change of plan you are in town, please come. It will be at six o'clock since Mr Isaacs has a later engagement that evening. Will you let me know if you do find yourself able to come,

The Conference will have its own letter-head - it's now at the printers and we hope it will be on Mr Fritchman's desk when he begins work here on Monday the 24th. He had a most successful visit to San Francisco in the interests of the Conference; and is now in the middle west - on work for another organizations, but doing some promotion for the Conference too.

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

R.r
Encl

December 19, 1947

Mr. Stephen Fritchman
Organizing Secretary
Committee for a Democratic
Far Eastern Policy
111 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

220-6

Dear Mr. Fritchman:

Following the meeting last night I have drafted the enclosed memorandum to Mr. Walter White, Executive Secretary of this Association. It is self-explanatory and I hope it covers the main points of your suggestions concerning the covering letter.

Please give Miss Thelma Dale the following address, since this individual may be of help in giving her some fruitful contacts on the field trip.

> Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Howard University
> Department of History, Washington, D. C.
> Dr. Logan did the brief for the United Nations petition of the NAACP and is the foreign affairs writer for the Pittsburgh Courier.

Incidentally, Dr. Logan would make an admirable sponsor and you might write him mentioning that this office suggested this.

Tell Richard Lindheimer to contact: Mr. John M. Gandy, Chicago Council of Social Agencies, 3624½ S. Lake Park Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. He may be able to put him in touch with organizations that would like to send delegates to the Conference in January.

If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

HHS:s

Hugh H. Smythe

[COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY]

CALL TO ALL STUDENTS

Resolution by Campus Delegates

Chinese students know the real nature of Chiang Kai-shek's government. They live under a system of Gestapo terrorism which reaches out to every high school and university campus. They regard the supplying of American arms and funds to Chiang Kai-shek as a direct and unjustified attack on their democratic rights. . . .

We, American students, must realize that those in this country supporting Chiang Kai-shek as he terrorizes the students of China are the same people who aim to black-out academic freedom in the United States.

We must contact all national and local youth organizations to acquaint them with the proceedings of this Conference.

We must plan a "China Week" this spring to protest the policy of American intervention in China.

We must organize extensive tours for speakers from the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy to the campuses, and emphasize the sale of *Spotlight on the Far East.*

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy shall endeavor to set up a Youth Division to coordinate the work of all student and youth groups on these issues.

A statement must be issued to all student organizations enlisting their support for the above program, in order to help our fight for academic freedom here in the United States, and to support the valiant students of China in their fight against civil war and outside intervention.

CHIANG WARTIME TRAITOR

Japan's Foreign Minister Matsuoka told Nazi Foreign Minister von Ribbentropp that he was "in personal touch" with Chiang Kai-shek, "who knew and trusted him."

The date: March 1941, in the fourth year of China's war!

The Source: "Nazi-Soviet Relations," U.S. State Dept. Publication No. 3023 (1948), page 305!

Yet we are told present U.S. aid to Chiang is a "debt of gratitude for resisting Japan"! Ask your Congressman: Why?

CONFERENCE KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Support Maritime Workers When They Stop Arms Ships To East!

By Hugh Bryson

President, National Union of Marine Cooks & Stewards, CIO

To observers of Far Eastern affairs, the promulgation of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan was only the open declaration and extension of a program that we have been following in the Far East for some time. . . .

We of the American labor movement are beginning to realize that this foreign policy is actually a two-headed monster aimed at the crushing of the people's movements in other countries, and in depressing the living standards of the people in our own country. We are beginning to learn that the Taft-Hartley law and the work of such committees as the Thomas Un-American Committee are the domestic counterparts of a Truman Doctrine and a Marshall Plan—the reverse side of the same coin. . . . We know only too well what our policy in the Far East means to our wages and living standards. . . .

Bryson

When the Japanese military machine surrendered in 1945, the Allied Powers were faced with rising strong independence movements throughout Asia. The colonial powers set out to suppress these movements and received aid from our government to do this. Of course, the Dutch were asked to remove U. S. labels from the arms we gave them. But the price these powers had to pay for the aid has been a high one. The American imperialists have continually extended their control over most sections of the Far East and the Pacific. Our unilateral control of Japan has produced a new "co-prosperity sphere" for Asia with the United States instead of Japan as the boss of the sphere. . . . The Bullitt proposal and the secret Wedemeyer report are quite blunt in proposing that the U. S. be granted bases in China and virtual control of China, lock, stock and barrel. . . . We have already gone a long way to making the Bullitt proposals a reality. . . .

At our conference in San Francisco in October 1946, the trade union delegates proposed a resolution, that was adopted by the whole conference, which said, "should our government continue to listen to minority, reactionary groups—then we pledge that, in consultation with the organizations supporting the program of this conference, the trade unions will give the most serious consideration to how, when and what action should be taken to halt the production and shipment of military equipment and supplies destined for the Far East." It seems to me that we have delayed too long.

Maritime labor recognizes its responsibility in developing a program of action in support of democratic-loving peoples in other lands. . . . But maritime labor cannot and must not carry this fight alone. When the members of our unions decide to hit the bricks and refuse to load war shipments, the American people must be on those picket lines with them. . . . The kind of work that the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy is doing in this section of the country must be duplicated on the West Coast, where we must lend every effort to establish chapters of the Committee to work with our unions and to rally the people behind the program of action we will adopt here. . . .

Not until we have a complete reversal of our present foreign policy and a return to the Big Three Unity policy advocated by the late President Roosevelt can we rest easy and feel secure for the peace of the world.

Our answer to the war cries must be in the form of picket lines, petition campaigns, delegations to Congress and more political action. If we pledge ourselves to do this, then we will be able to look squarely into the eyes of the Chinese peasant, the Filipino farmer, the Japanese worker and say—We too are fighting for world peace and security.

STOP INTERVENTION AGAINST THE PEOPLE

By Frederick V. Field

Speaker, China Session

I am confident that this Conference will end with a demand from all present for the cessation of intervention in China and for an American policy which will permit the Chinese people to work out for themselves the form of government and the kind of economy and society they want.

Field

President Truman has often pledged U.S. support for Chinese unity, for a new coalition government and for the principles of democracy. He specifically promised "that American armed forces would not be used to favor one side or the other in the Chinese civil war."

I challenge any one to read Truman's declaration on China of December 1945 *or December* 1946 *and find a single statement which has been carried out.*

The figures on American intervention in China since V.J Day add up to *over four billion dollars.*

Much of the aid, such as the gift of 271 naval vessels, does not show in figures. Except for the transfer of these vessels, the entire program has been carried out without congressional authorization.

This is the method of dictatorship.

Since V-J Day the American training program for Chiang's troops has been doubled. In spite of the tremendous interventionary role of our own government and our consequent responsibility for the Chinese civil war, we as progressive Americans can take very little credit for the defeats that policy has suffered. We have not stopped munitions ships; we have not demonstrated on the docks; we have not organized the port communities behind any tendencies which may exist in the unions for such action. For our own good, for our own peace and security, it is high time we joined actively with the Chinese to see to it that the plans of the American interventionists are once and for all decisively defeated.

China Is Main Far East Issue; Action Here Lags, Delegates Say

Information and discussion at the National Conference made it evident that today's American policy in China is the key to all American policy in the Far East. From the Philippines, from Japan, from Korea, and from Indonesia, speakers rose from the floor to describe conditions in their own lands that differed only in degree from those in China. In each case they told how the United States government throws its weight on the side of local reactionaries against the democratic forces.

The situation in China, as the discussion showed, differs in one big way from that in other Far Eastern nations. In China alone the people's forces are on the offensive, and reaction on the defensive. As a result reactionary U. S. policies have here been most clearly exposed, since they have been forced more openly to bolster the crumbling Kuomintang clique. The wastefulness and hopelessness of this effort has become obvious to even the casual observer.

China, then, taught the delegates two important things. First, it afforded the soundest evaluation of American Far Eastern policy. Second, it offered the best example of the futility, stupidity and dangers of trying to finance and arm reactionary groups throughout the world. On both counts China offers the clearest challenge to the consciences and common sense of American citizens.

We Don't Do Enough

In stating this challenge, speaker Frederick V. Field pointed out how little has so far been done by progressive Americans to defeat intervention in China.

The same sentiments were expressed by a shop delegate from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (AFL). She felt, she told the Conference, that the strong lead taken by writers and intellectuals in opposing current China policy must be a challenge to American labor, which has thus far lagged behind both in appreciation of the dangers of that policy and in action to oppose it. Speakers who echoed this position for their own groups included representatives from Canada and from U. S. church and youth groups.

TRADE UNION DELEGATES

American Communications Association (CIO), Local 1; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers (AFL), Locals 848 & 905; Canadian Seamen's Union (AFL affiliate), represented by President Harry Davis; Hotel & Restaurant Employees Int. Alliance (AFL), Local 89; Dining Car & Railroad Food Workers; Furrier's Joint Council of New York, (CIO), Locals 70, 105, 110, 125; Joint Board, Fur Dressers & Dyers (CIO), Locals 140, 27, 64, 85; United Furniture Workers (CIO), District No. 3, Locals 92, 140.

Int. Jewelry Workers Union (AFL), Local 1; Int. Association of Machinists, State Council; Dressmakers Group, ILGWU (shop delegates); Int. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union (CIO); Int. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (CIO); United Gas, Coke & Chemical Workers (CIO); National Maritime Union (CIO), Port of New York (Women's Auxiliary); National Union of Marine Cooks & Stewards (CIO), Ports of New York & San Francisco, represented by President Hugh Bryson; United Packinghouse Workers (CIO), New York & Chicago; United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees (CIO), Locals 65, 1199; United Public Workers (CIO), Local 555; Transport Workers Union (CIO), United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (CIO), Districts 3, 4, 11, Locals 430, 437, 1119, 1227; United Office & Professional Workers (CIO), Regional Council & Locals 7, 15, 16, 18, 19, 30, 96, 231. Represented by National President James Durkin.

United Shoe Workers, (CIO), Joint Council, No. 13, & Locals 54, 60, 65; Hudson County CIO Council, New Jersey; Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen (AFL), Local 400.

Facts on China Told

The corruption of the Kuomintang regime was described by Dr. Catherine Lealtad, UNRRA doctor recently returned from China (*see story on p.* 6.) Anna Louise Strong exploded tales of Soviet intervention by a report of her private investigations on the spot throughout 1946-7. Said she, "the Russians don't even allow trade in food, cotton goods or medicines with Manchuria."

Dr. James Endicott, former adviser to Chiang Kai-shek and missionary in China vividly summed up the issues of the civil war. He stated that "the embattled farmers of China are not fighting for Communism or any other ism. They are fighting for some elementary justice and the right to control their own taxation and to elect and control those who gather the taxes."

What Do China's People Fight For?

By Israel Epstein
Speaker, China Session

For more than a century, China's people have been in revolt against feudal subjugation. Long before there were any Communists or "Red scares," the Chinese peasant, who makes up 80% of the population, resisted a system which compelled him to support in power and wealth a small landlord-merchant group—which took up to 70% of his crops in rent and more in taxes, which left him in economic and political serfdom.

Epstein

Not only has the peasant suffered under feudalism. The modern development of China as a nation able to sustain all its people has been blocked for hundreds of years.

While peasants have fought against this system, China's landlord governments have consistently relied upon foreign support to keep them in power against their own people. From the great Taiping Uprising (1850-1894) down to the present day, the Western powers have always sided with China's decrepit, unpopular regimes.

In 1924-27, the biggest Chinese revolution to that date, the foreign powers realized that they could no longer frontally check the overwhelming mass eruption against feudal and imperialist oppression. So they combined with the Chinese bankers of Shanghai in an effort to split it. In this they succeeded, buying an ex-revolutionary, Chiang Kai-shek, as the new "strong-man" in the old "landlord-foreign" combination.

Why should foreign governments oppose change in China? The answer is simple. An unpopular government, hated by its own people, needs outside help to remain in power. And it is always willing to pay handsomely for such aid.

There is an even greater advantage. Regimes which depend upon outside help for their existence, quite naturally become the tools—puppets if you like—of the foreign powers without whose support they would topple.

America's support of Chiang Kai-shek has paid off in a trade treaty promising great profits to U. S. Big Business, against which both smaller American outfits and Chinese businessmen protest. Moreover, China's government has become a U. S. State Department pawn on the world chessboard.

But the Chinese people today are fighting to be masters in their own home——to be equals, not pawns. Their determination is so strong that, despite American aid, the old ruling groups are being defeated. The victory of the Chinese people is not only inevitable but close at hand.

Yet America still follows, unilaterally now, the old great power policy of standing in the way of China's historical progress. As a result, all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal feelings of the Chinese people, developed over more than a century, are now being concentrated on America—whom they once regarded as the most friendly of all the powers.

History has always shown that the friendship of a people is more important and lasting than the dubious "gratitude" of some pliable "strong-man" who always finally collapses before popular opposition. A new China is being born. It would pay the American people to work for good relations with this emerging nation—rather than tie their name to a corrupt, hateful feudalism which history, and the Chinese people, are casting into a long-overdue discard.

CHRISTIANS MUST BE FOR THE COMMON MAN

By James G. Endicott
Visitor from Canada, Former Adviser to Chiang Kai-shek

For twenty-two years I was a missionary in China. I am sincerely and deeply concerned about the future of the Christian missionary enterprise there.

Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang, through some of their Christian spokesmen, have mesmerized the Christian Church. The Christian Church in America, which is responsible for about 90 per cent of the missionary effort in China, is under the impression that by supporting Chiang Kai-shek and his reactionary and corrupt regime it is insuring the future of Christian missions in China.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Christians who sincerely want to make the Christian missionary movement serve the welfare of the people, are being duped by men like Congressman Walter Judd and Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary.

Three top Chinese Communist leaders have written to the House of Bishops in Shanghai inviting the House of Bishops to send large numbers of missionaries into their territory.

That letter was to a large extent suppressed and kept from the press.

The new China will give opportunities to missionary work. If we surrender our moral birthright and say that we are guests of Chiang Kai-shek and therefore cannot speak out fearlessly against his iniquitous corruption and oppression, we will not be welcome in the new China because it will be said that we are quislings and grafters of the corruptionists and oppressionists. . . .

We must make a concerted attack on the Christian Church in this country. It has sold itself out lock, stock and barrel to Chiang and his rotten regime. We have got to rescue the Christian Church from destruction, moral turpitude, and everything that a Christian movement ought not to be.

Men like Walter Judd are betrayers of the Christian movement in China. They are soft-pedalling the sin and wickedness of Chiang's administration under the supposed banner of saving the future of christianity. But in an awakened Asia which is determined to have justice and righteousness and all that pertains to the Kingdom of God, the present missionaries won't be wanted unless they change their ways and change them quickly.

Urgent Notice

The Conference has given the Committee added responsibility in the fight against the China policy of Wedemeyer, Bullitt, Judd, Luce and Truman, which results in criminal misuse of billions of the American taxpayer's money

The Committee urgently needs funds to fight such insane support of reaction in the Far East. The people and their dollars against reaction and its billions. If you give $10 today, 200 more Americans can get this CONFERENCE ISSUE of SPOTLIGHT. Send checks to Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, 111 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N.Y.

HOW WE REFUSED TO SAIL ARMS TO CHIANG

By Harry Davis

President, Canadian Seamen's Union

Today both Canada and the U. S. are shipping millions of dollars worth of arms and ammunition to dictator Chiang Kai-shek. Our seamen do not want to be a party to this business. . . . Recently we called upon the Canadian government to place an embargo on all shipments of arms to China. In the port of Halifax 150 seamen voted unanimously to refuse to sail ships carrying these cargoes. They said they were quite willing to sail ships that would bring food to the Chinese people, not arms.

The crew of the *SS Ironside*, refused to sail. Their action drew national attention. It touched off numerous protests from trade unions, church groups, youth organizations and others.

I am very glad to relate that the first of two Canadian ships that did load arms for China last fall were unable to unload at Singapore. The Federation of Trade Unions at Singapore has declared a boycott on all Canadian ships carrying arms to the Far East.

The U. S. In the Philippines

By Bernard Seeman

Speaker, South-East Asia Session

My first point in measuring the justice of what we are doing in the Philippines is moral. Since they were an American colony for more than 40 years, the U.S. was under a solemn obligation to assure the Filipino people genuine democracy in addition to the independence and other things we promised.

The second point depends on geography. Vladivostok, the closest point of the Soviet Union, is about 1,700 miles away from Manila. While our administration may attempt to justify support of reactionary regimes in China, South Korea, or in Japan on the dubious grounds that it is necessary to prevent the Russians from moving in, it is impossible to apply such an argument to the Philippines. American policy in the Philippines is simply American policy without excuses—and therefore to be judged on its own merits.

Under American rule, just as under Spanish domination, the Filipino people wanted democracy and economic justice deeply enough to fight for it—and they are still fighting for it today. The Filipino peasants took up arms against the Japanese during the bittter years of occupation—while the bulk of the landlords and politicians, who had benefited most from American rule, fell all over themselves to collaborate with the Japanese. But the peasants who fought Japan received a treatment from us that was not at all in keeping with the myth of American benevolence. They were outlawed by the American authorities; then American units received orders to forcibly disarm them. It is a bittter fact that not only is the President of the Philippines an ex-collaborator, but that most of the officers in the present Filipino Army were Japanese puppets.

Are the Philippines Independent?

Now let us examine this great gift of independence which so many of us naively believe we gave to the Filipinos. The Rehabilitation Act, signed by President Truman, provided neither immediate aid, nor the full restitution promised by President Roosevelt. It carried a joker which amounted to coercion upon the Philippines to accept the Philippines Trade Act, known since as the Parity Act, which cut the heart out of Philippine Independence and made the Islands an economic vassal of the United States.

Senator Tydings, who voted for the Trade Act, said: "Will the Philippines ever be independent if they are forever hooked to our economy. If they get ingrained into our economic system, we will hold the whip and they will not be independent just as sure as you are born!"

The Act tied Philippine currency and tariffs to those of the U. S. and gave rich America "equal rights" with the poorer Filipinos in the development of Filipino natural resources. The U. S. also demanded, and received extensive sections of Philippine territory to be used as military, naval, and air bases.

Whether we like it or not, the reactionary Philippine regime is a creature created by American policy. American inflence helped it achieve power. American arms and even troops have aided its futile efforts to crush the Central Luzon peasants.

UNRRA—Corruption That Has No End

By Dr. Catherine Lealtad, Speaker from the floor

I was with the U. S. Public Health Service on loan to UNRRA as a medical officer in Shantung Province (North China) for over a year. I can tell you that of the hundreds of millions of dollars worth of supplies sent to China under UNRRA, the people got practically nothing.

For instance, millions of dollars were spent for about 150 diesel engine fishing boats to "rehabilitate the Chinese fishing industry," "80 per cent of which was in North China waters before the war. I saw those boats lying in the Whampoa River. For months the crews and staff experts had done nothing but draw their pay. In December Shanghai newspapers said that the Farmers Bank (controlled for private profit by a Kuomintang official clique) had bought most of the boats.

The Shantung Liberated Areas where I worked had thirteen million people. All the hospitals had been bombed and looted by the Japanese. Only two out of sixteen (including the International Peace Hospital supplied by Madame Sun Yat-sen) had any surgical instruments. When UNRRA relief ships finally came they were bombed by Chiang's planes as they approached our harbor.

One ship finally got through on May 23, 1947. I found supply crates had been tampered with before leaving Shanghai. Operating tables had been removed and only covers left.

In Tientsin fifty-five barges loaded with medicines allotted to the Liberated Areas were delayed for ten months, then stopped. UNRRA paid US$20,000 a day rent for the barges, to the same authorities who were holding them.

Perry Hanson of UNRRA's Tientsin office gave a full report to General Rooks (American UNRRA director for China), and asked him to take action. General Rooks never answered. But soon afterwards the Shanghai papers carried General Rooks' press statement congratulating Chiang Kai-shek and Nationalist government officials on the excellent job they had done in handling UNRRA supplies!

LET'S PUSH TOGETHER

By Hugh DeLacy
Conference Officer

The big Conference is over, leaving the Committee, its supporters, the organizations that sent delegates and observers strong memories of the outstanding qualities of the Conference and a stronger determination to pitch into the work it outlined.

Chief among the many unanimous decisions reached that exciting week-end was that all of us would get action in our organizations and communities to stop any more guns and funds from going to Chiang Kai-shek's gangster government.

Hugh Bryson's ringing appeal for public support for maritime labor's expressed desire to stop work on shipments of arms to China; the expert testimony of Anna Louise Strong, Agnes Smedley, Jim Endicott, Israel Epstein; the moving words of Dorothy Doyle, recounting her experiences with UNRRA in China; the active participation of Negroes, YWCA workers, writers, and trade unionists—these and other high spots in the Conference discussion need only be recalled to act again as a spur to each of us.

The Conference met a successful response because its officers and sponsors worked together to further one of the greatest freedom issues of all time. Never before have so many people been moving so determinedly forward as are now fighting imperialism and its native puppets in all of Asia. Sparks from that vast conflict are touching off in America the slumbering fires of our own people's resistance to the reactionary domestic programs of the Wall Streeters and militarists now running our government.

A good push starting now will shake off the thin facade that barely hides the true character of their China policy from the people's eyes. America knows much more about our shameful support for a decaying tyranny in China than it has been permitted to find out about our support of Europe's reactionary regimes.

The time is ripe. The cause is just. The gain for world peace and for human progress will be immeasurable when China's people win, as they must and will.

Let's do our part now. Let's push together.

Occupation Fails To Democratize Japan, MacArthur's Adviser Says

Keynoting the Conference session on Japan, T. A. Bisson, writer and analyst who recently returned from Japan where he was special adviser to the Government Section of General MacArthur's Headquarters, told how dominance by the empire-minded "Zaibatsu" (big business families) continues under MacArthur, in spite of nominal democratic reforms effected by the American occupation. It is true, Mr. Bisson pointed out, that opposition parties can now exist, and that labor unions can now function and expand. But "two fundamental weaknesses of occupation policy are leading inevitably to what history will record as failure of the total operation."

Bisson

Mr. Bisson described first of these weaknesses as political and said it was clearly exposed by Japan's two post-war elections. The first or "trial run" election, Mr. Bisson said, "returned members of the Diet's (parliament) lower house, the House of Representatives. What was the outcome? Representatives of the old regime, marshalled chiefly under the banners of the so-called Liberal and Progressive Parties, won three-fourths of the seats. It was the Yoshida Cabinet, formed as the result of the election which made inevitable the disastrous inflation of today."

Before the next election, the old guard found that new machinery would be necessary if it was to retain its power. A gerrymandering election law was the result, which Bisson called the clear responsibility of the MacArthur administration.

"It would have been easy," Bisson said, "for MacArthur to refuse to give Yoshida permission to introduce this bill. He could have rejected it as a tricky old guard maneuver concocted at the last minute."

But instead he gave his permission. In the election of April, 1947, Japan again remained in the grip of its former rulers, though a plurality was returned by the Social Democratic Party.

"This," said Bisson, "was the outstanding example, although there were also others, of direct intervention by the occupation authorities to influence the election results."

The second major failure of the occupation, the economic one, has had equally great significance. It was, Bisson said, ". . . a direct outgrowth of the old guard's virtual monopoly of the Diet, the Cabinet, and the bureaucracy during the occupation's first 21 months."

When the Japanese labor movement sought in February 1947, to protest inflation by political action, it was prevented by direct orders from General MacArthur. This was one of the clearest cases of direct American support for the economic and political program of the old guard.

U.S. People Gain Little

The American people, on the ohter hand, have gained little from the occupation.

Bisson said, "If we could say that we have put the Japanese people in control of their government and that it was now being run in their best interests, that this new democratic Japan will be a bulwark of peace and stability in the postwar Far East, that the U.S. has thus made a constructive contribution to the welfare and security of the American people; then I think we would say that the investment has been worth-while.

"I do not believe we can say these things. As matters stand now, there is every chance that representatives of the old regime will maintain control of the government of Japan; that this government will run, not in the best interests of the Japanese people as a whole, but in the selfish interests of the old vested clique of bureaucrats, business tycoons, and party leaders." Those leaders made the war.

JAPANESE AMERICANS SPEAK

We Japanese Americans find that in Japan American policy has been guided by those interested in converting Japan into a colony and an American war base against the Soviet Union and the democratic movements of Asia. . . .

We feel that this Conference can do a great job in the education of the American people about our government policies in the Far East, and arouse them to action. . . . We believe that peace in Asia, and the rest of the world can be won, if we support the democratic aspirations of the people, not suppress them.

Chizu Iiayama, delegate, Japanese-American Committee for Democracy

U. S., SOVIET TROOPS MUST LEAVE KOREA

Withdrawal of troops from Korea "at the earliest possible date, to be agreed upon by American and Soviet authorities," was the unanimous demand of the National Conference. After hearing eyewitness reports of American activity in South Korea, delegates demanded the institution of immediate democratic reforms, a complete overhauling of United States policy, and cessation of any aid to the establishment of a separate government.

Highlighting the call for action was the dramatic and far-reaching 8-point program submitted by Sarmin S. Lee on behalf of *Korean Independence*, progressive West Coast newspaper dedicated to a free and democratic Korea. Read by Paul Hyun, the program furnished the basis for the 8-point proposals adopted by the Conference.

An ex-G.I. described Korean reaction to American policy. Speaking from the floor, the veteran described the celebrations that greeted Allied liberation of Korea. The disarming of the hated Japanese police caused considerable joy, and many Koreans, mindful of 30 bitter years of repression and torture, took justifiable action against these criminals. The answer of the AMG (American Military Government) was to rearm the Japanese, to the shock and consternation of all Korea. This action, the veteran insisted, crystalized the people's opinion of AMG's pro-Japanese policies.

Perhaps the most devastating statement reported at the Conference regarding American policy was the terse rejoinder given to Mark Gayn, who inquired of a high AMG official as to the program for land reform in South Korea: "Land reform? The present system is the system that the people are used to!"

Neither Koreans nor people anywhere in the world will ever accept that statement. The people of the United States must demand that their government join in the eradication of the idea that the past, with its oppression and privation, is good enough for the future. The people demand progress, and the Conference call-for-action outlines the means whereby that progress may be achieved.

Correspondent Reads Korean Diary

Mark Gayn, former correspondent for the *Chicago Sun* and noted writer on the Far East, read excerpts from his personal diary kept during a recently-concluded tour of Korea. Notable were his conversations with U.S. Army officers, one of whom liked reporters, "but not when they come around for news." This followed the same officer's remark that the American people were "too dumb to understand what is being done" in Korea.

Gayn graphically illustrated the attitude of U. S. Army officials toward the Korean police. Formerly an arm of the Japanese occupation, the Korean police system was taken over unchanged by American authorities, including men actually decorated by the Japanese for meritorious service! As part of the police system, Gayn was informed, swords were replaced by clubs. Moreover, no person was to be kept in jail without charge for more than 48 hours! Even on this "democratic" reform authorities recanted, and the speaker said he knew of many democratic leaders who had been held without charge for as long as 21 days, after which trumped-up charges extended the period indefinitely.

Gayn

Torture in South Korea is universal, and collaborators are condoned by American officials. Orders to purge war criminals are so deceptively worded that they have been found to apply to only one man in all South Korea. Meanwhile democratic and popular leaders are hounded and terrorized. Gayn described a five-day search for a "liberal." Having at last found one, Gayn proceeded to interview him, only to have Korean police break into the room, arrest the man, and cart him away to prison.

One American officer told Gayn: "Some men are born policemen. If they are good for the Japanese, they are good for the U. S. It is unfair to dismiss good policemen."

The Korean most favored by American policy is Syngman Rhee. This man had been described to Mark Gayn as "not a fascist but two centuries before fascism." Speaking mainly for reactionary landlord groups and such industrialists whom the Japanese carefully nurtured, Rhee "did not fight collaborators. He embraced them."

"Citizens Must Ask Themselves..."

By Professor Rexford Guy Tugwell

Ex-Governor of Puerto Rico, Speaker, Conference Mass Meeting

This is surely a propitious time for citizens of the U.S. to ask themselves whether the foreign policy of their government is an adequate representation of their intentions toward the rest of the world. They are about to enter what could be a year of decision . . . because an election impends.

It seems arguable that if it had not been for Mr. Wallace's dissent and his sacrifice in its interest, there might not have been any discussion at all. . . .

The foreign failure is an abysmal one which . . . liberals . . . find it hard to understand because they hesitate to believe what they see.

I refuse to believe that we are yet at war: and, until we are, it is the citizens' duty to contribute what he can to policy-making. . . .

So long as we man a rampart belligerently in the Near East, support any corrupt reactionary group who will consent to oppose Russia, neglect our true friends in South America, in China, and everywhere else in the world, and rearm, with truculent enthusiasm, I think we cannot honestly claim to have made an effort to avert war.

Duplicity Charged to U. S. Policy In Indonesia; Truce A Fake

"The duplicity of American policy which has prolonged war in Indonesia at great expense to Americans as well as to the people of the Netherlands and Indonesia" was documented by Dr. Dirk Struik of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Eleanor Lebsky, Executive Secretary of the American Committee for Indonesian Independence, when the Far Eastern Conference discussed American policy in Southeast Asia.

Both speakers charged the United States with responsibility for the fact that guns are in the hands of the Dutch, though justice is on the side of the Indonesians.

"The Netherlands government could not have started its colonial war without the tacit consent and even military help of the U.S. government," Dr. Struik declared. "The U. S. has large investments in Indonesia, and its policy has been consistently directed towards weakening the Indonesians by giving military and diplomatic help to the Netherlands, while showing a mild opposition to colonial warfare in the Security council and by a rather friendly attitude towards Indonesian aspirations in press and radio. At the same time the Dutch have received financial grants from the U. S. and have allowed themselves to become 'beneficiaries' under the Marshall plan, which imposes extremely hard conditions on Netherlands' industry and agriculture.

"Since the present interpretation of the Marshall plan also seems to include the colonies, the Netherlands will also have to place its Indonesian resources under American supervision."

The Dutch-born scientist, who is chairman of the American Committee for Indonesian Independence, pointed out that not only the Indonesian people, but the people of the Netherlands and the United States as well, pay for this futile policy. "We," he declared, "pay not only in money. We pay in lack of security and in lack of moral dignity."

Dr. Struik saw the Indonesian Republic as representing a broad mass movement in which all classes of Indonesian society take their share. This mass movement, he said, is an integral part of the great emancipation which has swept all over colonial and semi-colonial Asia.

The loss of the rich Indonesian colonies came as a great calamity to the Dutch ruling classes, Dr. Struik said. They could have coped with the crisis in a statesman-like way by recognizing the nationalist forces as equals, as was suggested in Queen Wilhelmina's broadcast on December 8, 1942. But the ruling classes have decided to follow the opposite path and to regain their old position in Indonesia by means of their old colonial policy.

"Yet," Dr. Struik stated, "a strong Indonesian Republic is the only power which can provide a stable bulwark of peace in the Southwest Pacific. It is also the only power which can substantially raise the standard of living of the people in that part of the world and lead in the long run to a richer market for America than predatory imperialism can ever provide."

In closing, Dr. Struik called on the United States delegation to the Security Council to insist that body refuse to accept the settlement of the Good Offices Commission which has sanctioned Dutch aggression by recognizing Dutch sovereignty over the areas unlawfully seized in the recent fighting. A new committee, he said, should be set up based on recognition of the right of the Indonesian Republic to independence.

LABOR'S EASTERN ALLY

By James Durkin

President UOPWA (CIO)

The members of the United Office and Professional Workers, together with all other labor unionists in the United States, must have the deepest concern with events and developments in the Far East.

We believe that here in the U.S.A. our problems of inflation, of insecurity, of the prospects of depression and another war, which are the intimate concern of every man and woman and their families, are directly linked with what occurs in China, Japan, Korea and the East.

The millions in China and the East represent a powerful factor in the struggle for democracy throughout the world and they are our allies in the fight against the corporations of the United States who are afflicting us with insecurity and attacks, with a Taft-Hartley Law and with all that has happened to labor since the death of Roosevelt.

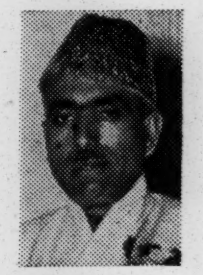
Anything we in the labor movement do to help contribute to that struggle abroad is in our own interests.

Pakistan Invaded Us

By Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah

Premier of Kashmir, Guest Speaker

In America I see much confusion about India. Americans do not understand why the Moslems are fighting the Hindus. It is not a religious fight, but a fight for political power.



Sheikh Abdullah

I have been the Kashmiri people's leader since 1931. I have led them on a purely nationalist basis and my movement has involved Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs and people of all religions. There has been no communal trouble in our state.

When India was partitioned Kashmir had to decide what to do. We could either join Pakistan or India, or remain independent. But the first problem before us is and has always been since 1931, the achievement of our own democratic rights; of our own liberty from the autocratic rule of the Maharajah. So far we have not achieved this internal freedom; so our slogan must be internal freedom first, accession afterwards. We therefore requested both Pakistan and India to help the people of Kashmir achieve their liberty from the autocratic rule of the Prince.

India sympathized with our demand, but Pakistan did not. Pakistan instead tried to coerce us by instituting an economic blockade.

They then organized raiders from tribal territory, helping them with arms, ammunition and advisers. Thus we were forced to ask for help from India. But India could not help unless we legally and technically acceeded to their dominion. This is why we asked for accession, subject to ratification by the people later.

When Pakistan saw that coercion had failed, they demanded a plebiscite under a neutral administration — which could only be a foreign one.

Pakistan is unfortunately using all the methods of Hitler and Mussolini to coerce the people of Kashmir to their point of view. I assure the people and leaders of Pakistan that although Kashmir is poor and her people not well armed or strong, so long as a single Kashmiri lives, we will not bow down before Hitlerian methods.

MAIN DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

China:

1. No arms, no loans, no troops for Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt dictatorship.

2. Take the U. S. Advisory Military Assistance Group (MAGIC) out of China, and the U.S. Fleet out of Chinese waters.

3. Give large-scale American help, through the United Nations, only to a democratic coalition government when it is formed by the Chinese people.

To realize these demands, the following action program was adopted:

1. Each delegate and observer to immediately report to his organization and community the facts and issues presented at this conference and documented by the Fact Book of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. Public meetings to be held throughout the country to spread knowledge of what is happening in China and the role played by American men, money and munitions.

2. Each conference member to take steps to put his organization on record against the present China policy, and its intensification as now planned by the Administration.

3. A delegation representing the leadership and members of this Conference to call upon the Secretary of State to protest sharply against the government's China policy.

4. All organizations and individuals represented at this Conference to demand fair and adequate hearings in both houses of Congress on the new interventionary program and an opportunity to express their views at those hearings.

5. An immediate political campaign to be undertaken to persuade our Representatives and Senators to vote against the new program.

6. All Conference members and their organizations to make efforts to introduce China policy as an important issue in the 1948 campaign, and to back only those candidates who support a democratic policy toward China.

7. Legislators to be urged to introduce a Bill in both houses of Congress calling for a halt to intervention and for a new democratic policy.

8. Militant community action to be undertaken throughout the country, and especially in port cities, to stop shipment of arms to Chiang Kai-shek, in the form of mass meetings, demonstrations and picket lines at the docks.

9. Immediate publication of the full Wedemeyer report to be demanded.

Japan:

The Conference opposed the projected $150 million U. S. industrial "pump-priming" loan to the old-guard regime which has ruined the economy and brought on disastrous inflation;

Urged an early peace treaty, agreed upon by the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China, that must include basic democratic guarantees (land reform, dissolution of Zaibatsu trusts, complete elimination of militarist and nationalist influence, democratization of the educational system, etc.) ;

Demanded abolition of the contract labor system in Japan and encouragement to the free labor movement;

Opposed the use of Japan as a military base against the people's forces in the Far East.

Philippines:

The Conference demanded: 1. Repeal of the Philippine Trade Act;

2. Repeal of Section 601, Philippine Rehabilitation Act.

3. Cessation of American support to the fascist Roxas administration.

4. Withdrawal of U. S. troops and military equipment from the Philippines.

5. Relief for the Filipino people through the U.N.

6. An equal trade agreement between the U. S. and the Philippines providing for the exchange of Philippine raw materials for American machinery.

7. A loan from the World Bank for Philippine industrialization with long term credit.

8. Full G.I. rights to Filipino veterans including recognition of the Hukbalahap (peasant guerilla) veterans.

Korea:

The Conference demanded immediately:

1. Dismissal of former Japanese collaborators and traitors from police forces and other public offices.

2. Release of all labor leaders and political prisoners.

3. Dissolution of all terrorist organizations and punishment of their leaders.

4. Dismissal of all profiteers and blackmarket speculators from advisory positions in the American Military Government.

5. Lifting of bans on newspapers and the establishment of rights of free speech, assembly, and organization.

6. All aid be given to the establishment of a government based on the unity of all Karean people, North and South: no aid to the establishment of a separate goyernment.

7. That all Koreans be allowed to choose their own form of government without foreign pressure.

8. Withdrawal to be agreed upon by American and Soviet authorities, of all troops of both powers from the soil of Korea.

Indonesian Program:

1. Condemn the use of American material and funds by the Netherlands in its aggression against the Indonesian Republic; make no further loans, grants, or shipments of war material to the Netherlands for the duration of its policy of aggression.

2. Ask the U.S. government to instruct our Delegation to the Security Council to reject the latest so-called "settlement" arranged by the Good Offices Committee, since it does not establish any basis for peace in Indonesia, and gives international sanction to Netherlands aggression.

3. Demand that the Netherlands cease its blockade of trade and communications with the Indonesian Republic, and that instead it permit free access to American trade and communications with the Republic.

4. Demand that the U.S. implement our present de facto recognition of the Indonesian Republic by according that Government full de jure recognition.

To realize these demands the Conference urged:

An immediate boycott by maritime workers of shipping to the Dutch in Indonesia, as originally proposed by the National Maritime Union and the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union.

Removal of the racial barrier against Indonesian immigration and a just and equitable quota for Indonesians. Widest possible circulation by all delegates of the film "Indonesia Calling."

Statement on India:

The Call to the Conference did not specifically include India as an area for discussion. However, the Conference Committee elected by the delegates requested a statement on the problems of India and Pakistan. A statement was read on the floor of the Conference which recommended it to the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy for action.

[Committee Representing Italians in Eritrea]

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE C.R.I.E.

(REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ITALIANS IN ERITREA) AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

Mr. President, Honorable Members,

In my capacity of President of the Committee representing the Italians in Eritrea (Comitato Rappresentantivo degli Italiani in Eritrea (C.R.I.E.), I have the honor to thank you for the opportunity offered me of interpreting before you the feelings and aspirations of the Italians residing in Eritrea.

220-1

Our Committee was organized in March 1947, with the purpose of defending and protecting the interests of all the Italians in that territory, regardless of their social or economic conditions.

When our Committee was formed, the number of the Italians in Eritrea totalled about 30,000 - that is, what was left of the 80,000 present in 1940-41 -- a figure that for various circumstances is now lower; even though reduced, however, this constitutes a very important group that for its considerable achievements in every part of the Eritrean territory and for the large contribution brought in the past as well as in the present to promote and improve the welfare of the population, is to be regarded as an indispensable element for the realization of the new Eritrean State which we ardently hope will arise through your decision.

One premise is necessary: the attitude of this Committee in regard to the Independence coalition has been, for particular reasons, one of neutrality.

The exceptional importance of this moment for the very life of the territory and the ever-growing participation of the Eritrean political organizations in the activities aimed at the consolidation of their wishes and aspirations, have induced our Committee to refrain from openly expressing any specific preference, and to leave it to the free development of political forces to spontaneously determine the natural orientation of the majority towards the best solution.

This behaviour was suggested, first of all, by the necessity of not interfering with the determinant, decisive action of local politics; it was felt, in fact, that it was right and natural to let the population express spontaneously their point of view, without any extraneous force coming to influence, or even determine, the trend of political events of exceptional importance for the future of the country.

This attitude of due reserve was adopted also because of the advisability of avoiding that an Italian participation in the local political activities create such tension in respect to any other political organization of contrasting views, as might bear actual consequences on personal protection and security. The fact is that, while in general the political parties seeking independence have followed a line of moderation, certain other political organizations opposing them have not concealed, in their unrestrained propaganda, that they were ready to use violence and intimidation against their political adversaries.

It is also proved by the facts that, in connection with such warnings (more or less explicit in words and deeds), every time the problem of the political settlement of Eritrea came up before the United Nations, there was an increased activity on the part of bands of outlaws, prompted or aided by those in Eritrea who, in this era of human and civic progress, still believe that force may prevail upon right and the free expression of the popular will may be stifled by threats and deceptions.

222-1

Confronted with the impressive mass of convergent opinions and unanimous statements of the Eritrean independence coalition, it would be unnatural for the Committee representing the Italians in Eritrea to refrain from expressing their stand on a question so vitally affecting the supreme interests of a territory for whose general welfare and social and economic advancement, the Italians have contributed and are contributing to such a great extent.

Having outlined the situation in this light, I cannot hesitate to declare, as president of the C.R.I.E., that a democratically based Constitution of Eritrea, established as a free, independent and sovereign State, would be, in our opinion, the best solution of the problem. In other words, we hold that an independent and united Eritrea, maintained in the present geographical boundaries, assisted in following the lines of work which will produce the best results and benefit every element of the population, an Eritrea allowed to enjoy a peaceful community

life and have profitable trade exchanges with all the bordering territories, and especially with Ethiopia and the Sudan, is indeed a possibility that only your Assembly has the power to make a reality.

According to our pondered opinion, the sixty years during which Italians and natives have lived together, laid the essential foundations for the independence and self-government of the Eritrean territory. During this period the Eritrean population reached a considerable degree of maturity in every sector of its activity, in technical and craft work, as well as in the administrative and political fields, thus becoming able to discharge the new tasks that the achievement of independence would necessarily require.

The Italians of Eritrea could not remain absent in the performance of such tasks and in the implementation of the economy of the country, considering especially that they did so much to develop its industries and agriculture, to increase production and trade, and have brought the highest contribution to the development of its European-patterned cities like Asmara, Massawa, Decamerè, Kheren, Adi-Ugri, Adi-Caiè, Ghinda, Nefasit, Senafè and others; and that they have intensified traffic, initiated new industrial enterprises, helped in the scientific operation of important farming and industrial enterprises.

The foregoing illustrates the value of two statements which I wish to make. The first is that the insertion of the Italian into the Eritrean population is an accomplished fact,

the natural consequence of their common life and common work, strengthened by the mutual awareness of serving one and the same purpose. The second is that the considerable contribution represented by various Italian activities in Eritrea in their entirety gives assurance for the existence of that economic self-sufficiency which is rightly considered a necessary basis for the realization of any plan for the establishment of the future Eritrean State, in which we see one of the best possibilities for the preservation of our work and our safety.

Allow me at this point, Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Assembly, to set forth clearly and briefly the mass of activities that the Italians have carried out in Eritrea, around which - it may well be said - the economy of the country wholly gravitates.

On an area of 118,000 square kilometers, with but eight inhabitants per square kilometer, we may list as due only and exclusively to the Italians the following achievements:

- 350 km of railways ascending to an altitude of 2340 meters and crossing the land from east to west;
- 72 km of suspended cableways with 1600 cars connecting Massawa and Asmara, at 2340 meters of altitude, with a carrying power of 30 tons per hour in both senses;
- 15.178 km of telegraphs and telephones network;
- 1116 km of highways, without mentioning the 535 km in Dankaliland on the line Assab-Dessie, along which flowered once a strong motor-transport industry;

- a sanitary organization counting six hospitals, a poli-ambulance, a municipal sanitary institute, an anti-malarial institute, a laboratory for hygiene and profilaxis, numerous dispensaries scattered throughout the territory, the "Istituto Siero-vaccineo" that now produces annually ten million phials of serum and vaccine and to which goes the merit of having saved the vast zootechnic patrimony of Eritrea consisting of 3,591,430 heads of cattle, as well as the cattle of bordering zones, -not to count three private hospitals with surgical and maternity services.

- Public instruction has been established with a large number of schools; from kindergartens to university courses: elementary schools, gymnasiums, lyceums, technical schools, normal schools, professional schools and a school of medicine which fosters an active scientific production with the collaboration of foreign physicians also.

- Agriculture. The 538 Italian agricultural concerns which have remained active, cover - between the large and the small - a surface of about 174,627 acres, first among them the imposing Tesseney farm, on reclaimed land, for the cultivation of cotton.

- Industries. There are alimentary industries, textile industries (sisal), mills, dairies, oil and wine works, distilleries, pork products factories, fruit canneries, ice plants, candy factories, etc. There are mining and drilling industries; paper mills and glass manufactures with a yield of 10,000 bottles and 35,000 various items per day; ceramics factories, one of which

has an output of 2,400,000 articles monthly; match factories of which the Maderni one alone produces over 100,000 boxes a day; there are factories of soap, perfumes, textiles. The Melotti brewery, splendidly equipped, exported in 1948 for a value of 6000 pounds sterling; great salt-works producing daily 100,000 tons of rough salt and 125 quintals of refined salt. Electrical industries extending over a network of 288.240 kilometers and a power of 44.403 kilowatts. Thermo-electric industries with a network of 55.000 km. and 5000 kw. power; button industries, one of which served by a thousand native workers, produces 100,000 corozo buttons per hour.

There are also recently-established shipyards, which build motorships; fisheries and sealife industries; industries of the graphic arts, marble, brick, lumber and furniture; metal and machine industries, glue industries, etc.

These industries comprise over 1600 firms which have invested a capital of 2 billion 198 million lire of the good prewar currency.

In regard to the commercial situation of Eritrea I prefer to refer you to the reports of the Asmara Chamber of Commerce submitted to the Four Power Investigation Commission, in 1947, then to the third session of U.N.O. in May 1949, and lately to the present session of U.N.O.

In these last nine years, in spite of the obstacles which, either purposely, or involuntarily, retarded our work and prevented the development of our activities, Eritrea's

economy, by the tenacious will of the Italians, has resisted, as much as possible, in order to preserve for the territory an element which is decisive for its existence.

These being the premises, it would be superfluous, honorable members of this Assembly, to show you in detail how the solution of an annexation of Eritrea to Ethiopia would represent an irreparable loss for the territory. Aside from any other consideration, it is doubtful that - if independence is not granted to Eritrea - the Italian population would remain there to face the prospects of a situation, to say the least, uncertain under every aspect. In such circumstances, it would be reasonable to expect that the contrary would happen: and I am confident that everyone of you, honorable members of the Assembly, will concede that the exodus - even if not total - of the Italians now residing in Eritrea would unfavorably affect the general economy of the territory, with inevitable negative repercussions on the conditions of its inhabitants.

Mr. President, honorable Delegates, I have attempted to make my statements objective and dispassionate, so that, in thinking of the future of Eritrea, the real interests of the country as a whole may be considered, rather than the contingent, selfish interests of one population group prevailing on the interests of another.

Because of the interdependence of interests between the autoctonous population of Eritrea and the mass of Italians who have settled there, the granting of immediate independence is indeed the only suitable way of solving a question which cannot but be envisaged as the logical result of a factual situation already completed.

Interpreting the common feelings of the Italians of Eritrea, I want to express to you my firm belief that from an ever-closer collaboration between Italians and Eritreans - brought together by identical mutual interests and by the same pursuit of the common welfare - Eritrea may expect the fulfillment of her aspirations, which are fundamental premises to any civilized community in the modern world: freedom, equality, and progress of free men, peacefully united on a territory established as an independent State and governed by sound democratic institutions.

May I, finally, call the attention of this honorable Assembly upon the irremediable damage that a postponement of the question would cause to Eritrea. Should any doubt or uncertainty arise in this connection, I beg you to take into account the special economic and social structure of the territory, and consequently to come to an urgent decision on the destiny of Eritrea.

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22-16-01

October 15, 1947

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. James Hendrick, of the Division of International Organization Affairs in the State Department, will be in New York again next Tuesday, October 21, and would like very much to continue the discussion regarding discrimination and minorities which we began last Monday.

I have arranged with Mr. Hendrick for a meeting at two o'clock on that date, in the Common Council office in the Willkie Memorial Building, 20 West 40th Street. I hope very much you can join us at that time. The discussion will last until about 4:00.

Mr. Hendrick is working on proposals which the American representative, Mr. Jonathon Daniels, can present at the first meeting of the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, when it convenes on November 24 in Geneva. He is anxious to have as many suggestions as possible.

Hoping you can meet with Mr. Hendrick on the 21st, I am

Sincerely yours,

Read Lewis

Dr. William E. DuBois

[Encl.]

22-16-02

Questions Mr. Hendrick Would Like to Discuss on October 21

1. Definition of minorities.

2. What provision, if any, should be made regarding minorities in a human rights declaration?

3. What provision, if any, should be made regarding minorities in a human rights convention?

4. What should the Sub-Commission endeavor to accomplish in the field of protection of minorities?

Questions similar to the above, but relating to discrimination, were discussed at the meeting on the 13th. Mr. Hendrick would also like to continue that phase of discussion, if time permits.

[Conference on Cultural Freedom]

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22-6-3

HOPE YOU WILL BE SPONSOR OF CONFERENCE ON CULTURAL FREEDOM AND CIVIL LIBERTIES TO BE HELD NEW YORK CITY OCTOBER 25 AND 26 AND ALSO JOIN ME IN SIGNING CALL SEE LETTER OF LAST WEEK AMONG THOSE SIGNING ARE HOWARD MUMFORD JONES PRESIDENT ACADEMY ARTS AND SCIENCES LOUIS UNTERMEYER LILLIAN HELLMAN LINUS PAULING JO DAVIDSON PLEASE REPLY=

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Civil Rights

18 September 1947

22-6-2

My dear Sir:

I shall be glad to act as sponsor of the Conference on Cultural Freedom and Civil Liberties to be held in New York on October 25tha nd 26th, and to join in signing the call.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Harlow Shapley
Conference on Cultural Freedom and
Civil Liberties
Room 1515
205 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Congress of American Women

Affiliated with WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

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~~55 West 42nd Street~~
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22-23-25

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112

July 17, 1947

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I should like to invite you to contribute an article to WOMAN'S WORLD, a magazine the Congress of American Women plans to start this fall.

Especially valuable, I think, would be an essay on what an individual Negro woman, faced as she is with all manner of restraints in the social, economic and political life of the nation, can do to better her position. Many Negro women, I think, feel discouraged with their status and helpless to fight to improve their lives. They sometimes fail to realize that theirs is part of a world-wide struggle of colored peoples to gain real freedom and that the whole historical trend of the present time is toward the achievement of this freedom. Sometimes, too, they forget that there are scores of pressure groups in the U.S. battling for an extension of the rights of all minority groups and that far from being helpless, Negro women can play an active role in achieving their emancipation by lending their support to organizations which further their best interests. As I see it, the article should be a message of hope and a call to action. Its most suitable length, for our purposes, would be 1,000 to 1,500 words.

WOMAN'S WORLD will be distributed among our 250,000 members, to leading U.S. newspapers, and to offices of the Women's International Democratic Federation in the forty-four countries in which they exist.

I wish I could tell you that WOMAN'S WORLD could offer to pay you the very handsome sum I am certain any contribution from you would merit. Unfortunately, however, the only compensation we are in a position to offer our contributors at this time is the assurance that their articles help further a cause in which I know we are both vitally interested.

Sincerely yours,

Gene Weltfish

Gene Weltfish
National President
Congress of American Women

Bird Sigrid

Bird Sigrid, Editor, Bulletin
Congress of American Women

[Congress of American Women]

22-23-26

29 July 1947

My dear Miss Weltfish:

Answering your letter of July 10th I beg to say I shall try to send you an article along the lines which you indicate. Is there any time limit?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Gene Weltfish
National President
Congress of American Women
144 Bleecker Street
New York 12, New York

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CIO

718 Jackson Place, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C.

Office of
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EXecutive 5581
33

April 10, 1947.

22-7-6

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Could we get free copies of the statement that you have prepared on "The Denial of Human Rights to Negro Citizens of the United States" for the U.N? We could use any number of copies from 50 for circulation to all of our international education directors, up to 2,000 for listing on our bibliography of free materials which we distribute monthly.

Very sincerely yours,

George T. Guernsey

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

uopwa 167

Citizens [Congress of Industrial Organizations]

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

OLITICAL CTION OMMITTEE

728 17TH STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. EXECUTIVE 4610

October 8, 1947

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street,
New York 18, New York

22-8-55

Dear Sir:

As a follow-up to our conversation several days ago concerning Political Action within the National Association, I would like to discuss this further with you personally.

I will stop over in New York City on my way down from Boston, on Friday, October 17.

If at all possible I would like to see you at that time.

Very truly yours,

John Maceo Thornton
USA-CIO-PAC

JMT:pcm

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COLUMBUS, OHIO

22-19-06

Smythe, H. H.

November 6, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In answer to Mr. Hugh H. Smythe's letter to us of October 27th I am sending you under separate cover a few publications of ours that describe action against discrimination -- and incidentally the discrimination itself -- in some of the areas in which you are particularly interested. Most of our material covers recreational parks, restaurants, residential restrictions, and movies. You did not mention transportation, but because it might be helpful to you I am sending a copy of the report on our Journey of Reconciliation of last spring. The Interracial Workshop report enclosed contains some material also that you may find of interest.

I wish you every success in your undertaking. We should be interested to see anything that you publish.

Yours sincerely,

Catharine Raymond

Catharine Raymond
office secretary

oeiu 153

22-9-22

29 May 1947

Dear Mr. Cook:

Perhaps you don't know it, but I am having dinner with you June fifth. I shall be in town June 4,5,and 6th. Let me hear from you at the Davidson's 1333 R Street, N.W. My love to Mrs. Cook and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Mercer Cook
127 W Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

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Oct. 17, 1947

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Nat'lAss'n For The Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th St.,
New York 18, N. Y.

22-4-18

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 10th in which you outlined your travel plans. We regret to advise that your trip shall have to be made completely by air, as ship service to many of the points you wish to touch does not exist.

The total cost of your trip will be approximately $513.80, plus 15% U.S.Transportation Tax. Should you wish to make your arrangements with us, we shall be happy to reserve the necessary transportation. However, we should like to point out that we will require at least 60 days in which to have all space confirmed. Therefore, it would be most advisable if you made your reservations early. We shall proceed with all reservations upon receiving your advice to do so, accompanied by your check in the amount of Seventy Five Dollars ($75.00). This deposit will be deducted from the total cost of all arrangements made. If it becomes impossible for you to travel and you have to cancel your reservations, this deposit will be returned to you, less the amount spent for telegrams and other details necessary for making such arrangements as you wish.

We appreciate this opportunity to be of service and we trust we may aid you further in your travel plans.

Very truly yours,

THOS. COOK AND SON

By: L. H. Johnson

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LHJ:hw

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916 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

April 6, 1947.

22-11-26

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th St., New York City 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The Board of Trustees of the Washington Cooperative Bookshop has instructed me to write you, asking you whether you would speak for Bookshop members and friends. The Bookshop sponsors meetings or forums on Fridays, and it is the hope of the Board that you will be able to speak on Friday, April 25, or any Friday in May which most suits your convenience, preferably in early May before it gets too warm.

At a time when progressive groups are under severe attack, the Board feels that what you have to say will give strength to the convictions and courage of Bookshop members. We hope very much therefore that you will be willing to speak for us.

As to the matter of a fee, unfortunately, as is true of many progressive organizations, the coffers of the Bookshop are not overflowing. Therefore it is not possible for us to make a generous offer or one of which you are undoubtedly deserving. However, we would want to pay the maximum possible and in any case are prepared to pay expenses and a fee of some sort.

Will you please let us know if you will speak and on which Friday. If you will let us know at the same time what will be the topic of your talk, we can start work on the publicity. Also, let us know what the fee will be so that we can make plans accordingly.

With best wishes,

May 9, 23
#75

Very sincerely,

Marie Siegrist

Marie Siegrist,
Secretary, Board of Trustees.

11 April 1947

22-11-28

My dear Madam:

I could speak for you May ninth. My charge would be seventy-five dollars out of which I would pay my own travel and board.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Marie Siegrist
The Cooperative Bookshop
916 Seventeenth Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

the cooperative **Bookshop**

telephone REpublic 4843
75

916 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

April 30, 1947.

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York.

22-11-29

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The Board of Trustees received with great pleasure the news that you will speak for Bookshop members and friends on May 9. Plans are proceeding to insure wide publicity which will undoubtedly result in a large attendance at the forum.

The forum will be held in the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church on M Street between 15th and 16th Streets, N.W.

A copy of the leaflet being distributed is enclosed. The forum will also be advertised in the literary section of the Washington Post this coming Sunday.

Looking forward to meeting and hearing you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Marie Siegrist

Marie Siegrist,
Secretary, Board of Trustees.

2 May 1947

My dear Madam:

I propose on Friday, May ninth, to speak on the subject SHOULD THE NEGRO RETURN TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. It would be very advantageous if the audience could see the enclosed charts re-produced large enough so as to be plainly visible. I hope you can arrange this.

22-23-1

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Marie Siegrist
The Cooperative Bookshop
916 Seventeenth Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

[Cooperative Bookshop]

7 May 1947

My dear Madam:

I shall arrive in Washington, Friday afternoon at one thirty-five p. m. I may be reached

o/o Mrs. Shelby Davidson
1333 R Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22a-7

Miss Marie Siegrist
The Cooperative Bookshop
916 Seventeenth Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

the cooperative **Bookshop**

telephone REpublic 4843
75

916 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

May 9

Dear Mr Du Bois,

We are indeed happy to know that you will speak for us May 9th. We have hired a large Church for this occasion and are looking forward to dynamic meeting.

Will you be kind enough to contact the Washington cooperative Bookshop at your arrival.

Thank you very much for finding the time to speak to us. Washington is in dire need of the Type of lecture you will present.

Sincerely Yours.

C. G. Pierce

President

22-11-28

22-26-33

13 May 1947

My dear Miss Siegrist:

May I thank you and your organization for the fine audience and reception which I had while in Washington. I enjoyed the occasion.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Marie Siegrist
The Cooperative Bookshop
916 Seventeenth Street Northwest
Washington D. C.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

March 21, 1947

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Wilkie House
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

22-17-14

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We have just had a visitor here on your old stamping ground whom I am very sure you will like to meet. His name is Idwel Glyndwr Jones. He spent most of his life of, I suppose, about fifty years as a miner, then an official, of the South Wales Miners' Federation. He is a regular trade union official of the British type and of the toughest type the British produce. In 1941 that extraordinary institution, the British Colonial Office, hired Mr. Jones and sent him out to the Gold Coast where he has since been organizing trade unions among the African workers. Your time-honored hostility to the British Empire and your profond Marxist convictions ought to make it very interesting to you to meet this man and hear his experiences in the socialization of the British Colony.

Phillips — ir came back to me, as I read this over.

His visit here reminded me of the time, (was it six or seven years ago?), when you brought that curious British Colonial Officer here, whose name I can not remember but whom I recall losing his clothes at the Spelman laundry! Mr. Jones had lot of the same sort of things to say as your friend had. I must add that Mr. Jones is personally very pleasant indeed and a number of us enjoyed him very much.

I feel moved to mention again that I find it strange that such an eminent and notorious enemy of the British as youself should get on so well with British Colonial Officials, and indeed with myself. I am sure that Mr. Jones is another kind of Britisher with whom you will have a lot in common. His address is c/o Miss Barbara Hayes, British Information Service, 30 Rockerfeller Plaza, New York 20. I do not think he will be in New York for a few weeks but have asked him to let you know when he gets back there. I am so anxious for you to meet him that I make bold to suggest that you call Miss Barbara Hayes, once or twice, in April to see if she knows when Mr. Jones will arrive in New York. Mrs. Jones is with Mr. Jones and she is pleasant also. When I suggested meeting you, however, she modestly said that she did not think you would want to be bothered with her but only with her husband.

It is necessary that I inform you that we have had no more children since you last saw us in Berkeley and you will remember that even then it was some considerable time since we had increased the population! With salutations and kind regards from all the Coulborns.

Yours sincerely,

Rushton Coulborn

Rushton Coulborn, Chairman
Department of Social Sciences

24 April 1947

22-17-15

My dear Mr. Coulborn:

I enjoyed your letter of March 21 and want very much to meet your Mr. Jones; but I have recently been travelling about so fast and furiously by train and plane that I have not been in the city long enough to look him up. However, I am writing today to the British Information Service. I hope I can get in touch with him. When you drop by New York and everybody has to sometime sooner or later, I hope you will look me up. My best regards to the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Rushton Coulborn
Department of Social Sciences
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

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COLONIAL POWERS GET TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL ESTABLISHED ON OWN TERMS

Soviet Union Dissents, Charges Trusteeship Agreements Violate Charter

The establishment at long last of the United Nations Trusteeship Council has been hailed as one of the notable accomplishments of the recent meeting of the General Assembly. But in the general acclaim there has been little or no notice of the price that was paid. While lauding the completion of this final important section of the United Nations structure, it is well to take note of the circumstances under which the task was accomplished.

First of all, it should be recalled that the Trusteeship Council could be established only after agreements for the specific territories to be brought under U.N. trusteeship had been approved by the Assembly (see November, 1946 issue of *New Africa*). The agreement for each territory was drawn up by the power having jurisdiction over it, and stated what would or would not be done with or in the colony. When it came to the question of reviewing these agreements in the Assembly, it developed that the colonial powers wanted little if any alteration in the agreements as drawn up; Assembly approval in their view meant virtually rubber-stamp acceptance of the agreements as written.

There were, indeed, scores of proposed highly desirable amendments submitted by India, the U.S.S.R., China and other states, but when the delegates finished their long labor and all was said and done, the agreements (except the one for New Guinea) had undergone only minor change.

United Nations Charter, Article 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system . . . shall be:

a. to further international peace and security;

b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence. . . .

c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and

d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all members of the United Nations and of their nationals. . . .

In an attempt to forestall the criticism that the prospective trustee powers had been uncooperative and unyielding, Britain's representative reminded the delegates that his government had accepted numerous changes in the original text of the contracts for the British mandate territories. As a matter of fact, the changes to which he referred were almost all made prior to the meeting of the General Assembly as a result of unilateral consulatation with the United States. The only significant alteration made under U.N. auspices in the Tanganyika agreement, for example, had to do with the "open door" principle of economic rights in the trust territories, with which principle the United States was especially concerned.

The will of the six states submitting trusteeship agreements (supported by the United States, which soon is expected to negotiate an agreement for the Pacific Islands which it claims) outweighed the will of the General Assembly as a whole when it came to the question of what the trust agreements should or should not contain. This was most clearly manifested in the way in which three amendments approved by the Committee on Trusteeship (composed of representatives of all the member states) were nevertheless discarded because the trustee powers insisted that the agreements would not be satisfactory if the amendments were included.

It was highhanded procedure of this character which led the representative of the Chinese government to remark that "It was not the intention of the Charter for mandate powers to present agreements to the Assembly and say, 'Take it or leave it'." Nevertheless, it boiled down to "taking" it, or not getting the Trusteeship Council established.

Hence, when the time came for the Committee to approve the agreements as a whole, though none of the delegates expressed enthusiasm for the contracts to be voted on, and many were critical of various points in them, there were few who had the courage to vote against them.

One of that small number was India's delegate, Mr. Krishman Menon, who pointed out that more was to be gained by waiting until the trusteeship system could be established on a solid foundation than by hastening to complete a structure in which there were so many serious faults. If there was delay, he said, "it was the mandatory powers who have the main responsibility" for it.

Speaking for and to the majority of the committee who had sought to improve the trusteeship terms by voting amendments, Mr. Menon said that the delegates should have been more mindful of the interests of the people in the colonies concerned instead of catering to the wishes of the powers who were to rule them. "We have run at the first sign of resistance" from those powers, he stated.

What were the faults which were glossed over in the approval of the agreements? We have referred to them in our previous issues. These are some of the more important ones:

- The failure to set a time limit on the length of trusteeship.
- The failure to restrict fortifications, military, air and naval bases and troops in trust territories.
- The stipulation that these areas are to be administered as "integral part of the territory of the administering authority." (This was amended by the Committee but the amendment was one of those rejected by the administering powers.)
- The failure to designate sovereignty as residing in the people of the trust tertitory and to provide for their full economic as well political independence at the termination of trusteeship.
- The failure to make anyone responsible for drawing up the terms of the agreements except the administering powers

(*Continued on next page*)

U. N. DECISIONS EVOKE SOUL-SEARCHING IN SOUTH AFRICA; SMUTS IS BITTER, UNCHANGED

The non-white peoples of the Union of South Africa have acclaimed the stand of the United Nations on South West Africa and anti-Indian discrimination. A huge celebration rally was organized by Indians in Durban within twenty-four hours after the final Assembly vote on the Indian question. The African National Congress and other organizations have lauded the U.N. decision rejecting the annexation of South West Africa.

But among the white population of the South African dominion, there is widespread perplexity and anxiety. Mr. Hofmeyer, the acting Prime Minister, gave expression to the prevailing feeling when he said, "The spotlight of the world has come to be directed on us, and a sense of awareness, if not of discomfort, is spreading among us as a result."

General Smuts told South Africa in a raido broadcast on December 17th that the U.N. decision on the Indian discrimination question was the result of "a flood of emotion fanned by mischievous propaganda." This is his excuse for his humiliating defeat.

Can't Disregard World Opinion

But such an attitude doesn't help much, as the *Rand Daily Mail,* one of South Africa's most powerful papers, points out, stating that to "disregard other people's opinions as ill-informed, spiteful and malevolent or otherwise unworthy of serious consideration, would be very bold, especially as many of our own people are not satisfied with certain aspects of our racial policy."

Another paper, the *Johannesburg Star,* in a long editorial on "The Moral of U.N.O.," speaks of the "hardening of world opinion against our own white complacency. We in this country are still too prone to regard the political and economic structure of the Union as fixed for all time. . ."

Smuts Insists on Status Quo

The speaker of the House of Assembly in South Africa warns, "We shall have to tread warily in the future in our relationship with our non-European races and improve their conditions and standard of living if we are not to incur the opprobrium of the rest of the world and lay up for ourselves a load of trouble in our country itself."

Prime Minister Smuts himself, however, has not apparently become aware of the necessity for this change of policy. In an important statement made on December 20th, a statement notable for its contemptuous ridicule of the concepts of equality and democracy, he called for a continuation of the policy of "keeping the races apart." That means continuation of discrimination and segregation in all phases of South Africa's life.

This policy, he declared, was necessary "for the sake of peace and future avoidance of pogroms in our country"—an open appeal to the fear complex of white South Africans. "If you want to prevent internal strife," he said, "do not bother about equality."

While vehement in his attack on the alleged mistakes of the United Nations, the Prime Minister is not prepared to go the limit suggested by his political opponent, Dr. Malan, of having the Union of South Africa withdraw from the United Nations. However, if the government attempts to ignore world opinion and continue in its path of racial oppression, the final result can only be the complete victory of fascism in South Africa.

Must we wait until that happens before the United Nations takes the kind of action toward the Union of South Africa that it has taken with respect to Spain?

NO, HITLER ISN'T DEAD!

A recent advertisement by the British War Office inviting applications for engineering cadetships stipulates that candidates must be of "pure European descent." This requirement, it was explained in Parliament in reply to a question, applies to all entrants into the regular army for general service and means "unmixed European descent on both sides."

Could such an army have any purpose except to preserve the world empire of the "pure Europeans"?

TRUSTEESHIP (continued)

themselves, thus evading the basic Charter requirement that the terms for each trust territory be agreed upon by the "states directly concerned."

The last-mentioned point was one of the major considerations that led the Soviet Union to take the position that the agreements violated the terms of the Charter and were consequently unacceptable. The Soviet representatives voted against the agreements and abstained from participating in the elections of members to the Trusteeship Council.

Let us suppose that it had been the U.S.A., or even Great Britain, which had been overriden in the establishment of the trusteeship system. Obviously, it simply would not have happened. Is it to be assumed that we can dispense with the Soviet Union in making trusteeship—or any other branch of the U.N.—work? This is the question which will have to be answered when the Trusteeship Council begins its work two months hence.

The members of the U.N.'s new organ are Britain, France, Belgium, New Zealand, Australia (the trustee powers), the United States, U.S.S.R. and China (permanent members Security Council), and of Mexico and Iraq, who were elected by the Assembly. It is understood that when the United States becomes a trustee for the Pacific Islands, India will be the next non-trustee power to be elected to the Council.

The *establishment* of the Trusteeship Council is only a beginning. What that agency does or does not do will depend in large measure upon the attention to and interest in it manifested by the people of America and England—it will depend upon the pressure which the people of these two most powerful giants of present-day imperialism can exert upon the United Nations to do an effective job of liquidating colonialism.

• • •

The colonies now subject to U.N. trustee supervision are: New Guinea under Australia; Western Samoa under New Zealand; Ruanda Urundi under Belgium; Tanganyika, British Togoland and Cameroons under the United Kingdom; and French Togoland and Cameroons under France.

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION ON SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Although no nation except Great Britain dared openly support General Smuts' attempt to annex South West Africa, the wording fo the decision on this matter was the subject of much controversy.

Some states wanted a mild and conciliatory expression of disapproval; others wanted a flat rejection and sharp reprimand. The United States, Denmark, Cuba, India and the Soviet Union all submitted resolutions telling Smuts "no", but the tone varied from the mildest expression in the U.S.A. resolution to the sharpest in the Soviet statement.

A sub-committee approved a mild U.S.A.-Denmark resolution which in effect said, "No, not now at least." The full committee next rejected this in favor of a stronger Cuba-India resolution. When the matter finally came before the Assembly, a new draft had been formulated, embodying language from both resolutions. All the positive elements of the Cuba, India and U.S.S.R. formulations were retained with the exception of one important point, namely the characterization of the proposed annexation as a violation of the Charter.

The resolution as adopted by the Assembly reads:

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered the statements of the delegation of the Union of South Africa regarding the question of incorporating the mandated territory of South-West Africa in the Union;

"Noting with satisfaction that the Union of South Africa, by presenting this matter to the United Nations, recognizes the interest and concern of the United Nations in the matter of the future status of territories now held under mandate;

"Recalling that the Charter of the United Nations provides in Articles 77 and 79 that the trusteeship system shall apply to territories now under mandate as may be subsequently agreed;

"Referring to the resolution of the General Assembly of 9 February 1946, inviting the placing of mandated territories under trusteeship;

"Desiring that agreement between the United Nations and the Union of South Africa may hereafter be reached regarding the future status of the mandated territory of South-Wset Africa;

"Assured by the delegation of the Union of South Africa that, pending such agreement, the Union Government will continue to administer the territory as heretofore in the spirit of the principles laid down in the mandate;

"Considering that the African inhabitants of South-West Africa have not yet secured political autonomy or reached a stage of political development enabling them to express a considered opinion which the Assembly could recognize on such an important question as incorporation of their territory;

"Therefore, the General Assembly,

"Is unable to accede to the incorporation of the territory of South-West Africa in the Union of South Africa; and

"Recommends that the mandated territory of South-West Africa be placed under the international trusteeship system and invites the Government of the Union of South Africa to propose for the consideration of the General Assembly a trusteeship agreement for the aforesaid territory."

WHAT IS THE TRUTH ABOUT AFRICAN LABOR?

A Commentary on LABOUR CONDITIONS IN EAST AFRICA, *Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, Labour Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London,* 1946. 2*s*.

FROM October, 1944 to the end of March, 1945, Major Browne traveled through Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, observing labor conditions in East Africa. In this report he not only sets down his observation and analysis but also makes certain recommendations to improve the lot of the African workers in these British possessions.

Under ordinary circumstances, this report could be dismissed as another addition to the enormous pile of reports with which the British government periodically whitewashes its colonial administration and salves its conscience. But freedom for the colonial peoples has become a vital issue of the day. Besides, the continent of Africa, and East Africa in particular, has gained much in significance of late. Facing serious opposition in her juiciest Asiatic colonies, Britain is preparing for a more intensive exploitation of her African possessions. In Egypt, Britain's position is becoming increasingly untenable. As a result, it is reported, the British government is planning to build a strong and thoroughly modern military base in East Africa, from where she can command both the Middle and the Far East. Considered in this frame of reference, Major Browne's report becomes significant, especially in its omissions.

The report begins with a portrait of an African as the British rulers see him. He is described as a simple, childlike creature, whose needs are extremely modest and easily fulfilled. His subsistence "is exceedingly cheap, the normal foodstuffs being easily grown." He does not have to work very hard, for even "some important items, such as bananas, are to be had for little more than the picking." He goes to work for Europeans for a little while, earns some money, returns home and "is established in what are, for him, comfortable conditions." Therefore, "the idea of continuous employment as his main support is entirely strange, and in fact repellent, to his mentality." The result, according to Major Browne, is a chronic shortage of labor on the farms owned by Europeans.

African to Blame for Everything

On the basis of this fanciful portrait, Major Browne concludes that the African does not have to work if he does not want to, and that such a situation "puts the employer at a disadvantage." If working conditions are bad on a particular farm, it seems that the Africans boycott the owner. Major Browne hastily adds that "this acts as a steady incentive towards improved conditions." In the same sentence, however, the author asserts that such boycott "militates against progress in such matters as improved sanitation, regulation of water supplies, anti-malarial measures, and other innovations. . . ." But the European employers are not really to blame, after all; for these innovations "the African regards as an undue interference with his personal habits."

So, what can the poor employer do? Especially in war time? He has no other alternative but to reluctantly conscript labor for his farms. The unfortunate employer even has to contend with inefficient labor. We have Major Browne's solemn word that "The employers sought in vain for some incentive which would stimulate their workers to further efforts, but . . . there was little hope of success." And the Major says flatly that "Briefly, the position was that the African in most cases did not want a job, and even if he did, he had little difficulty in finding one to suit himself; so the return for the wage became steadily less."

But the Major is optimistic about the future. He knows how to lure away the money the African has, so that labor will again be available. "First among those," Major Browne writes, "will be the revival of imported goods; even if highly priced, these will be eagerly bought, and the accumulated funds in native hands will speedily come to light. The large market available here should attract keen attention from English manufacturers, who will have a remarkable opportunity to establish themselves in favorable circumstances." Here is imperialism in one easy lesson!

Such is the general tenor of the report. Various charts, statistics and descriptive material are used by Major Browne only to emphasize and elaborate upon the theories presented at the beginning of the report. Concrete suggestions for improving the condition of the African worker are largely confined to adding more British functionaries as Labor Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in East Africa. A very illuminating suggestion made by Major Browne is the employment of a British Trade Union Officer who "might first devote himself to welfare work, which would in itself be useful, while it would furthermore give him a good knowledge of the African workers and enable him to obtain their confidence."

Getting Down to Facts

SPACE does not permit an analysis of the problems facing all the territories covered by Major Browne. But some idea of his gross distortions of fact and glaring omissions can be gained by a glance at the Crown Colony of Kenya.

About 18,000 Europeans have pushed the Africans off most of the cultivable and inhabitable land. The average African occupies about 8 acres, including land unsuited even for grazing, while the average European holding is over 500 acres. Nearly 2½ million out of the 3 million Africans are concentrated in reserves, at a density of 1,000 to 1,500 per square mile in some areas. The European settlers have been continuously attempting to alienate more land from the Africans.

The Europeans had no idea of cultivating with their own labor the land they forcibly acquired. According to their own statement, they were looking for "The most plentiful, cheapest and most easily managed labour supply of probably any country in the world." Understandably enough, the Africans did not relish the idea of becoming slaves on land that rightfully belonged to them. So the government instituted a system of taxes on the Africans, forcing them to work for money on European farms to pay these taxes. According to Leonard Barnes, the Europeans in British East Africa pay a maximum of one-tenth of their high incomes in taxes, while the African, whose average cash income per family is estimated to be $12 a year, pays one-third of this to the government in direct taxation alone.

After dispossessing the African of his land, the European settlers did not even cultivate the land intelligently. Depending on forced labor of the Africans, according to Colin Maher, they invested little capital "in permanent improvements such as fencing, drainage, water supplies, soil conservation, or in temporary or semi-permanent improvements such as manuring or grassland improvement." While the land deteriorated, a paternal administration lavished special privileges and large sums on the European settlers. They were granted protective duties, preferential railway rates, subsidies and export bounties. "Between 1931 and 1939 the white farmers received £200,000 in direct loans," writes Alexander Campbell, "with repayment almost openly regarded as improbable and academic."

War-Time Exploitation

When war came, the products of East African farms were vitally needed by the armies in the Middle East. Campbell writes that, giving evidence before the Food Shortage Commission in March, 1933, "one witness gravely pointed out that two different prices for European and African maize, a higher and lower, were necessary, because one price would make the

growing of maize too attractive to the natives, and so stimulate production, which would increase the export surplus and reduce the 'pool'!" In addition to good fixed prices, the European farmers were granted in 1942 and 1943 about £150,000 in direct subsidies, while the Africans were granted none.

During the war, African workers began leaving the European farms and joined the military labor corps because of higher pay and better conditions. Instead or raising the pay of the farm workers, the Europeans resorted to conscription on the ground that "competition among employers who need labour would be likely to cause wages to rise."

One can multiply instances of government maladministration and shameless greed of the European settlers indefinitely. None of these root causes for the labor shortage, absenteeism and apparent inefficiency of African workers on European farms are mentioned in Major Browne's report.

Labor conditions in a colonial country are inextricably tied up with fundamental political and economic problems. Since Major Browne presupposes the continuation of the colonial status of Kenya, his thinking is necessarily superficial and his analysis shallow, and a vulgar air of condescension runs through the report. None of his suggestions for improving the condition of the African worker touches upon basic problems. All of them, in fact, are attempts to make exploitation a little more palatable to the African worker. In the light of the British scheme for developing East Africa into a major naval and air base, Major Browne's mild recommendations can do no more than scratch the surface of the Africans' needs, for such a scheme, if carried through, will result in tightening the chain of exploitation around the feet of the East Africans.

What is the Solution?

To improve the condition of East African labor, basic changes are necessary. Land must be restored to those to whom it rightfully belongs. The economy of the territory must be brought up to date through industrialization, modernization of agriculture, and a mass literacy campaign. These results can be achieved within a reasonably short time only by planning. The Soviet Union, faced with similar problems in her Asiatic territories, has shown what can be accomplished in less that twenty years by intelligent planning and cooperative effort. The incentives the African needs are political freedom and economic betterment, an opportunity to utilize the resources of his country and his labor power for his own benefit.

Past experience and present policy disqualify the British government in such a task. When confronted by critics, the government always waves sheaves of plans it has itself worked out. Paper plans have been in existence for a long time; they are dusted off and exhibited only to "refute" critics.

The only sane way out is to put the East Africa territories directly under the United Nations Trusteeship Council. The Council should employ individuals according to their qualifications—irrespective of their country of origin—to carry through a planned economic, political and cultural development of the Africans, with full participation by the Africans on a basis of equality. A time limit must be set—and this should be as brief as possible—after which the territories should attain full sovereignty. And under no circumstances should any individual nation be allowed to develop major military bases in these territories.

Major Browne's report is not even objective in the sense of presenting only facts and leaving analysis alone. In his attempt to explain away even mild criticism of the exploitation of African labor by Europeans, he has tried to justify the canard that to the African worker "the offer of more money seldom has much attraction . . . the offer of a higher wage means less work and not more." He has also had the bad taste to declare that child labor in East Africa "in fact may from certain aspects be considered beneficial." And all this from the Labour Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies! Major Browne's report, in fact, clinches the argument against the continuation of British rule in East Africa—or elsewhere—in any form whatsoever.

KUMAR GOSHAL, author of *The People of India* and the forthcoming *People in Colonies.*

SEEK TO LIMIT UNITED NATIONS ROLE IN RELATION TO COLONIAL PEOPLES

Of the approximately 300,000,000 peoples who inhabit the world's non-self-governing countries (not including India), less than 15,000,000 come under the authority of the United Nations Trusteeship Council. Though the Charter provides that any colonial territory MAY be brought within the trusteeship system, as yet we have not even brought all of the former mandate colonies under trusteeship.

With reference to the vast multitude of colonial subjects outside the trustee territories, the U.N. Charter in Chapter XI provides that member states having colonies should send to the Secretary General regularly "for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible."

At the meeting of the General Assembly the delegates spent several sessions debating when and to whom the above mentioned information should be submitted, what it should consist of and what should be done with it. The colony-holding powers wanted no special committee to deal with the reports and thought it would be sufficient simply to have the Secretary General summarise the information for the benefit of the Assembly. On the other hand, the anti-imperialist states urged that maximum use be made of the information and that a committee independent of the Secretariat should be empowered to deal with it.

Progressive Policy Wins

The latter view prevailed. The General Assembly decided to establish a special committee to be composed of those countries scheduled to submit information on their colonies (Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and United States) and an equal number of other states elected by the General Assembly. Brazil, China, Cuba, Egypt, India, Philippines, U.S.S.R., and Uruguay were elected.

This committee will be empowered to consult with representatives of special agencies of the Economic and Social Council regarding the best means of promoting the advancement of the peoples of the colonies, and to advise the General Assembly on the basis of the Committee's examination of the information and the results of such consultation.

It does not require much expert advice to determine what the needs of the colonial peoples are. A glance through one of the reports thus far submitted, that of France, reveals that in French Equatorial Africa and Cameroons there were 117 European and 13 African physicians in 1944 and 1945—an average of one physician to every 50,000 inhabitants; and in French Equatorial Africa with a population of over 3½ million there were in 1945 only 30,160 children in elementary schools, 417 in secondary schools, and 701 in specialized schools.

What will the United Nations do about such conditions when they are revealed in the reports submitted by the colonial powers?

Colonial Peoples' Conference

The second decision reached by the Assembly relating to the colonial peoples in non-trust territories was the adoption of a resolution providing for the convening of conferences of colonial peoples' representatives. The Philippine delegate, General Carlos Romulo, introdused this proposal. But there was considerable difference between the original plan and that finally adopted by the Assembly.

As first drafted, the conferences were to be world-wide in scope. This was finally narrowed down to regional conferences. Secondly, instead of having the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. sponsor the conferences, as originally planned (the U.S.A. and other colonial powers objected that this was an infringement of their sovereign authority), it was voted that the colonial powers themselves should convene the conferences. The purpose of these meetings, according to the resolution, is to provide that "the wishes and aspirations of the non-self-governing peoples may be expressed."

Probably the sanest statement made in the Assembly debate on this question was to the effect that the colonial peoples were going to get together anyway, whether the imperialist powers wanted them to or not!

HOW THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS VOTED

The numeral and letter at the top of each column in the chart at right identifies the issue which is explained in the following notes. In these explanatory notes, Committee *refers to the full committee (composed of representatives of all the member states of U.N.) to which the issue was assigned for consideration and decision prior to formal action by the General Assembly.* Assembly *refers to the plenary meeting at which final action was taken.*

1. Treatment of Indians in S. Africa

1a—Committee, Nov. 30, by vote of 24 for, 19 against, and 6 abstentions, adopted the French-Mexican resolution noting the charge of discrimination against Indians in the Union of South Africa and requesting the governments of South Africa and India to report to the next meeting of the General Assembly on steps taken to remove the grievance.

1b—Assembly, Dec. 8, by vote of 31 against, 21 for, and 2 abstentions, rejected the resolution of the Union of South Africa that the Indian question be referred to the International Court of Justice.

1c—Assembly, Dec. 8, by vote of 32 for, 15 against, and 6 abstentions, adopted the resolution as passed by the Committee.

2. Trusteeship Agreements

2a—Committee, Dec. 9, by vote of 20 for, 7 against, and 8 abstentions, approved an amendment establishing an effective period of ten years for all trusteeship agreements, to be followd by review and modification. The principle of such review was proposed by the Soviet Union and adopted, but the Soviet proposal of a 5 year period was rejected in favor of the Chinese proposal of 10 years. But even this was not acceptable to the prospective trustee powers.

2b—Committee, Dec. 19, by vote of 18 against, 16 for and 4 abstentions, rejected an Indian amendment to all trusteeship agreements limiting the use of military forces to local defense and maintenance of order. A Soviet amendment prohibiting establishment of naval, military, air bases and other fortifications unless approved by the Security Council was likewise rejected by a close vote.

2c—Committee, Dec. 9, by vote of 19 for, 16 against, and 2 abstentions, approved an Indian amendment to all trusteeship agreements, stating that every trust territory should be administered "solely for the benefit of and in the interest of its people," and that on the termination of trusteeship, "the territory, together with all public property then existing, whether movable or immovable, (should revert) to the peoples whose right to sovereignty and independence shall always be recognized." This was another amendment which the administering powers refused to accept.

2d—Committee, Dec. 11, by vote of 35 for, 8 against, and no abstentions, approved the eight trusteeship agreements in their final form after the states administering the territories in question had refused to accept three amendments approved by the Committee.

2e—Assembly, Dec. 13, by vote of 34 against, 6 for, and 11 abstentions, rejected the resolution of the Soviet Union that the eight agreements violated the principles of the U.N. Charter and therefore were not acceptable.

2f—Assembly, Dec. 13, by vote of 41 for, 6* against, and 5* abstentions, accepted the trusteeship agreements as approved by the committee. On the agreements covering French Cameroons and French Togoland, Poland abstained; on all others Poland voted no.

3. South West Africa

Assembly, Dec 14, by vote of 37 for, none against, and 9 abstentions, turned down Smuts' annexation bid. See explanation and text of resolution elsewhere in this issue.

4. Information on Colonies

4a—Committee, Dec. 8, by vote of 21 for, 12 against, and 4 abstentions, approved the formation of an "ad hoc" committee to deal with the information reports submitted by the colonial powers. This action reversed a subcommittee decision that the information be merely filed with the Secretariat.

4b—Assembly, Dec. 14, by vote of 28 for, 15 against, and 7 abstentions, approved the "ad hoc" committee procedure.

5. Colonial Conferences

5a—Committee, Dec. 8, by vote of 17 for, 15 against, and 4 abstentions, approved the Soviet Union amendment that the conferences of colonial representatives be sponsored by the "Economic and Social Council together with the administrative authorities concerned." This action reversed the decision of the sub-committee to leave it up to the colony-holding states themselves to arrange for the conferences.

5b—Committee, Dec. 8, by vote of 18 for, 15 against, and 2 abstentions, adopted entire resolution on colonial conferences with Soviet amendment.

5c—Assembly, Dec. 14, by vote of 23 for, 14 against, and 15 abstentions, adopted a Cuban amendment deleting the Soviet amendment and again making the colonial powers solely responsible for calling the conferences of colonial representatives.

5d—Assembly, Dec. 14, by vote of 31 for, 1 against, and 21 abstentions, adopted the complete resolution on regional conferences with the Cuban amendment.

6. Spain

Assembly, Dec. 12, by vote of 34 for, 6 against, and 13 abstentions, adopted a resolution which, among other things, recommended that "if within a reasonable time" there is not established a representaitve and democratic government in Spain, the Security Council consider adequate measures to be taken in order to remedy the situation.

NOTE: + = voted for; − = voted against; O = abstained (implying usually disagreement with part of the resolution, or objection on principle). No symbol = absent.

	1a	1b	1c	2a	2b	2c	2d	2e	2f	3	4a	4b	5a	5b	5c	5d	6
Afghanistan		O	+							+		O			O	O	O
Argentina		+	−	O	−			−	+	+		O			+	+	−
Australia	−	+	O	O	−	−	+	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Belgium	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	O	+	+
Bolivia		O	O				+	−	+	+		+			+	+	+
Brazil	−	+	O	O	−	O	+	−	+	O	+	O	−	−	+	+	+
Byelorussia	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	O	+
Canada	−	+	−	−	−	−	+		+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	O
Chile	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	O	+	O		O	O	+
China	+	−	+	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
Colombia	+	−	+		+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	−	O	O
Costa Rica	−	+	−					−	+	+					+	+	−
Cuba	+	−	+				+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
Czechoslovakia	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	O	O	+
Denmark	O	+	O	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
Dominican Rep.	−	−	+	O	O			−	+			+			+	O	−
Ecuador	O	+	O			+	+	O	O			−			O	O	−
Egypt	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
El Salvador	−	+	−					−	+	+		+			+	+	−
Ethiopia	+	−	+	+	O	+		O	+	+	+	+	O	O	−	O	+
France	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	O	+
Greece	−	+	−		−	−	+	−	+	O		−			O	O	O
Guatemala	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	O	+
Haiti	+	−	+														+
Honduras	O	−	+			+	+	−	+	+		+			+	+	O
Iceland	−	−	+					−	+	+		−			O	O	+
India	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
Iran	+	−	+				+	O	+	+		+			O	O	+
Iraq	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
Lebanon		−	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
Liberia		−	+					O	−						O	O	+
Luxembourg	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+		−			O	+	+
Mexico	+	−	+	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Netherlands	−	+	−	O	−	−	+	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	O	O	O
New Zealand	O	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	O	−	O	−	−	+	+	+
Nicaragua	−	+	−				+	−	+		O	+	−	−	O	O	+
Norway	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+		−	−	−	−	+	+	+
Panama	O	−	+					−	+		+	+			+	+	+
Paraguay	−	+	−					−	+	+		+			+	+	+
Peru	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+		O				O	O	−
Philippines	+	−	+				+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+
Poland	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−*	+		+			−	+	+
Saudi Arabia	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
Sweden	−	+		+		−	+	−	+	+	O	−	−	−	+	+	+
Syria	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
Turkey	O	+	O		−	O	+	−	+	O		O	O	O	+	+	O
Ukrainian S.S.R.	+	−	+	+	+		−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	O	+
U. of S. Africa	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	O	O
United Kingdom	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
U.S.A.	−	+	−	O	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
Uruguay	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
U.S.S.R.	+	−	+	O	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	O	+
Venezuela	+	−	+	+	+		+	−	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
Yugoslavia	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	O	+

REVIEW OF MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS DURING 1946

January — The first session of the General Assembly took place in London, with Mr. Bevin promising to place Britain's mandate colonies under trusteeship *provided* his government could "negotiate terms which are in our view generally satisfactory.". . . Reports of widespread starvation among Africans in the Transkei and Ciskei districts of South Africa led the Council on African Affairs to initiate a campaign of famine relief for the sufferers. . . . A general strike of African workers took place in Dakar, French West Africa. . . . The first meeting of the West African Governors' Council was held in Accra, Gold Coast.

February — The biggest boom in 40 years of South African stock exchange history developed, based on speculation over the newly-discovered gold fields in the Orange Free State Province. . . . A clash between Jews and African troops stationed in the Palestine area focused attention on Britain's use of African soldiers in the post-war role of preserving the empire. . . . Nnamdi Azikiwe, West African leader, charged the Nigerian government with discrimination against his chain of influential newspapers.

March — The Fabian Colonial Bureau in London criticized the Government's failure to halt the enactment of harsh discriminatory measures against Africans in Southern Rhodesia. . . . Anglo-Egyptian Sudan representatives in Cairo demanded that the new Anglo-Egyptian treaty being negotiated include the guarantee of independence for the Sudan.

April — With Britain bidding for control of Somaliland and the Ogaden Province of Ethiopia, the Foreign Ministers Conference failed to reach agreement on the disposition of the former Italian colonies, deferring solution of this probably until 1948. . . . Meanwhile in Eritrea, the people held demonstrations demanding reunion with Ethiopia, their motherland. . . . Britain's revised Colonial Development and Welfare Act (so called), providing for the expenditure of $480,000,000 in the colonies over a ten-year period, went into effect.

May — The West African Youth League (Sierra Leone section) celebrated its eighth anniversary unfurling for the first time the National Flag of West Africa. . . . Herbert S. E. Macaulay of Nigeria, long a leader in the struggle for African rights, died at the age of 81; an assemblage of 200,000 witnessed his funeral at Lagos.

June — The passive resistance movement by Indians in South Africa was inaugurated in protest against the new law barring them from ownership and occupation of certain land; African leaders immediately pledged their support. . . . There were widespread demonstrations for independence in the French island colony of Madagascar. . . . In South Africa 1400 African workers of the Union Steel Corp. not only went on strike but picketed the plant, and African workers in the gold mines resolved to strike if not granted a $2 a day wage. . . . In West Africa, officials of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, an African united front organization, set out upon a long tour of the entire colony, rallying support for their program. They traveled some 7,500 miles during the summer and addressed crowds in over 60 cities and towns.

July — The Soviet Union dispatched a medical mission to Ethiopia for the purpose of promoting public health work, training Ethiopian medical students, and establishing a general hospital service in Addis Ababa. . . . A party of six African leaders of Kenya, including Mr. Eliud W. Mathu, made a six-weeks visit to England. . . . The Gold Coast's Legislative Council, newly constituted with 21 Africans out of 31 members on the basis of the revised constitution for the colony, opened its first session.

August — African gold-mine workers, at least 60,000 in number, went out on strike in South Africa. Brutally assaulted by police and their leaders arrested and jailed, they were forced back into the mines after six riotous days. At least nine of them had been killed and over 1200 injured. . . . At the same time the Natives Representative Council in South Africa unanimously voted to resign in "protest against the government's breach of faith toward the African people.". . . Near Cape Town, Africans at a public meeting burned their passes, badges of servitude which they are required to carry at all times.

September — Police raids and arrests of supporters of the mine workers strike continued in South Africa. . . . At a dinner in New York Harvey S. Firestone announced he would give $250,000 for the establishment of a medical research institute in Liberia. . . . The East African National Congress, meeting at Mombasa, Kenya, called for a common organization of African, Indian and Arab peoples in East Africa.

October — Belgium was reported experimenting with transformation of uranium resources in the Congo into a kind of "canned electric power" to take the place of coal. . . . France's new constitution accorded peoples in the colonies representation in the Assembly of the French Union and the same citizenship status as that of the people in France itself.

November — It was announced that the British Government had engaged the United Africa Company, branch of the giant Lever Bros. monopoly, to undertake the large-scale mechanized production of peanuts in Britain's East African colonies — to supply England with margarine, fats and oils. . . . Also announced in London was the intention to establish a government monopoly for the purchase and export of all cocoa produced in Nigeria and Gold Coast.

December — The United Nations General Assembly rejected the request for annexation of South West Africa by the Union of South Africa, held that government to account for its discrimination against Indian residents, established the Trusteeship Council, and passed other resolutions affecting colonial peoples in Africa and elsewhere.

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Lecturer of Psychology
Natal University
Durban, South Africa

This is your News of Africa
for January, 1947

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February 7, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40 Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

At its recent annual meeting the Council on African Affairs voted to increase its membership to one hundred. Because of your interest in the colonial question and in the welfare of the African people you are among those whose membership on the Council is very much desired. We write to advise you of the Council's action in nominating you, and to express the hope that you will accept our invitation.

The enlarged group will be the policy-making body of the Council. It will meet once a year, in February, to review and plan the Council's work. It will have the assistance of an Executive Committee, elected from its ranks, which will meet monthly.

1946 was a very successful year in the life of the Council on African Affairs. We opened a good colonial research library in our headquarters' building at 23 West 26 Street. We raised for our work, in connection with the United Nations Assembly, $10,000 more than was budgeted for that particular purpose. During the year we conducted a relief campaign which resulted in several tons of food as well as considerable direct financial assistance for the famine stricken people of southern Africa. And, at the same time, we have carried forward the educational task of the Council of providing information and of arousing action on behalf of colonial peoples in general and Africans in particular.

Much of the Council's strength in 1946 was concentrated on the United Nations Assembly. As a result we played a real part in mobilizing the forces which defeated General Smuts' demand for the annexation of South West Africa and his effort to escape the condemnation and recommendation of the United Nations Assembly with regard to South Africa's discrimination against the Indian population of that country. It is clear that this action of the United Nations establishes a precedent for international investigation and action with regard to racial discrimination in whatever country it may exist.

22a-7

Undoubtedly, we are now entering upon a period within which there is the possibility that the entire colonial system may be shaken to its foundation. Indeed, this immediate period can see the complete removal of the colonial system. Events are moving fast in India, Indonesia, the West Indies and, we are very glad to tell you, in the continent of Africa also. Moreover, the advent of the United Nations Assembly, despite its limitations, offers a new channel through which the American people can play a more effective and progressive part in the world tasks which are unavoidable. It is for these reasons that our organization has made changes in its structure and now proposes to enter upon a program which will reflect greater effectiveness in our work.

Those of us who have developed the Council during the past ten years built better than we knew for the opportunities which now confront us. Because of these opportunities there is now the need for a larger number of us which means the cooperation of people like yourself. We believe you will see the real opportunity facing us, and hope you will send us word that you accept the invitation to join with us in the historic task which we now face. We shall be happy to welcome you to membership on the Council, and we believe that you will find a real opportunity to aid the struggling people of Africa in their move towards freedom and thereby help our country play its proper part in the international tasks of today.

Yours sincerely,

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson
Chairman

Max Yergan
Executive Director

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New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

Volume 6, No. 2 February, 1947

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AFRICANS BOYCOTT ROYAL VISIT; DEMAND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Publicity Fanfare Aims at Redeeming South Africa in Eyes of World

During the next several weeks it will probably be next to impossible for Americans to turn on their radios, go to the movies, or pick up their newspapers without seeing or hearing something about the progress of the tour of the British royal family through South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Nothing is being overlooked or spared in giving maximum world-wide publicity to this imperial excursion.

All this fanfare has several very practical purposes. Among the most important is the effort on the part of the South African government to paint a pretty picture of the country contradicting the ugly and embarrassing revelations before the recent session of the United Nations. A further purpose of the out-dated pageantry is to cement the "ties of Empire" and demonstrate to the world, particularly the Asiatic, African and American world, that the old British lion is still in the running, even if somewhat short of breath and stiff in the joints.

As for General Smuts, no one denies that he is playing smart politics as host to King George and family. His political control of South African affairs, like his prestige in world affairs, has been seriously shaken by recent events. With the national elections in South Africa coming up in 1948, Smuts' United Party is in danger of losing control of the government to the Nationalist Party, which is strongly anti-British as well as anti-everything and everybody else. The timely visit of King George —he is South Africa's King as well as Britain's—is designed to boost Smuts' political stock, lower that of his Nationalist opponents.

What Will The Royal Family See?

If King George could get an eyeful of the real South Africa, the trip might possibly serve some good purpose. It is practically certain, however, that the visitors will see only what the government wants them to see—no more.

As an article in a South African magazine puts it, "From the comfort of their luxurious special train and costly limousines specially bought for the purpose, they [the Royal party] will see the wonderful panorama of South Africa's scenery, where it has not been spoilt by massive soil erosion: they will see—from a seemly distance—the picturesque kraals without the dreadful burden of sickness, utter poverty and oppression suffered by the inhabitants. . . .

"They won't see the beastly townships of Alexandra or Windermere, nor the filthy depressing locations, nor the shanty towns in which the desperate ill-clad, ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-used non-white peoples are compulsorily herded by their self-appointed 'trustees.' They won't be shown the appalling vital statistics which show that half the non-white babies die in their first year, nor the prisons where the annual toll of hundreds of thousands of non-white 'criminals' work out their dreadful offence—that of being non-white in their own land.

"While they will be shown a special selection of mine compounds, and be entertained with special war-dances arranged by the mine magnates to demonstrate the happy carefree life of the natives employed ('Of course, they're only tribal savages, Your Majesty'), Royalty will not be shown the working conditions which break up the family lives of these employees, nor the actual work underground. Such questions as wages or food will be answered according to the official hand-outs—and all will be well in this part of the far-flung Empire."

Africans Oppose Visit

But there is one hitch. The Africans who comprise four-fifths of the population of South Africa aren't being cooperative. Neither are the Indians and other non-Europeans in South Africa. The African National Congress at a conference held at Bloemfontein in December sent a message to the King and Queen, asking them to stay away from the Union of South Africa "as long as the non-Europeans did not enjoy freedom" in that country. The conference also resolved to boycott public events celebrating the Royal visit and to urge all Africans to stay at home.

The African Peoples Organization, Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses and other organizations have echoed these decisions. Some Uncle Toms, of course, will be found to make polite speeches to the sovereigns and pose for pictures, hat in hand and at a respectable distance from the white people. But they will represent no one.

There is good reason for the Africans and other non-whites to remain chilly toward the Royal circus when they see hundreds of thousands of dollars being spent on preparations, celebrations and gifts by a government which refuses to spend one-tenth of that amount on sorely needed housing, hospitals and schools for the exploited majority of the population. When all the pomp and pageant is over, the Africans will be not one iota better off than before the Royal family landed in Capetown.

MORE FOOD SHIPPED TO S. AFRICA; TEACHERS' UNION SENDS $100

Continuing its aid to African famine victims in the Union of South Africa, the Council on African Affairs dispatched a large shipment of canned food, sixty-nine cases in all, to the African Food Fund in Cape Town on February 4, aboard the S. S. African Lightning. The Africans' desperate need of food, especially in depressed rural areas, still remains an urgent problem in South Africa.

The Teachers' Union, United Public Workers of America, C.I.O., is to be commended for considering the needs of African children in the award of contributions from the organization's Emergency Child Relief Fund. The Teachers' Union has forwarded $100 to the relief subcommittee of the People's Defence Fund in Johannesburg. The money will go to help the children of victims of police brutality during the African mine workers' strike of last August.

This is a splendid example of fraternal aid which we trust many more of our American trade union bodies will emulate.

PRESIDENT TUBMAN SETS GOALS FOR LIBERIA'S ADVANCEMENT

In his third annual message to the Legislature of Liberia, delivered on November 15, 1946, William V. S. Tubman, President of Liberia, presented a detailed picture of the recent accomplishments and future prospects of his administration.

Mr. Tubman began his message by referring to the democratic reforms recently initiated: the admission of a representative from each of the three provinces as full-fledged members of the Legislature for the first time, the extension of suffrage rights to tax-paying tribal citizens in the provinces, and the granting of the privilege of suffrage to the women of Liberia. "I have always felt," the President said, "that taxation without representation was oppressive and tyrannical."

For the year ending August 31, 1946, exports amounted to $12,958,244, an increase of $2,500,000 over the previous year. Imports, on the other hand, decreased from $6,250,884 to $3,956,899.

Debt to U. S. Decreased

The government's indebtedness to the Finance Corporation of America had been reduced from $1,193,000 to $690,000 during the administration of President Tubman which began in January 1944.

The President enumerated new hospitals, schools and other public works under construction in keeping with the five-year plan for the country's development. He emphasized, however, that $2,000,000, the country's internal and customs revenue for the last fiscal year, "is a negligible sum total upon which to operate a government and develop its resources . . . a government in need of hospitals, industries, sanitation, schools, colleges, proper and adequate food, production, trade and commerce, water and power."

The slow progress being made was exemplified in the figures cited on educational expenditures. In 1944 the amount was $95,486. In 1946 it had risen to $154,212. Yet even with the assistance of the Mission schools, the educational needs of the 1,500,000 Liberians have barely begun to be met.

Centennial Exposition Postponed

A special tax to defray expenses of the Centennial Exposition brought in $187,413 during the past fiscal year. Additional levies are being made. "Government," said President Tubman, "has gone its limit in making contracts, making cash advances and running a regular Centennial budget, carrying a staff that should make the celebration a success." [It was noted that $240,000 had been "paid in advance to Mr. Hilyard Robinson under his contract with the government as Technical Consultant against Centennial Exposition Buildings."]

"It is obvious, however, that because of unsettled world conditions and extreme difficulties in procuring materials, it will not be possible to have the victory exposition in 1947," the President said: "Foreseeing this in our announcement, two years ago, we scheduled the Centennary for 1947 through 1949."

The President made only brief mention of the progress being made on the U. S. port construction (noting that two strikes had occurred on the project but were "amicably disposed of") and concerning the United States Health Mission and Agricultural Project and the Bomi Hills mining concession. (See "Report From Liberia" in April 1946 issue of *New Africa*).

President Wm. V. S. Tubman of Liberia

A MESSAGE FROM PAUL ROBESON FOR NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

It is not enough for the American people to understand the cultural contribution of the Negro people here in America—even when this lesson is fully comprehended, as it yet remains to be. To know no more than this is to have a very limited and narrow view of the Negro's cultural history. I find it necessary to remind people again and again that I am not only an American; I am an African too.

I try to make them understand something of the great cultural history of Africa, out of which came the tributary streams which developed a new cultural growth in the Caribbean, in South, Central and North America, in every land where the African came and settled.

A real study will have to be made of this ancient African culture and the real truth regarding it will have to be made known to the world. Only then will we be able to know the true history of Africa and its people, not the lying history which the imperialist oppressors of Africa and the traducers of the Negro have too successfully instilled in the minds of most Americans and other peoples.

I emphasize the point because I believe the misrepresentation of the African and the distorted picture of the American Negro still so prevalent in our American culture, stemming as they do from the same basic cause of economic exploitation, can NOT be attacked or rooted out separately. Each myth is propped up by the other; both must be destroyed.

When that happens, the true worth of the Negro—whether in Africa or in the Americas—and his place in the mainsteam of the world's culture will be properly understood. When that happens, no one will dare speak of white supremacy or Negro inferiority.

An excerpt from "The Negro and American Culture" by Paul Robeson in the Negro History Week Bulletin of Fraternal Outlook *published by International Workers Order.*

W. F. T. U. CONFERENCE AT DAKAR

The World Federation of Trade Unions, pursuant with the decision of its Executive Committee last summer, called a conference at Dakar, French West Africa, on February 1st to ascertain the facts regarding conditions of labor in Africa. Trade union centers in South Africa and in the colonies were invited to send delegates. The status of African labor in South Africa is among the subjects to be studied at the conference. A full report of the deliberations will be given in this paper as soon as available.

NEW CONSTITUTION FOR NIGERIA LEAVES AFRICANS STILL VOTELESS

A new constitution prepared by Nigeria's Governor, Sir Arthur Richards, increasing African representation in the Legislative Council of Britain's largest African colony, went into effect on January 1st. First made public in March 1945 (see *New Africa* for April, 1945) and revised since then, the Governor's proposals have been the subject of wide discussion and severe criticism among Nigerian organizations.

Prominent in criticism of the constitution has been the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons formerly headed by the late Herbert Macaulay and now by Nnamdi Azikiwe. This Council, which comprises approximately 150 organizations of all types, sent a detailed criticism of the constitution to London.

The new constitution establishes three Regional Councils covering the entire colony and protectorate (including the northern province for the first time and also the trust territory of British Cameroons). These Regional Councils will act as electoral bodies for a Legislative Council in which there will be twenty-four African representatives (as against sixteen whites) instead of the former eleven.

There are two main criticisms of this plan. First, there is no enlargement of the franchise. As under the old constitution, there will be only four elected members placed in office by a handful of approximately 1,000 qualified voters in the two cities of Lagos and Calabar (there is a property qualification for voting, but for some unknown reason even this limited franchise has not been extended to other cities in Nigeria).

The second main criticism is that the character of the African representation cannot be said to make for democratic government. Officials of the National Council of Nigeria point out that the claim that the new constitution provides an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council is an illusion, since twenty of the so-called unofficial majority consist of the following: four Emirs, two Chiefs from the western provinces, five Native Authorities from the northern provinces, four Native Authorities from the western provinces, and five Native Authorities from the eastern provinces.

Will Members Speak for the People?

It is pointed out that since Native Authorities are appointed by the Governor, and Chiefs can now be appointed and deposed by the Governor, and these selfsame Native Authorities are said to be 'an integral part of the machinery of the government', it is obvious that these members represent the government rather than the people and should be regarded as official members.

Aside from these faults it should be noted that the new constitution in no way lessens the final and absolute authority of the Governor over Nigeria's affairs. The Governor, of course, is appointed by the Colonial Office in London. The people of Nigeria have no part in his selection.

The general attitude of articulate Nigerians toward the government's slight concessions is well defined in an editorial appearing in the African newspaper, *Nigeria Defender*:

"Nigeria wants not a British government in Nigeria, but a truly Nigerian government. . . . Nigeria wants a veritably representative government—government not comprising representatives hand-picked arbitrarily by just any single person, but government comprising duly and adequately elected agents of the people. . . . Nigeria demands that executive officials must be entirely responsible to Nigerians and not to the demi-gods and bounty-distributors of the Colonial Office."

THE BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT AND AFRICA'S MINERAL RESOURCES

As a part of its plans for the development of colonial economies the British Government has recently issued a *Memorandum on Colonial Mining Policy,* in which guidance is given to colonial governments on the general principles to be followed in the exploitation of the mineral resources of their territories.

It is a matter of comparatively recent history when the acquisition of mining rights in some parts of Africa, for instance, demanded nothing more than the gift of a bottle of gin in exchange, the whole transaction being, of course, expedited by the presence of a British expeditionary force.

But, as the *Economist* (21st December 1946) rightly says, "it would be wrong to look upon the statement only as an isolated instance of old wrongs being put to rights." Indeed, this is not the first time that government action has been found necessary in the sphere of mineral exploitation.

In the past, however, intervention by colonial governments in the mining industry has been confined to legislation embracing labor recruitment, minimum working conditions and minimum wages. To this intervention the governments have often been moved by considerations of self-interest. Now the demands of the colonial peoples to share more equitably in the wealth they produce, together with the increasingly critical attitude of world opinion towards colonial exploitation, provide a powerful argument for further intervention.

Less 'Free Enterprise'

It is proposed, first, that the maintenance and extension of government geological surveys should be a primary object of policy, and to that end provision has been made for the allocation of funds under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.

Having found out which of the mineral resources of the colonies can be developed economically, the question then arises as to mineral rights and as to the methods of production and trading to be adopted.

The position in regard to mineral ri-' varies from territory to territory. In some territories the Crown owns all rights; in others it retains rights in all lands alienated after a certain date; in still others mineral rights (except in Crown lands) belong to surface owners which may be charter corporations, native communities or individuals.

It follows, then, that the next step would be for colonial governments to enter the field of active participation in the exploitation of mineral resources. It is the attainment of this stage that is envisaged in the White Paper on Colonial Mining Policy.

Effect on Native Peoples

Recognizing that the exploitation of mineral wealth opens out many problems of economic and social consequence to the territory concerned, the White Paper declares that the operation should be studied in relation to the economy of the territory as a whole, and that as an industry, mining should be properly regulated and its development in regard to transport, labor supply and other industries kept amenable to public control. It must be deliberately planned so that social evils such as the break-up of agricultural village life and the diversion of manhood which are the consequences of unregulated development should not arise.

The declaration implies a recognition of the harm done to the economy and social life of colonial territories by the usual colonial methods of recruitment of wage-labour. The use of the poll-tax to force Africans to abandon their farms and enter the employment of mining companies is well-known. Lord Hailey in his *An African Survey* (page 639) observes:

"In British colonial territories . . . the poll-tax has also been a contributory and, in some circumstances, almost a determining factor in that incentive (i.e. to seek work in the mines —D.B.) . . . In stating that taxation is a major cause of labour emigration, the Nyasaland Committee on Labour Emigration of 1935 confirms an experience of which there have been numerous proofs elsewhere."

There arises also the question of forced labor which, although condemned by the International Forced Labor Convention (1930) of Geneva, is permitted by law in both East and West Africa (except Gambia) and is resorted to when the poll-tax fails in its intended effect, or when for some other reason the supply of labor falls below the desired level. In this regard, failing steps taken voluntarily to repeal forced labor enactments, it is to be hoped that the influence of the United Nations will prove more effective than was that of the League of Nations.

The White Paper also envisages provisions for enabling the colonial peoples to fit them-

(*Continued on next page*)

GENERAL STRIKE IN KENYA

Several thousand African workers in the East African port-city of Mombasa, Kenya, took part in a general strike in January. The strikers included dock laborers, hotel, bank, and office employees, and even domestic servants and taxi-drivers. Their grievances: low wages, high cost of living, and bad housing. (Labor conditions in East Africa were discussed in last month's New Africa**).**

Although trade union organization is much less advanced in Kenya (called White Man's Country by the foreign settlers) and other East African colonies than in West Africa, the Mombasa strike was apparently carefully planned and well disciplined. Two previous general strikes of African workers in Mombasa occurred in 1939 and 1944.

Reports thus far received do not indicate the duration or outcome of the strike. The Labor Commissioner of Kenya refused to negotiate with the strikers.

HAROLD L. ICKES BLASTS DULLES' STAND ON U. N. TRUSTEESHIP

The former Secretary of the U. S. Department of Interior, Harold L. Ickes, in his January 24 column in the *New York Post,* declares, "There is too much misconception and too much indifference on the part of the press and the people generally with respect to trusteeship of captured territory."

Mr. Ickes tells how Franklin D. Roosevelt's liberally-conceived plan of colonial trusteeship has been tossed aside by President Truman and the State Department as a consequence of the insistence of the U. S. Navy Department upon full and exclusive control over the former Japanese mandate islands.

"In sessions of the U. N. in New York," Mr. Ickes writes, "the earlier solemn commitments of this country have been deftly kept in the air by the hand of that skillful legal juggler, Mr. J. Foster Dulles. He has been able to confuse the representatives of the U. N. as well as himself by undertaking to show that the pea was under one shell when, in fact, it was under the other. . . .

"For him, or for any other representative of the U. S., now to argue that it is not necessary to determine which are the 'states directly concerned' or to obtain their approval to each trusteeship agreement is callously to reverse the American position upon which the other United Nations were fully entitled to reply. . . Our questionable attempt to plough under the principle of 'states directly concerned' goes far to justify the Russian fear of U. S. trickery. Our position would be even more untenable if we should now insist that 'states directly concerned' do not have a veto power with respect to strategic trusteeships.

"We cannot enhance our moral position in the world by such trickery and evasion or by double talking; by circumlocution or by insisting that white is black, or even grey. . . . If we cannot act the truth, let us at least be honest enough to admit it.

"Above all else, the President should not give his conscience into the custody of the U. S. Navy, which can so lightly compromise its own to a self-created 'expediency'."

Primitive methods of mining like the above are found in Africa. Reason: it is more profitable to the European owners, even though uneconomical, to use underpaid workers in preference to costly machinery.

COUNCIL OFFICERS RE-ELECTED AT JANUARY MEETING

At the regular business meeting of the Council on African Affairs, held January 9 at the New York headquarters, all present officers of the Council were re-elected for the current year. The officers are: Paul Robeson, Chairman; Wm. Jay Schieffelin, Vice Chairman; Edith C. Field, Treasurer; and Max Yergan, Executive Director.

The work of the past year, particularly in connection with African issues before the U. N. General Assembly, was reviewed by Dr. Yergan and W. A. Hunton, the Educational Director. The financial statement covering the past year's activities and the budget for the current year were approved. Endorsement was given to plans for broadening the membership of the Council and expanding its work.

In addition to the officers, members of the Council present at the meeting included Mrs. C. A. Bass, Mrs. Lida N. Broner, Mrs. Adah L. Kieffer, George Marshall, and Doxey A. Wilkerson. Paul Robeson presided.

MINING POLICY (Cont'd.)

selves for the highest technical and administrative posts in the mining industry.

Furthermore, it acknowledges the need to retain an adequate share of the proceeds of mining in the colonies. To appreciate the great importance of this point one need only refer to the annual reports of the mining companies or of the government mining departments. For example, the annual report of the "Government Mining Engineer" for 1939 records that the pre-war value of the copper-ore exports of Northern Rhodesia amounted to about 10 million pounds ($40,000,000) and we learn that:

"Half of this sum is taken directly out of the country and handed over to shareholders, directors and others. About half a million is paid to a chartered company which does nothing apparently to further the production of copper; another half a million is paid over in taxes to the British Treasury. About £1 million is paid to a few thousand European employees of the Company in Northern Rhodesia. The Rhodesian Government is given half a million in taxes, and the African workers in the mines, ten times as numerous as Europeans, receive about a quarter of a million pounds a year—less than the royalties of the Chartered Company."

It is early as yet to form any reliable impressions as to the attitude of the colonial peoples to the White Paper. Judging, however, by the hostile reception given, for instance, in Nigeria to the Minerals Ordinance of January 1945, it can be justifiably said that considerable opposition will be forthcoming. It is not without reason that the African peoples are unable to distinguish between the governments of their territories and the commercial enterprises which operate therein. To them talk of benefits accruing from government participation in the exploitation of mineral resources is like asking honest men to expect dividents from a partnership between Lucifer and the Devil.

The success of this mining policy, which has much to commend it, depends upon the confidence and the wholehearted enthusiasm of the colonial peoples. It would be as well for the Colonial Office to recognize that fact. The future industrial development of the colonies and the welfare of their peoples make this a matter of the highest importance.

Desmond Buckle

[*Mr. Buckle is a young native West African, now resident in London. A close student of colonial affairs, he will be sending further dispatches to* New Africa.]

SOUTH AFRICAN DIARY

The House of Assembly on January 25 said, in effect, that the Government's present policy of racial discrimination would continue to stand when it voted 82 to 46 to approve Prime Minister Smuts' presentation of the South West Africa and Indian issue before the U. N. General Assembly. . . .

"A sheer insult . . . unadulterated nonsense" was the characterization given by the Bishop of Bloemfontein, the Right Reverend A. H. Howe Brown, to the public statement made in London by Mr. E. K. Scallan, Acting High Commisioner for South Africa, that "South Africa is the only purely European civilization surrounded by hoards of savages and held in check (from exterminating the white man) by a balance of power.". . .

The South African Government is preparing to expand its connections with this hemisphere by opening legations in several Latin American capitols. South Africa has important trade relations with Argentina and other countries in South and Central America. . . .

The Government last month opened its trial of eight members of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party. Two of the members on trial are Negroes: Moses Kotane, General Secretary, and Lucas Phillips, Trade Union Secretary. The arrests and trial are a direct consequence of the African mine workers' strike of last August, and represent a key step in the drive to crush all opposition to the government's policy of racial discrimination. The Communist leaders are charged with sedition. . . .

The Gold Producers' Committee of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines has issued a lengthy statement arguing against trade union organization and recognition for the 300,000 African mine workers; they prefer to continue dealing with the workers on an individual basis or through their so-called tribal leaders (actually stooges for the bosses). . . .

Meanwhile, last month, 6,000 white workers in the gold mines (whose trade union is fully recognized) went out on strike. There have been no reports of police intervention in *their* strike or arrest of *their* union leaders.

UNITED NATIONS MAY REVIEW EGYPTIAN-BRITISH DIFFERENCES

Breakdown in the many-months-long negotiations over revision of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty has resulted in the Egyptian Government taking steps to submit the disputed issue in the treaty, affecting the future of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, to the United Nations Security Council.

A three-cornered debate has been going on regarding the status of the cotton-rich country of the Sudan. The Egyptian ruling class wants complete sovereignty over the territory. The British Government, on its side, desires to retain its control there, particularly since it is being compelled to withdraw from Egypt. But the Sudanese people themselves, speaking through the Umma Party, demand a free democratic Sudanese government tied to no country.

Late last year it was generally understood that Mr. Bevin and Sidky Pasha had reached a tentative agreement that titular sovereignty over the Sudan (now nominally shared jointly by Britain and Egypt under the 1899 agreement, but with Britain actually governing the country) should be vested in the Egyptian Crown, but that the present regime should be retained for an indefinite period, at the end of which time the Sudanese should determine their own future. The agreement, however, fell to pieces when Cairo laid emphasis upon the first part of the formula while London stressed the "but" clause.

Egypt now contends that British military occupation of the Suez Canal zone and the establishment of an Anglo-Egyptian condominium in the Sudan violated the U.N. Charter because these acts took place under agreements signed while Egypt was occupied by British troops.

Masking its real aims of holding on to the Sudan behind the promise of *eventual* self-determination for the Sudanese people, the British government is confident of holding its ground when the subject is brought up in the U.N. Security Council. There may be some surprises, however, if settlement of the question should take the form of determining a definite date for the exercise of self-determination by the Sudanese people—and there is no reason why the date should not be in the very near future.

INDEX OF NEW AFRICA

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Volume 6, No. 3 March, 1947

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U. N. TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL TO HOLD FIRST MEETING THIS MONTH

Several of the unsolved questions on trusteeship left over from the meeting of the General Assembly (see January issue of *New Africa*) are expected to engage the attention of the ten members of the Trusteeship Council when it begins its first session on March 26.

The work of the Trusteeship Council is expected to attract a good deal of attention in view of the related question of Palestine, which Great Britain has now referred to the United Nations, because of Anglo-Egyptian differences over the Sudan also on the U.N. agenda, and as a result of increasing revolt against imperialist rule in many danger zones of the colonial world.

In his letter transmitting his report to Congress on the United Nations, President Truman last month stated, "The United States will support further steps during the coming year toward strengthening the trusteeship system." An impartial reading of the record will indicate that the role of the United States to date has been one of weakening rather than strengthening the trusteeship system. We shall remember the President's promise.

Human Rights Bill

Since the beginning of the year, other agencies of the United Nations have been holding discussions bearing on the status and welfare of colonial peoples. The most important of these have been the meetings of the Human Rights Commission and the Economic and Employment Commission.

The former, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Roosevelt, engaged in exploratory discussions of what should be contained in the Bill of Human Rights to be adopted by the United Nations, referring the drafting of this document to a subcommittee for completion prior to the next session of the Commission to be held in June at Geneva. The Commission authorized establishment of a subcommission on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities. As yet, there has been no real attempt to consider methods of enforcement to be used by

(*Continued on next page*)

South Africa Balks on U.N. Decisions

Since the close of the meeting of the U. N. General Assembly in December, the decisions there arrived at concerning the Union of South Africa have been discussed back and forth in South Africa's press, on her radio, and in both houses of the Dominion's parliament. General Smuts has talked a lot out of both sides of his mouth, attempting to avoid an open break with the United Nations, while at the same time condemning the decisions of that body. Through all the fog of this discussion, the government's policy is now clearly emerging.

On the question of South West Africa, the Cabinet (whose decisions invariably mirror the Prime Minister's judgment), has reached the decision to decline the U.N.'s request that a trusteeship agreement be prepared and submitted for the mandate territory. As Smuts himself threatened at Lake Success, the government intends to retain administration over the territory as in the past. The only concession to be made is the submission of yearly reports to the United Nations on the administration of South West Africa. There were some in the government who opposed giving even this much of an acknowledgment to the authority of the United Nations.

On the question of discrimination against the Indian minority, the policy of the government, as stated by the Minister of the Interior, "remains as it was formulated by General Smuts during the debate on the Indian bill last session. There can be no retracing the steps that have been taken."

During extended discussion a few weeks ago in the South African Senate on the Dominion's relationshp to the United Nations, General Smuts declared, "We shall stand our ground." He was replying to a motion made by Senator H. M. Basner (a guest of the Council during his visit to this country last fall) urging the government to take steps toward resolving the critical racial problems of the dominion.

Senator Basner stated that the Union's economic, social and political structure was incompatible with the United Nations Charter and that it was impossible for the Union to withdraw from the United Nations without inviting sanctions and incurring the hostility of the member states.

His motion called on the government "to summon a national convention of rep-

(*Continued on next page*)

"SHE'S THREATENING OUR WAY OF LIFE!"

A Cartoon from THE DEMOCRAT (See REVIEW, last page)

BRITAIN TIGHTENS CONTROL OF COLONIAL RESOURCES

With discussions going on about the terms of a United Nations trade policy to be embodied in the charter of the International Trade Organization, and with the United States placing emphasis upon the principle of free access to resources, it is pertinent to note how the British government, acting through the Ministry of Food, Ministry of Supply, or Board of Trade, is holding to the policy of bulk-purchase of products from her colonial empire.

These arrangements in most cases originated as war-emergency measures but are now being continued. They provide for the exclusive purchase by Britain of the "exportable surplus" of products at prices fixed for a stated period of time, usually a year. The products covered by such bulk-purchase arrangements are:

SUGAR—from Uganda, Tanganyika, British West Indies, British Guiana, Fiji, Mauritius.

TEA—from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland. Ceylon terminated its agreement, dating from 1942, at the end of 1946, preferring to sell in the open market.

COFFEE—from Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Jamaica. The entire crop is purchased by the British Ministry of Food and allocated as directed by the International Emergency Food Council.

COCOA—from Nigeria and Gold Coast.

COPRA (source of coconut oil)—from East Africa, Ceylon, Seychelles and British Western Pacific Islands. As in the case of coffee, although Britain is the sole purchaser, various quantities are consigned to other countries as well as Britain.

PEANUTS—the larger part of the crops from Nigeria and Gambia.

PALM PRODUCTS—from Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Malaya.

TIN—from Nigeria and Malaya.

SISAL (a strong fiber, used for cordage)—from East Africa.

HIDES and SKINS—from Nigeria and East Africa.

COTTON—from Nigeria and the West Indies.

Have the ex-soldiers in British West Africa found the better post-war opportunities that were promised them? These figures, latest available, give you some idea:

	Out of Army	*Applied for work*	*Found Work*
Nigeria	89,761	56,137	17,056
Gold Coast	37,364	21,827	8,165
Sierra Leone	15,899	7,922	3,262
Gambia	3,000	1,250	400

Washington, D.C.
February 28, 1947

To the Editor of "New Africa":

This is just a note to congratulate the Council on African Affairs for the real service it performed by setting out in the January 1947 issue of "New Africa" the votes of all members of the United Nations on the trusteeship agreements and other matters relating to colonial peoples.

As one who does not follow international affairs too closely I was certainly dismayed to find that on practically every issue the United States voted to under cut the rights of colonial peoples. This information is very important if one is to properly evaluate the current efforts of the United States to bring approximately six hundred islands in the Pacific under her exclusive control for an indefinite period of time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie S. Perry
Washington representative of the N.A.A.C.P.

SMUTS STALLS ON U.N. (cont'd)

representatives of all races in the Union to arrive at a common understanding and to plan a commonly-accepted constitution for the future development of South Africa, and submit the findings of this convention to the next session of U.N.O. by a South African delegation of all races, and ask the United Nations for political and material aid to raise the educational and living standard of all citizens in South Africa to a degree in which all the citizens in South Africa will be satisfied, and which will avoid racial strife within the Union and without her borders."

Instead of meeting the issue, Smuts called the motion "incredibly absurd," reasserting South Africa's sovereign rights, allegedly "violated" by the United Nations.

The Prime Minister is counting on "friends of the Union," Great Britain and the United States, to defend South Africa's position comes the next meeting of the General Assembly and the reconsideration of these questions. Apparently the Prime Minister has not learned his lesson yet.

U. N. TRUSTEESHIP (cont'd)

the United Nations in securing adherence of member states to the Charter's provisions for human rights and equality.

One important decision of the Economic and Employment Commission was that the United Nations should have the right to make "appropriate representations" to nations which failed to develop their backward areas (meaning colonies). It was agreed that the primary responsibility for undertaking such work rested with the individual governments but that when this responsibility was not fulfilled, the U.N. should prod these states into action.

GOLD COAST LEADER LAUDS COUNCIL'S WORK

From Accra, Gold Coast, comes a letter to the Council from Dr. J. B. Danquah, elected member of the Gold Coast Legislative Council (which has an African majority) and one of West Africa's most prominent intellectual leaders. Dr. Danquah writes:

"I have watched your movement grow from strength to strength and I am particularly delighted with the whacking you gave to General Smuts and for the proper end to the South African ambitions at the United Nations Assembly.

"Our problems in the Gold Coast are simple compared with those in the South and East of our Continent, and it is good for the race that you in the United States where freedom really breathes free have taken up our cause to let the world see our sores. Success with adequate remedies must daily attend your efforts.

"In the Gold Coast our present problem is how to make our new Constitution work. We have all the votes. But we are not yet quite sure how much power those votes cover. I can however tell you that all the elected members are working in perfect harmony, both Chiefs and the intelligentsia having formed themselves into an Elected Members Committee of which Nana Tsibu Darku IX, O.B.E. Paramount Chief of Asin Atandasu State, is Chairman, and I am the Secretary.

"Every Elected Member has been allotted a particular problem of our country for his special study. At our meetings reports by these 'specialists' are studied for appropriate action. I believe that the Government are now more and more coming to recognize the Elected Members as a new and real force in the land whose cooperation may often mean a new orientation in former Governmental trends."

INDEPENDENT NORTH AFRICA URGED

The question of independence for French and Spanish North Africa will be brought before the United Nations if decisions reached by a conference of Arab nationalists held at Cairo last month are carried through. The conference declared its stand for the abolition of French protectorates in Tunisia and Morocco and promotion of the independence of these countries, the total evacuation of all foreign troops, and the refusal to participate in a proposed French Union in any form. One of the Arab states is to be requested to raise these problems before the United Nations and ask that an investigating commission be sent to North Africa.

Britain's Mechanized Peanut Farming Scheme For East Africa — A Progressive Development Or Exploitation In A New Dress?

THE elaborate scheme announced by the British Labor Government last month for the mechanized production of peanuts (called groundnuts) in East Africa has been described as "the most important action of Government in the history of British tropical Africa." In terms of the vast area involved (in Tanganyika, Kenya, and N. Rhodesia), the introduction of modern scientific farming techniques, and the large expenditure (estimated at over $100,000,000 for the first five years of operation), the undertaking does represent a new departure in colonial economic administration.

While the scheme looks good on paper (the plan is set forth in the Government's report C.M.D. 7030), there are several questions either ignored or answered unsatisfactorily which raise doubts as to whether the remarkable results of the undertaking anticipated in the report, particularly with reference to raising the whole economy and living standards of the area concerned, can or will be achieved.

It is a curious paradox that at the moment when Britain's domestic economy is suffering extreme vicissitudes, there should be launched this far-reaching program for the economic development of a distant colonial area. It is also a paradox that while far less costly schemes for the colonies have been mulled over and left to gather dust for years, in *this* case the surveying, drafting, approval and actual starting of the project were accomplished in a period of less than ten months. The explanation, of course, is that Britain's desperate economic plight has pressed the government to take extraordinary measures toward maximum utilization of the resources of the colonial empire (see page2). It is frankly acknowledged by the Government that the immediate reason for the launching of this scheme is the urgent need for new supplies of vegetable fats and oils for the United Kingdom.

Three Million Acres and $100,000,000

THE plan calls for the clearing, planting and cultivation of over 3 million acres of land, subdivided into 107 farming units of 30,000 acres each. The entire process of clearing, tilling, planting, harvesting and shelling of the peanuts is to be done by machinery. Already tractors and bulldozers have started clearing the ground in Tanganyika where the largest part of the project is centered. The present schedule calls for at least 150,000 acres to be cleared for planting this year. One-tenth of the $100,000,000 investment is to go for railway, road and port construction.

The program, except for bare mention of the necessity of developing a balanced economy, provides no tangible means for the East African colonies to escape the single-crop-for-export economy which has been the blight of colonial countries everywhere. An agricultural economy, even though mechanized, can never become self-sufficient in the framework of colonialism.

Some American press reports have erroneously called this project a "socialist" program. Neither the British nor African people were consulted or participated in planning this venture. It was in fact conceived and planned by the managing director of United Africa Co., Ltd. (branch of the giant Lever Brothers monopoly), which has dominated the trade and stifled the economic development of West Africa since 1879. The scheme was announced to the British parliament as an accomplished fact. It is to be financed and sponsored by the British Government, not by the colonial governments or colonial peoples.

Whose Project Is It?

THE actual management of the project, indeed, has been assigned to the United Africa Company, Ltd. The reason given for this step was that while the Government recognized that the management of such an undertaking should properly be a government-owned and financed corporation (and the establishment of such a corporation is to take place "in due course"), it was considered desirable, in order to get the project started quickly, to entrust the management to an existing commercial firm.

Supervision of the project, according to the government's report, would pass first from the U.A.C. to the government corporation and then to the local governments concerned "at a time and on terms to be agreed in the light of experience of the working of the project." Finally, after this, in the remote future, would come the accomplishment of "the more distant goal of transferring the control of the undertaking to the people themselves." There is a studied vagueness about all this, and also as to the recipients of the profits from this enterprise.

Th next question is: where will the money come from? Can Britain herself finance this project, in view of her present straits, or is it expected that American money will come to the rescue, either through private investments, a U. S. Government loan, or a loan through the World Bank? And if outside capital is to be involved, would it not be more proper to place an undertaking of this type — especially since it involves a trusteeship territory — under the direct supervision of a United Nations agency?

Problems of Labor Supply and Land Rights

And what about the labor supply for the vast project? Twenty-five thousand Africans are to be employed in the initial work of bush clearing alone. The Government estimates that a ton of peanuts can be produced for $17.25 but it does not indicate what fraction of this would go in wages to workers. Much is said, however, of providing proper health, nutrition, education, housing and welfare facilities for the employees and their families; but here again the "how" is omitted. The United Africa Company has established no record along these lines in West Africa — far from it.

IF conditions of employment on the project are indeed attractive, Africa workers will be drawn away from the plantations and other enterprises of the white settlers and we may expect a loud protest to be raised from those quarters. Even now the white settlers complain of a lack of adequate labor supply (see *New Africa,* January, 1947).

Apart from the question of wages and working conditions, there is the necessity of inducing the African to cooperate whole-heartedly in a project toward which he may very well be antagonistic. One important cause of such antagonism may be the African's view that his land rights have been violated. The British government passes lightly over this point with the assertion that "for the initial development in Tanganyika no question of disturbing African rights arise, as the land is almost uninhabited." This has been an old, old excuse for land alienation by various governments throughout Africa.

But as the African sees it, no one has the right to take away areas, even though uninhabited and unused, which have traditionally been regarded as the domain of the tribal group. The British government, by-passing the African people, states its intention of negotiating with the respective governments of the three colonies "for the lease of the land to the undertaking for an initial period of not less than twenty-five years, with an option to renew it at the end or during the currency of the initial lease."

In this last point we have one very real explanation of why the United Africa Co. and the British government decided on East Africa rather than West Africa as the area for this project. The land rights of Africans in the East African colonies have

(*Continued on next page*)

News Notes

PARIS—The conference on African labor, scheduled to be held by the World Federation of Trade Unions at Dakar, French West Africa, last month, was postponed to April. The executive committee of the South African Trades and Labor Council, a predominantly European organization, declined an invitation to attend the conference, pleading lack of funds.

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ADDIS ABABA—Ethiopia had its first labor strike last month when several thousand railway workers tied up the line between Addis Ababa and Djibouti. The strikers asserted that the French management failed to keep promises of wage increases and showed favoritism to white employees.

•

FRENCH TOGOLAND—A pioneer system of District Councils has been set up in this trusteeship colony. There are six Councils ranging in size from 21 to 51 members. They are to meet at least once a week and the administration is called upon to submit all legislation concerning taxation, public works, education, etc. to them. There are two types of members on the Councils: permanent ones, mainly chiefs, and others elected for four year terms by adult suffrage.

•

BELGIAN CONGO—The new Société de Colonisation Belge with capital of 35,000,000 francs plans to settle about 1,000 Belgian families in the Katanga Province of the Congo. Le Comité Speciale de Katanga is supplying half of the capital and about 750,000 acres of land. Every colonist will be given approximately 1,250 acres.

•

LAGOS, NIGERIA—Francis O. Coker, President of the All-Nigerian Technical and General Workers Federation and a delegate to the Paris meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions, was recently arrested and charged with possession of an official secret document in violation of the local law. His trial aroused great excitement. He received a sentence of five years probation.

•

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The U. S. Department of Agriculture reports that the American tin plate industry may import 1,000 tons of palm kernels from Liberia this year. Oil from the palm kernels is an essential requirement in the manufacture of tin plate. The average price paid is $100 a ton. U.S. purchases last year from Liberia amounted to 500 tons. This was sent through U.N.R.R.A. to Czechoslovakia.

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W. A. HUNTON, *Editor*

EAST AFRICAN SCHEME (cont'd)

been almost completely nullified by the immigrant settlers in this section and it is relatively easy, therefore, for the more or less permanent lease of land for the project to be secured.

Nigeria and the other British West African colonies would have been the logical place for this experiment in view of the greater proximity to Great Britain, the more adequate labor supply, and the already highly developed production of peanuts, palm kernels and palm oil in that section. But the prospect of organized opposition of the West African people to expropriation of their land outweighed those advantages.

If the British Labor Government were truly a socialist government, it would have set up this project in an area where there was no dominant white settlement and hence no doubt about the "paramountcy of African rights," and it would have given the Africans full compensation for the use of their land, full voice in the planning and operation of the project, and full share in the profits.

It chose not to do these things. Instead, it strengthened the power of private monopoly in Africa (acting as agent of the government) and provided further reason for the white settlers in East Africa to press for a lily-white self-governing dominion status like that of the Union of South Africa.

CAMEROONS HAS $7,000,000 PROJECT

A state project similar to the peanut growing scheme in East Africa but on a much smaller scale has been launched in the Cameroons West Africa, under British trusteeship.

First, a little background. When the former German colony was handed over to Britain as a mandate territory at the close of World War I, German holdings there were not disturbed. At the outbreak of World War II these holdings were taken over by the Custodian of Enemy Property. Last year the Nigerian government purchased from this authority 250,000 acres of land in the Cameroons at a price ranging from $1.00 to $6.00 per acre, the total cost including compensation being $3,200.000.

On January 1st of this year, with the blessing of the London Colonial Office and Ministry of Food, the Governor of Nigeria by special ordinance established an Agricultural Development Corporation and turned the 250,000 acres over to this corporation in "perpetual lease." The corporation is to cultivate the land for the growing of bananas, oil palms, rubber and other important commodities.

It is said that the corporation, capitalized at $7,000,000, "will operate on normal commercial lines except that its initial finances in capital will be found by means of loans raised by either the Nigerian government or with a government guarantee."

As in the case of the East African project, the Cameroons undertaking is supposed to benefit the people of that territory and they are "in due course" to take over control of the corporation. Just what that means is made clear by the Colonial Office's statement of January 24th that "No doubt it will require two or three generations in order to provide all the local personnel of sufficient education and sense of responsibility to carry out this work. . . ."

South African Diary

A letter to the editor in the *Cape Times* (Capetown) of January 17 deplores "the decision of the authorities to sell the Otavi Copper Mine, one of the most valuable assets of South West Africa, to an American company (as) a regrettable and incomprehensible decision" . . . But the writer warns that South Africans should not yield to the "fear that everything is going to be swallowed by the 'Almighty Dollar' . . . We all want to see South West Africa incorporated in the Union sooner or later. . . . So let this be an appeal to South West Africa to apply to Union citizens in the *first* instance, if there is any good and promising mine enterprise to be financed."

•

U. S. trade with, as well as investments in, South Africa appears to be on the upgrade. As of last November, U. S. exports to the Union reached a two-year peak of $34,000,000. Imports from that country amounted to $10,000,000 in the same month.

•

London had its squatter movement during a brief but hectic period last year; South Africa has a permanent population of squatters, hundreds of thousands of them—homeless and landless Africans. Seven thousand of these squatters staged a big demontration on January 25 in a parade through the streets of Johannesburg. Women carried babies on their backs, men carried banners reading "Give us land to build our homes!"

•

Last year the South African government banned official use of the word "Kaffir" to describe an African. This was a welcome step as the word is objectionable to the Bantu. But this year the government has officially banned use of the term "African" to describe an African. Instead, he is to be called a "native," a term hated by black men throughout Africa. The reason given for this new ruling was that "African," when translated into the Boer language, becomes "Afrikaner," the same word which the Boer uses to speak of himself.

•

The grand tour of the British Royal family has thus far proceeded according to schedule. On only one occasion has King George VI given the public any indication of being aware of the critical racial tensions in South Africa; that was in a speech at a Capetown banquet when he expressed the hope that statesmanship would guide South Africa "toward a just and contented relationship between all dwellers in your many-peopled land". . . . A New York *Times* dispatch refers to "wide-eyed pickaninnies" standing at the stations to watch the specially-built, imported 15-car superde luxe royal train pass by. The reporter evidently did not know that African children stand by the tracks to watch *any* train go by —*to beg for food.*

•

"This is the mineral age. Agriculture is less important, for food nowadays can be produced in superabundance," said General Smuts in a recent interview. . . . And about the same time a government commission in Johannsburg, investigating bus services for non-Europeans stated, "The natives are living on a hunger diet."

AND THEY WERE SUPPOSED TO BE FIGHTING FASCISM

An interestingly written and revealing account of what happened at an American air base in Eritrea, East Africa, during the last war is given by Harold Courlander in the February issue of *The Negro History Bulletin,* published by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

The author gives a description of Eritrea and its people and contrasts the attitude of the Italians, British, and Americans toward the Eritreans. He says some Americans were like the Italians, regarding the Eritreans "contemptuously as an inferior race without any particular rights;" some were like the English, coldly avoiding any except official contacts with the people; "and some were like nothing the valley had ever seen."

In the construction of the air base, we are told, the Americans discriminated between the local Eritreans and the Arabs and Sudanese who were brought in to work on the job, and discriminated still further in the pay given these workers and that given unskilled Italian laborers.

"Once in Asmara I talked to the British Information officer about the wage and labor policies," he writes.

" 'Major, a lot of Americans don't understand the idea of fixing maximum wages. Also, there seem to be enough Eritreans out at Gura to do all the work without bringing in Sudanese and Arabs.'

" 'Well, there's a war on. In crucial spots we play safe by having too much rather than too little help. About the wage-rates, they're standard. They're minimum as well as maximum. They will prevent inflation.'

" 'But why do the Eritreans and Ethiopians get a shilling and a half while the Sudanese and Arabs get about fifty percent more?'

" 'The Eritreans are Italian colonials. In short, they are enemy population. The Arabs and Sudanese are our allies.'

" 'But how about the Ethiopians? Aren't they our allies too?'

" 'Oh, how can you tell Ethiopians from Eritreans? If we paid Ethiopians more, all the Eritreans would turn into Ethiopians.'

" 'How about Italians, Major? What does the law allow them for unskilled labor?'

" 'Fifteen shillings.'

" 'Aren't the Italians classified as enemy?'

" 'Good *God* man, the Italians are *white!*' "

The author relates other incidents of the same Jim Crow pattern and points out how the favoritism of Sudanese over Eritreans in employment led ultimately to serious riots between the two groups. It should be noted that the British have played the same game of divide and rule by using Sudanese troops as their occupation forces in the former Italian colony with resultant bloody clashes between the Eritreans and these imported soldiers.

Docks at Mombasa, Kenya, Scene of Strike

SOME SELF-CRITICISM BY BRITISH SOCIALISTS

The Fabian Bureau in one of its recent pamphlets, *Domination or Co-operation?,* attempts to analyse the divergent views of British socialists and British colonials on the government's colonial policy.

The secretary of the Bureau, Dr. Rita Hinden, point out that "so long as we were airing the views of the colonial peoples through parliament and other channels, we were praised. But as soon as we tackled the practical problems and put forward constructive and concrete plans, we found ourselves up against opposition. The colonial peoples did not like our plans."

She cites as examples of such opposition the colonial peoples' resentment of government supervision of their trade unions, their opposition to the cocoa marketing scheme and demand for free trade, and their objection to the minerals ordinance in Nigeria—all of which the Fabian Bureau supported.

"Why is there this difference of approach?" she asks, and continues: "The British socialist struggle has been for individual freedom, political rights, economic justice. We do not understand to the same extent what it means to be dominated by a foreign power. When we say that the worker must be 'free,' we think he must be free from the disabilities from which the workers have suffered. When Colonials say that they want to be 'free,' they mean that Britain should clear out.

"We are interested, for example, in planned marketing and the nationalization of minerals, for it is through such schemes that we can get nearer to the equal distribution of wealth and social justice. The colonial people, on the other hand, object to government marketing and ownership of mines, because it means that the *Government* would own them—a government which is foreign and not their own. They would prefer, for example, that the mines should be in the hands of the local Native Administrations.

"We recognize the rights of all people to self-determination, and think that there could be a bolder approach to this question by the Labour Government. It might, for instance, be possible to set up constituent assemblies in a number of the more advanced Colonies to work out their own constitutions, instead of presenting them with fully-worked out schemes in which they have had no say."

KENYA GOVT. BREAKS MOMBASA STRIKE—ASKARI SOLDIERS SHOT DOWN AT GILGIL

The general strike of Africa labor in Mombasa, Kenya, reported briefly in our last issue, came to an end on January 25th after two weeks during which practically every African worker in the city stopped work—on the docks and the railways, post office and other public works, as well as in hotels, banks, and other social services.

In order to keep essential services going, the government found it necessary to recruit scabs and guard them closely with strong police patrols. The strike was reportedly led by a group of African ex-servicemen and the general demand was for increase of wages and lower rents and better living conditions.

The gravity of the strike is indicated by measures taken by the government such as the use of a loud speaker van to tour the streets calling the people back to work and the dropping of leaflets from an airplane. There were 450 arrests in one week.

A few days before the end of the strike a mass meeting of 10,000 Africans was addressed by Mr. Eliud Mathu, African member of the Legislative Council. Mr. Mathu negotiated the terms for the end of the strike with the Authorities.

Elsewhere in Kenya, at a military base at Gilgil, five Askari soldiers were killed and eleven wounded early in January following the refusal of a large number of the soldiers to obey orders of their commanding officers. The action was in protest against delay in their release from service. Fourteen so-called ringleaders were placed under arrest and held for trial following the shooting.

Review

BLACK ANGER

By WULF SACHS
Little, Brown and Co.

Dr. Wulf Sachs is a fine combination of scientist and citizen. A psychiatrist and psychoanalyst of note, he is President of the South African Psychoanalytic Society, and the editor and publisher of a vigorously progressive magazine, *The Democrat*, in Johannesburg which fights aggressively for human rights.

When Dr. Sachs first came to South Africa to practice psychiatry he was greeted with the usual chauvinistic advice and comment about the Negro population. The attitude of most of the white people toward the Negroes was distorted by fear and hatred. Dr. Sachs began to work in a mental hospital for Negroes and found, of course, "that insanity in its form, content and causation is identical in Negro and white people."

He was eager to study a native African in the same intensive way, through the psychoanalytic methods with which he treated his white patients. In this way he met John Chavafambira, a medicine man who had left his native village in Southern Rhodesia to come to Johannesburg. They worked together for two and a half years. *Black Anger* is the result of this study.

It is an amazing book. Through this intimate and detailed life story of John Chavafambira one gets a profound view of South African life, as seen through the eyes of an oppressed and exploited African. We learn of the life in the kraal or village, and of the incredible slum life into which the African is forced in the large city. One of the most humiliating features is the "pass" system.

"Every African man must be in possession of a pass. Without it he cannot look for work, travel, move from kraal to town, or appear on the streets between the hours of 9 P.M. and 6 A.M. The police have the right to demand a pass from any African and it is an offense to refuse to produce it. In Transvaal a male African must on various occasions carry in all eleven passes issued by the authorities who have discretionary powers to refuse an African the required pass."

In Johannesburg we meet such figures as Tshakada whose remarks are worth quoting: "Then there is the new African. And I'm not ashamed to call myself such. We are a small group but our numbers are growing. If you want to know us, go to police headquarters—we're all in their files. We are organized workers and we try to understand the issues at stake, here and in the rest of the world. We want to create leaders, organize masses, establish contact with other colored people in Africa and in America.

"I know what I belong to and what belongs to me. The African worker strikes—the organized passive resistance—mass defiance of injustice—all of these are not incidents, but straws in the wind. What we want is simple enough—to take part in the destiny, in the shaping of our sunny South Africa. We're anti-nobody. We're not racialists. And we're ready to give every racial white minority full rights in South Africa. We are against violence and anarchy, but unfortunately our aims are deliberately misunderstood and misinterpreted."

During the course of their relationship Dr. Sachs ceases to look on John Chavafambira as an object for scientific study and a new relationship arises between the two men who have become comrades, both engaged in the struggle against imperialism and racial oppression.

Emanuel Klein, M.D.

A Decade of Service — with Bigger Tasks Ahead

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The Council is pleased to announce that the persons denoted by (*) above have recently accepted membership in the Council on African Affairs. Additional new members will be listed in the next issue.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

P. L. & R. 562

[Council on African Affairs]
April 25, 1947

Resolutions adopted at People's Rally against Imperialism
sponsored by the Council on African Affairs
and attended by 8,000 citizens
April 25, 1947 - 71st Regiment Armory - New York City

- - - -

1. Banning of Robeson

This meeting condemns most emphatically the action of authorities in Peoria, Illinois, April 18, and in Albany, N.Y., April 24, refusing to permit scheduled public appearances by Paul Robeson. We regard this action, particularly the terrorism to which the people of Peoria were subjected, as a flagrant violation of fundamental constitutional guarantees, disgracing this country in the eyes of the world.

We demand that the authorities concerned rescind their orders, and we pledge to rally mass support and press that demand until it is granted.

We declare that the banning of Robeson reflects the urgency of united action by the people to defend their democratic rights against the drive of reaction toward fascism exemplified by the so-called "loyalty test" of federal employees ordered by Pres. Truman; by the present Congressional drive, backed by Big Business, to take away the rights of organized labor; and by the hysterical witch hunt fomented by the Un-American Committee and other reactionary elements.

We declare that the United States, in order to bring democracy to peoples abroad, must first uphold democracy for all its citizens at home. We demand that the President and Congress act to prevent fascism from conquering America.

2. Colonial Liberation

This meeting denounces the continuing crime of colonial slavery and declares full support for the struggles of African, Asian and other colonial peoples to achieve full economic and political independence.

We maintain that the present foreign policy of America, guided by Dollar Diplomacy and U.S. Big Business, is directed against the struggles of these colonial peoples and against all the peoples fighting for a democratic way of life. It is a policy of world domination which can result only in war.

We demand that our government, instead of rushing to the aid of reactionary regimes in Greece, Turkey and other countries, shall use its power and influence to liberate and promote the welfare of all oppressed and subject peoples.

3. United Nations

This meeting declares that the United Nations must be supported and made strong.

We condemn the failure of the United States, Britain and other imperialist powers to give more than lip-service to the principle of mutual cooperation which is fundamental to the successful functioning of the international organization; these powers have repeatedly by-passed the United Nations when they feared its power and have, specifically in the matter of trusteeship and the responsibilities of the U.N. toward colonial peoples, subverted the declared provisions of the Charter to suit their own selfish purposes.

We demand that our government, through its representatives to the United Nations, give its full support to the U.N. and help make that organization an effectively functioning agency so that the Charter's promises of freedom and equal rights for all peoples of the world, regardless of race, creed or color, may be translated into reality.

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New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

Volume 6, No. 4 April, 1947

264

Soviet Absent, U. S. Gets Presidency as Trusteeship Council Convenes

Despite the strong and optimistic speech of Secretary General Trygve Lie welcoming the members of the Trusteeship Council at their first meeting on March 26th at Lake Success, the last major agency of the United Nations to be established started its work under a cloud of uncertainty.

The absence of the Soviet Union contributed largely to this atmosphere. When the Secretary General took official notice of the absent member, following his opening statement, the U. S. representative, Mr. Francis B. Sayre, with a promptness which suggested to observers that the procedure might have been rehearsed, expressed "great regret" that the Soviet Union was not represented and his hope that "a representative of that great country will be here shortly."

With no further mention of the matter, at least in the meeting itself, the members got down to the work of electing the President and Vice President of the Council. With the members of the Council divided evenly between five states administering trust territories and five non-administering states, it had previously been agreed to elect Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico, which has no colonies, to the presidency so as to avoid the suspicion of partiality toward the trustee powers.

But with the Soviet Union absent, it was apparently decided that this concession toward democratic procedure in the Council was unnecessary. The agreed-upon plan was dropped. Great Britain, France, Belgium, Australia and New Zealand decided to support the U. S. representative as President. He received six votes in the secret balloting, Dr. Nervo receiving only three votes from among China, Mexico, Iraq and the United States. The Mexican representative was not even elected to the Vice Presidency, this post going to the New Zealand representative, Sir Carl Berendsen.

At the second meeting of the Council, the President, Mr. Sayre, stated that action taken by the body,— even if the Soviet Union does not participate,—will be completely legal and valid. He based his statement on the fact that the provisional rules of the Council's procedure, although not yet adopted by the body, provide that business may be conducted by a majority of members present.

Agreements Held Invalid

As background to the Soviet Union's failure to attend the opening meetings of the Council, the position taken by that state's delegates with respect to the trusteeship agreements adopted at the General Assembly meeting last December should be noted. Mr. Novikov, addressing a plenary session of the Assembly on December 13th, stated that the eight agreements were "contrary to fundamental requirements of the United Nations Charter regarding the trusteeship system" in that:

(1) there had been no determination of the "states directly concerned" whose agreement on the terms of trusteeship was required by the Charter;

(2) the provision in the agreements that the territories should be administered "as an integral part" of the states acting as trustees "amounts to annexation";

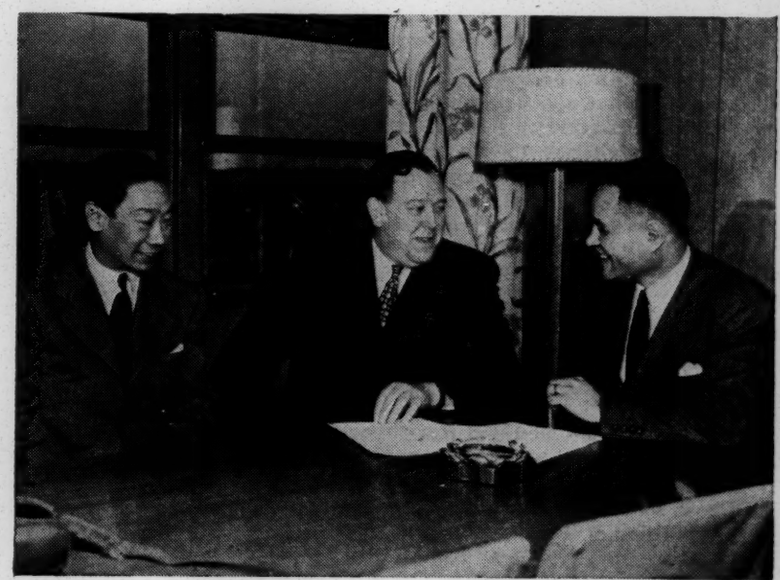
(3) the agreements provided for "the establishment in trust territories of military, naval and air bases without the Security Council's consent, which is contrary to Article 83 of the Charter."

The Assembly nevertheless approved the agreements by majority vote after voting down the Soviet delegate's motion that the draft agreements be rejected by the Assembly with the recommendation that new agreements be drawn up "in conformity with the Charter." When it came to the election of the two non-trustee states to the Trusteeship Council, Mr. Gromyko reiterated his government's view that the agreements contradicted the terms of the Charter, and declared, "Therefore, they could not be used as a basis of the creation of the Trusteeship Council. In view of these circumstances the Soviet delegation cannot participate in the election of members of the Trusteeship Council."

Telegram to Trygve Lie

The Council on African Affairs in a telegram to the Secretary General commended his welcoming speech for its practical and constructive interpretation of the goals of trustee-

(*Continued on next page*)



Secretary General Trygve Lie (center) meets with Victor Hoo (left), Assistant Secretary General in charge of the Department of Trusteeship, and Ralph Bunche, a director in the Department, to discuss plans of the Trusteeship Council.

S. AFRICAN LEADERS PLEDGE JOINT STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS

A significant step toward united action by African and Indian peoples in the Union of South Africa, in their common struggle against discrimination and oppression, took place at a meeting of Indian and African leaders in Johannesburg on March 9th.

Dr. A. B. Xuma, President General of the African National Congress, Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, signed a joint declaration of cooperation. (*Picture on next page*).

They set as their goals: (1) full franchise; (2) equal economic and industrial rights and opportunities and the recognition of African trade unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act; (3) the removal of all land restrictions against non-Europeans and the provision of adequate housing facilities for all non-Europeans; (4) the extension of free and compulsory education to non-Europeans; (5) guaranteeing freedom of movement and the abolition of Pass Laws against the African people and the Provincial Barriers against Indians; (6) and the removal of all discriminatory and oppressive legislation from the Union's Statute Book.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (Continued)

ship. The telegram said, further:

"We believe that the achievement of the objectives of the trusteeship system, as stated by you, is most doubtful if the Trusteeship Council endeavors to proceed with its work without the presence and participation of one of its most important members, the Soviet Union. It will be recalled that Soviet representatives raised strong objections to certain provisions of the trusteeship agreements as being in violation of the United Nations Charter. We regard those objections as completely valid and believe they must be met if genuine international cooperation toward the progress of colonial peoples is to be realized.

"We wish to say also that we believe that the action of the Council in electing representatives of states responsible for trustee territories to the positions of both chairman and vice chairman is a step which may arouse the suspicions rather than win the confidence of colonial peoples. It is to be hoped that these suspicions will prove unjustified."

The present session of the Trusteeship Council is expected to last five weeks with the first half of the time being devoted to discussion and adoption of rules of procedure. Following this, the Council will decide on questionnaires to be sent to states administering trust territories and will take up petitions which have been sent to the Council by peoples in trustee colonies. Petitions on hand include those from Western Samoa demanding self-government, from German residents in Tanganyika, and from the Ewe people of the Cameroons, West Africa.

Sen. Basner Warns S. African Government; Urges Racial Cooperation to Save Nation

Senator H. M. Basner

During the S. African Senate debate on the U. N. decisions concerning Indian discrimination and Southwest Africa, by far the most intelligent and constructive contribution was made by Senator H. M. Basner, one of the four white representatives for Africans in the Senate. Excerpts from his speech follow:

The problems of colour that have been raised at U.N.O. will not be forgotten by the world, and the coloured races, who are the majority of mankind, will not allow things to go on as they are in South Africa.

It is my contention that in order for South Africa, especially white South Africa, to do its duty to humanity in its present crisis, and to do its duty to the future unborn generations of South Africa, both white and non-white, it is of the utmost importance that we immediately find ways and means of cooperating with all the races in South Africa to find a common purpose and a common programme.

I have always contended that it is a great misfortune for South Africa that gold was ever found here, but still that is the position. Our whole industrial, social and economic life has been built on our gold-mining industry, and that industry depends entirely on cheap labour.

Gold and Cheap Labor

We know that the mining industry says, "If you compel us to pay more wages we will not be able to carry on," and as long as that situation lasts, and as long as we need that big labour force, we cannot do much about the land question. We cannot improve the reserves, even if we want to. We cannot allow Africans to carry on in other occupations. We have had to form the whole of our State in such a manner that the African is compelled to go to the gold mines.

But we do not fix the price of gold. We are unfortunate in having to depend on other people for the purchase of a commodity which does not allow us to pay proper wages to the majority of its employees. It is not in our hands at all. We have the right to say that for years we have supplied the world with a medium of exchange at the cost of the health and the well-being of the majority of our population.

In reply to a worried country the Right Hon. Prime Minister has only one thing to say. He says, "We have got friends, and I hope that those friends will support us in the future more than they have supported us in the past."

Vulnerable to Gold Boycott

What the Right Hon. Prime Minister meant was that if the United Nations move the next step, which is sanctions against South Africa—and everybody knows how vulnerable South Africa is against sanctions, and I do not have to mention it—all they have to do is to take a resolution through the World Bank that they will no longer take South Africa's gold until South Africa has effected certain changes, —that is the end of us as a country.

If Hon. Senators do not know it the Chamber of Mines' press will soon let them know. The "Rand Daily Mail," the "Star" and the whole of the Argus Press have already altered their whole tone, and they are altering it every day under your very noses. They are telling you that South Africa must prepare for a change.

Can South Africa afford to say, "We do not care what the rest of the world thinks; we do not care what happens to U.N.O.; we do not care if our policy tends to racial friction all over the world; we intend going on in our old, old way," which of course brings us back to the old position, assuming that we were prepared to take all these risks.

Numerous Signs of Revolt

What is the position in South Africa itself and what are the developments of the last twelve months? The Natives Representative Council—not a single Communist there. Do not lay the balm on your own bosoms that this is a collection of Communist agitators. Professor Matthews, head of the biggest university, is not a Communist, or a red-hot agitator. I am told he is not in command, but he is second in command of one of the biggest universities in South Africa. He holds a big position. You have some of our leading chiefs—the most reasonable strata of African leaders that you can get.

They have on two separate occasions refused to go on with their work on this Council until they get some assurance of a change on the part of the Government. Do you think it is they who are making this stand, or do you think it is the pressure

(*Continued on page four*)

Editorial

A YEAR ago when Winston Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, voiced his belligerent appeal for an Anglo-American military and political alliance against the "expansive and proselytizing tendencies" of the Soviet Union, the Council on African Affairs protested President Truman's failure to denounce Churchill's appeal to America to fight the Soviet Union and help preserve the British Empire. The State Department replied that we were in error, citing various statements by the President and Secretary of State Byrnes pledging full support to the United Nations and affirming the intention of this country to "gang up against no state."

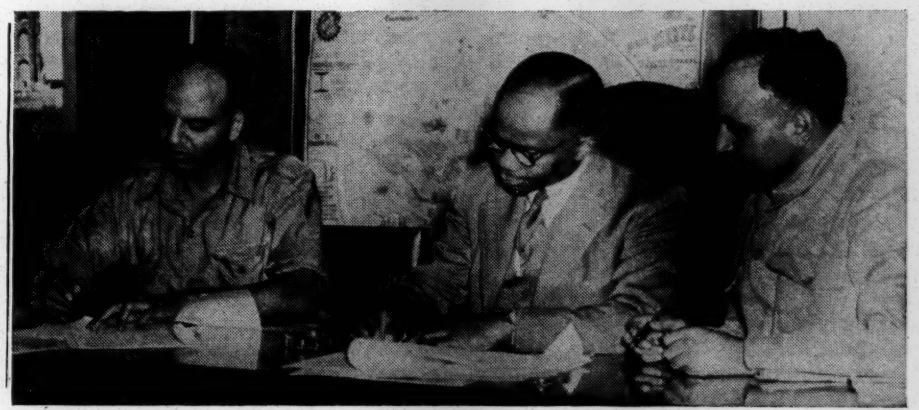
Today, with the President's breath-taking declaration of the intention of the United States to police the world single-handedly a matter of record, there can be no further camouflaging of the Administration's aim to keep the world safe for American Big Business and to support the U.N. only as it furthers that aim. The present governments of Greece and Turkey are no more "free" than the government of Mississippi. Truman would give economic and military aid to these reactionary regimes because they are willing instruments for the protection and expansion of American oil interests in the Middle East. It is the same program which the Administration has pursued, though less openly, in China, Spain, Indonesia and elsewhere.

Maintaining reactionary governments in power in the Mediterranean and Middle East means not only the stifling of democratic movements in these areas; it means also the encirclement and thwarting of the colonial people's struggle for national independence throughout Africa and Asia.

There is an old Greek proverb: "He who resorts to name-calling is trying to cover up his own evil deeds." The imperialists mask their real purposes by striving to create an hysteria of fear and hate against the Soviet Union and Communism. The ousting of Henry Wallace and other pro-Roosevelt leaders from the government was the first step on the path of regimenting American public opinion, of forcing the American people to believe that a policy of global domination is essential, whether they want it or not.

Further steps in such regimentation of opinion are the President's Executive Order purging "disloyal" federal employees and the present drive to outlaw the Communist Party in America. As has been repeatedly said, such action would only open the way to suppression of ALL opposition to government policy. In a word, it would mean FASCISM.

For the sake of colonial peoples struggling for emancipation, for the sake of the liberated peoples of Europe struggling for democracy, and for the sake of the security of the American people themselves, the Administration's foreign policy of unilateral intervention and the reactionary domestic policies supporting it *must be vigorously opposed by all sections of the American people.*



They agree on joint action (left to right): D. G. M. Naicker, Dr. A. B. Xuma and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo
(See story on previous page).

News Notes

LAGOS, NIGERIA—In the February election, under the new constitution, of representatives to the Legislative Council of Nigeria from Lagos and Calabar, Nnamdi Azikiwe, leader of the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons and the object of frequent attacks from the government, received the highest number of votes. The two successful candidates in Lagos and the one elected to represent Calabar were all nominees of the National Democratic Party. In Lagos, 5379 people were qualified (£50 annual income) to vote; the total population of the city is over 130,000.

★

LONDON—A new White Paper from the Colonial Office sets forth revised proposals for "Inter-territorial Organization in East Africa." The original plan for the coordinated administration of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika (the latter is a trusteeship colony subject to U. N. supervision) was published in December, 1945. The new proposals provide for a High Commission and Central Assembly (with three African, three Indian and one Arab *appointed* members out of a total of 23). The Central Assembly's powers would be limited and subject to the higher authority of the High Commission composed of the top executive officials of the three colonies with the Governor of Kenya as the standing chairman.

★

ROME—Italy has opened negotiations toward the resumption of diplomatic relations with Ethiopia. As a good-will gesture, the Ethiopian crown treasure, stolen from the palace in Addis Ababa, will be returned soon, independently of the Italian peace treaty provisions making such restitution mandatory.

★

CAPETOWN, SOUTH AFRICA—The Reverend Michael Scott, white Anglican priest who has played a leading part in the struggle for African rights, has again clashed with South Africa's Jim Crow law. For residing in the segregated Negro section of the city without the approval of the Minister for Native Affairs, Reverend Scott was sentenced to a $20 fine or fourteen days imprisonment. the prison sentence was suspended on condition that he was not again convicted under the Native Urban Areas Act within twelve months.

★

LAKE SUCCESS—The Economic and Social Council voted to establish two Economic Commissions, one for aiding the rehabilitation and economic development of Europe and the other for Asia and the Far East. Last minute efforts by Lebanese and Indian delegates toward extending such aid to the Middle East, North Africa and Ethiopia were unsucceessful.

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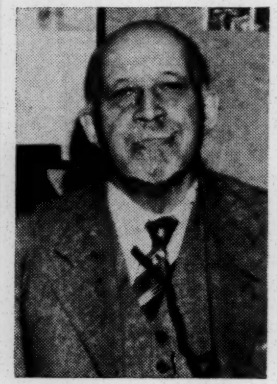
W. A. HUNTON, *Editor*

Re-examining Africa's Place In World Civilization

Review:

THE WORLD AND AFRICA
By W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
New York, The Viking Press, 1947



W. E. B. DuBois

In this book DuBois brings to completion a task which he began more than thirty years ago; namely, the construction of the story of the role of Africa in human history. Certain phases of this task had been undertaken in two previous works. Consequently, when he came to the present task he was able to include much additional knowledge and the fruits of mature reflection. Moreover, he was able to treat the subject in relation to the present crisis of Western civilization.

Since DuBois has lived long and possesses a broad and deep culture, his analysis of the problem of the relation of Africa to world history includes a personal appreciation of historical events as well as an abstract analysis of recorded history. For example, in the first chapter which deals with the collapse of Europe, he writes as a participant in some of the occasions which proved landmarks in the decay of Western civilization.

The ten chapters which follow include the history of colonial exploitation and the slave trade, the peopling of Africa, the relation of Egypt to Negro Africa, the history of the Bantu, the black civilizations in the Sudan, the Pan-African Congresses.

The account presented by DuBois is opposed on the whole to what one finds in the standard text-books and in the works of historians. This he admits in the foreword where he states that his work is based upon inferences and interpretations as well as documented facts. Consequently, as DuBois frankly states, he has written a history of the world from the African point of view.

It is impossible in a short review to deal adequately, even if one had the competence, with the various aspects of the problem posed by such a treatment of African history. Therefore, the reviewer will undertake to point out what he regards as the most significant features of the book in the present world crisis.

Value of African Culture

First, this book will help to destroy the popular notion that among the major sub-divisions of mankind the Negro is the only race that has failed to exhibit the capacity for developing a high level of culture. Although Herbert Spencer was primarily responsible for the fallacious notions concerning primitive people, he placed the cultural attainments of the Negro high in the scale of barbaric achievements. Yet even among so-called educated whites in the United States, there is the notion that the Negro never built up political institutions beyond tribal organizations or religious notions above fetichistic practices. DuBois has marshalled the evidence of European scholars to destroy such notions. However, it should be pointed out that in recognizing the validity of his statements in this respect, it is not necessary to accept all that he says concerning the influence of Negro Africa on Egyptian civilization. While the orthodox historians have made Egypt a white civilization, DuBois appears to make Egypt a black civilization.

Secondly, DuBois has made clear the relation of the economic exploitation of Africa—the human as well as the material resources—to the economic development of Europe. This was first shown in the works of Karl Marx dealing with the development of modern capitalism. Orthodox historians of capitalism have been careful to ignore this phase of the rise of capitalism in Europe and America. In addition, DuBois makes clear to the intelligent laymen how the ideas concerning the inferiority of the Negro were used as rationalizations to justify the exploitation of Negro labor.

Finally, although this book is concerned with what Negroes have achieved in civilization and what they may contribute to civilization, it nevertheless tends to identify the cause of Africa with the revolt of the colonial pepoles of the world against the exploitation of Western capitalism. In making this statement, the reviewer is not unaware of the chauvinistic tone that creeps into the book. In fact, it is the feeling of the reviewer that the value of the book would have been greatly enhanced if the author had devoted more space to the role of Africa in the struggle of colonial people in the crisis of modern civilization. This becomes especially important since we are beginning to see in faint outlines at least the growth of the American Empire which has within its heart over thirteen million people of African descent.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
Howard University

How about a Negro Appointee?

Lake Success — Jonathan Daniels, former White House press secretary, has been named as the U. S. representative on the twelve-member United Nations Human Rights Sub-Commission on problems of discrimination and treatment of minorities. We have nothing against Mr. Daniels, but we believe that this would have been an excellent post for an American Negro to fill. Although there are Negroes on the Secretariat staff of the United Nations, NOT ONE has yet been appointed to represent the United States on any of the various U.N. commissions os sub-commissions.

BASNER WARNS S. AFRICA (Continued)

of the African himself from below which is leading them to take this step.

You had a strike of fifty thousand or sixty thousand Africans on the mines a few months ago. You must take that as only a forerunner, the portent of things to come. It is no use. You can drive the people back to work with batons, once, twice or three times, but you cannot keep an industry going on that basis.

The African National Congress is planning an anti-pass campaign against which the Government will be completely helpless. If the African people all take it into their heads to throw away their passes, do you think we have enough jails in South Africa to put all the Africans in jail at the same time? All that is running through the minds of the African people.

It will not be possible for South Africa to continue with her present course and think that the outside world will not get full information about what is happening.

We in South Africa will never be able to solve our problems unless we take the Non-European people into our confidence, unless we ask them for their cooperation, unless we listen to their ideas, unless we find out from them what is pressing most heavily on them and what they require redress from, unless we present to the United Nations a united front of all races in South Africa, so that we can go there as a nation and not as the representative of one-fifth of the population. . . .

Following his speech to the Senate, Senator Basner addressed a Johannesburg meeting of over one thousand representatives of the African people of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. In a two hour speech he reviewed the U.N. decisions affecting South Africa and his own activities in the United States in that connection. He again sounded the call for a national convention of all races in the country and urged establishment of a £60,000 fund for the dissemination of information (different from the government's) about South African conditions to the outside world. The meeting gave him a vote of full confidence.

Analyzing World Imperialism Today and the Fight Against It— The Conference of Communist Parties of the British Empire

LONDON, the ancient metropolis of the British Empire has often been the scene of imperial conferences when behind closed doors the rulers of the countries of the Empire met to decide the fate of millions of their fellow beings, black, brown and white, in the interests of high finance and monopoly capitalism. This year London has undergone an experience which is unique even for a city with such a long history—and it is the richer for it.

For six days from February 26th to March 3rd, delegates from eleven countries of the British Empire, representatives of the masses of its peoples whose voices are never heard at the usual Imperial Conferences, met to discuss their common problems.

All sessions of the conference were open and tickets of admission at ten cents per session were on sale to the general public. Each visitor, on the intimation of his intention to the chairman, was free to take the tribune and from there air his views in the discussion which followed every report. If there were any imperialists present then the case for freedom made out by the delegates must have left them bereft of all argument, for none of them dared raise a dissentient voice.

It was appropriate for the Conference to be held in the Beaver Hall, in the heart of the city of London, cheek by jowl with the Bank of England and within a stone's throw of Unilever House.

Statement of Palme Dutt

The main report to the Conference was delivered by Mr. R. Palme Dutt, chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the British Communist Party. Speaking on "The Crisis of the British Empire," he declared: "Our conference comes together on an equal and fraternal basis, without distinction of nation, race or colour and united by common aims of political and social liberation."

The aims of the Conference, he said, were: to proclaim to the world the needs and demands of the peoples of the Empire; to strengthen the united fight of the working-class and democratic movement in all Empire countries for peace and democracy; to discuss all current problems arising in the present situation, with special reference to the United Nations and the colonial peoples, the colonial policy of the Labour Government, economic cooperation, and the advance of the working-class and peasant movement; to promote closer understanding, exchange of information and cooperation between the working-class movement and peoples of the Empire countries.

"The war produced far-reaching effects in all colonial countries," continued Mr. Dutt. "The democratic, liberation and anti-Fascist aims of the war, the participation of the Socialist Soviet Union and National China, and the example of the underground Resistance and liberation movements in the European countries, invevitably aroused a response in the colonial world.

"This crisis of the colonial system, which extends in varying degree over the whole colonial world, is concentrated in the British Empire, the largest colonial empire."

Basic Principle of Self-Determination

After dealing with the relations between British and American imperialism in which the aims of American expansion, he warned, extended to the absorption of the British Empire as the richest prize, Mr. Dutt stressed that the dominant issue was one of democratic advance and self-determination for the peoples of the Empire. "The recognition of the democratic right of self-determination for all people," he went on, "is the cardinal principle of Communist policy."

Accordingly he demanded immediate independence for those colonial countries where the popular movements are well developed and have reached the stage of national consciousness, specifically India, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Palestine and the Arab countries which are held under indirect control.

In regard to those colonial countries "where the popular movement has not yet reached the stage of demanding independence" the essential first step must be the establishment of full democratic and civil rights so as to facilitate rapid advance of popular organizations, as the basis of advance to full independence. This, of course, applied most appropriately to the colonies of tropical Africa.

Discussion on Demand for Independence

The question of the difference in the formulation of demand for independence of the various colonial countries was taken up by Mr. H. A. Naidoo (South Africa). While he was generally in agreement with Mr. Dutt, Mr. Naidoo pointed to the danger of laying too much emphasis on the methods to be adopted in the advance to the goal of independence in the various colonies. The cry everywhere without exception was for the right of self-determination and full independence, and Communists in accordance with their fundamental principle of freedom for all peoples should give prominence to this demand and should fully support it. To particularise to excess the steps to be taken to make the demand effective would be to fall in line with reformist socialism.

The rate of advance in each particular colony would, of course, be determined by the objective conditions obtaining therein. The Soviet Union, demonstrating socialism, had shown how rapidly formerly backward peoples could advance to highly-developed material and cultural standards without passing through certain intermediate stages of development. The Soviet Union, concluded Mr. Naidoo, had brought new hope to colonial peoples. It showed how various nationalities could live in unity and concord.

In his reply to Mr. Naidoo's statement, Mr. Dutt said that it was precisely with the objective conditions that Communists must concern themselves. While putting forward unequivocally the demand for the independence of the subject peoples, the Communists must not overlook the fact that the lack of freedom of speech, movement, association and organization stifled their voices and thwarted the growth of their liberation movements. In order to achieve a genuine and full independence it was essential to secure the removal of these restrictions as a first step towards the building of mass movements. It was possible to win these concessions right now.

Thus would it be possible for countries such as the Gold Coast and Nigeria, where there was no political development parallel to that existing in India, to form their own Communist Parties.

[*For reasons of space it has been necessary to omit here a review of statements made by Communist representatives of India, Palestine, Ireland, Malaya, Burma, Canada and Australia about the forces of imperialism within their respective countries.*]

Africa and the West Indies

It had been hoped that Mr. Moses Kotane, the African who is general secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa, would be able to appear. However, the conditions under which he was admitted to bail while on trial for sedition with other members of the Executive Committee of the South African Communist Party required that he should not attempt to leave the country for any purpose whatever.

There are no Communist Parties in the British colonies of tropical Africa and the Caribbean. Invitations to the Conference

(*Continued on next page*)

AND WHAT WILL KING GEORGE SEE AND DO IN RHODESIA?

Having traveled the length of the Union of South Africa, the royal cavalcade will this month cross over the northern border into Southern Rhodesia.

It is often alleged that the government in London, though it deplores South Africa's legalized system of racial discrimination and oppression, can do noting about it since the country is a self-governing and autonomous Dominion. But it happens that practically all the Herrenvolk practices of the Dominion are duplicated in Southern Rhodesia, which IS subject to London rule (*see New Africa, May* 1946).

It can hardly happen, but we would nevertheless like to think that King George during his stay in Rhodesia might take note of the following:

- The 60,000 Europeans possess an average of 700 acres per head, while the 1,600,000 Africans are confined to an average of 21 acres.
- African boys are taxed at fourteen years of age, this being a means of forcing them to go to work for Europeans.
- By the terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act, Africans are limited to manual labor, skilled jobs being reserved for white workers.
- Conditions in the reserves set aside for Africans are bad and water is lacking.
- There are many small gold mines worked by Europeans with primitive instruments and Africans could certainly do as well, but they are not allowed to own any mines.
- They have no direct representation in the Legislative Assembly as in the West African colonies belonging to His Royal Highness.

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ANALYZING WORLD IMPERIALISM TODAY *(continued)*

were nonetheless sent to leaders of progressive movements in those colonies. As none of them found it possible to accept, due mainly to the expense of travel, it fell to your correspondent who was specially invited, to deliver a report on "Africa and the West Indies."

He described how in the wartime mobilization of manpower and material resources of the colonies in East and West Africa and in the Caribbean, monopoly capital had been given scope to consolidate its strangle-hold and to extend its sphere of influence. In spite of plans for development in the colonies, no progress worthy of mention had been made. The cooperation of the people most concerned was never sought and, even under a Labour Government, monopoly capital had been given a definite role in the plans of development. Inasmuch as these monopolies were so powerful the struggle for real independence would be hard.

It would be of no benefit for a colony to acquire nominal independence which left the monopolies intact. In such a case the people's own chosen government would be under pressure from outside and there remained the possibility of an alliance between the native capitalists and foreign monopoly interests for the joint exploitation of the people. Building a mass liberation movement would ensure the curbing of the monopolies, the advance to real freedom, and the defence of the independence of the people.

Mr. D. DuPlessis of South Africa, an Afrikaner, denounced the brazenness with which the puppet Government of South Africa carried out attacks against South African workers.

In an emergency resolution the Conference demanded the immediate withdrawal of the charges against the central executive committee of the South African Communist Party.

"We salute it as the only political organization in that country which fearlessly fights for the rights of the working people of all races," said the resolution. A declaration was drawn up which embodied the main demands made by the delegates on behalf of their Parties. It was adopted unanimously.

With their bonds of fraternal solidarity thus strengthened the delegates have returned to their respective lands to continue their struggle for their people's freedom. The crisis of the British Empire has, however, set an edge on the appetite of the ravenous wolves of Wall Street. With unseemly haste they declare themselves the residuary legatees even before the sick one has become a corpse.

Thy are doomed to disappointment; for those who, by the dissolution of the British Empire, will inherit one-quarter of the earth are the peoples who dwell therein and who for so long have been the victims of cruel exploitation and oppression.

DESMOND BUCKLE
(by air mail from London)

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Council on African Affairs

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264

Colonies' Future a Central Issue in French Political Crisis

PROMINENT among the sources of the present political crisis in France is the conflict of views as to how to deal with the independence demands and struggles in various parts of the French colonial empire. First it was Indo-China; today it is Madagascar; and tomorrow, very probably, it will be French North Africa.

The major party of France, the Communists, together with overseas representatives in the French Assembly, have consistently criticized the Minister of Overseas Territories, Marius Moutet, and the coalition of right and center parties for their policy of answering the independence demands of the colonial revolutionists with brutal military suppression.

Whether there will be a continuation of the policy of rule by force in the colonies depends on whether the rightist elements in French politics can stand their ground against the forces of democracy within metropolitan France and the French empire.

The answer to that hinges very definitely on whether France will fall in line for the Truman-doctrine treatment, like Greece. It comes down to the question of American reactionaries intervening in France to help French reactionaries retain their domination over their colonial serfs.

American democracy owes much to France. Let there be no American betrayal of French democracy now!

AFRICANS AND THE FRENCH UNION

M. Léopold Sédar Senghor, Socialist Deputy from Senegal to the French National Assembly, has set forth the views of Africans toward the colonial provisions of the new constitution adopted by France, in a statement sent to the Council on African Affairs. After giving the background and interpretation of the colonial provisions of the first draft constitution of April 19, 1946 (*space does not permit giving that part of his statement here*), *M. Senghor continues*:

Unfortunately the Constitution of April 19 was rejected by the French people for reasons unrelated to the terms of the document. The capitalistic forces overseas (big commercial firms and big planters) made the most of this by organizing a vast colonial campaign. They won even the Popular Republican Movement (M.R.P.) and the Assembly of the Left-Wing Republicans (R.R.R.) . . .

Gov.-General Felix Eboué died just three years ago, May 17, 1944. France needs him now.

The M.R.P. became the champion of colonialism and virtually blackmailed the Socialist and Communist parties. It is common knowledge that it threatened to campaign against the new Constitution if certain loop-holes of racial discrimination were not introduced in the text. This odious pressure would have succeeded had it not been for the vigilance of the overseas deputies. Only their threats of mass resignation held back the M.R.P.

In the light of these facts, one will understand better the constitution of September 28th [which was approved], and the judgments regarding it expressed by the inhabitants of overseas territories and Africans in particular.

Without doubt, in the chapter on the French Union the constitution of September 28 marked a certain advance over that of April 19— an advance toward federation. . . .

(*Continued on next page*)

MADAGASCAR REVOLT CONTINUES

Armed uprisings against the French authorities broke out simultaneously in widely scattered parts of Madagascar on March 29. Despite repeated official assertions that all trouble had been quelled and that there was no general uprising, the fighting still continues. (*See last page.*)

French reenforcements have been sent to the island and uncounted hundreds have been killed and wounded. As in Indo-China and Indonesia, those leading the fight for independence in Madagascar gained valuable experience and arms by their participation in the last war. Guerrilla tactics are being used against the French.

Madagascar is an island nearly one thousand miles long in the Indian Ocean off the lower east coast of Africa, opposite the Portugese colony of Mozambique. Some 3,800,000 non-white peoples, varying from Melanesian to Bantu, live there.

Last year the French celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their accession to power in Madagascar. That event, together with long-harbored grievances aggravated by inept post-war administration of the colony, was the signal for organized action for independence by the major political party of Madagascar, the Malagasy Renaissance (Renovation) Movement.

Candidates of that party, campaigning on a platform of independence, won the overwhelming majority of votes in the 1945 election of representatives to the French Assembly. All of those duly elected representatives, with one exception, have now been arrested, charged with instigating the revolt, despite the parliamentary immunity which is supposedly theirs.

M. Ravoahangy Andrianavalona, one of the elected representatives now under arrest, has declared: "Madagascar was,

(*Continued on next page*)

AFRICANS AND THE FRENCH UNION

(*Continued from page* 1)

There are, however, some shadows, and very black ones in the picture. The Union is not the result of "voluntary consent" and no referendum is foreseen in order to permit the peoples long held in subjection to express their opinion. In fact, the new constitution is a charter granted for, rather than chargeable to, the colonial peoples. . . . It is to be regretted that the autonomy of overseas territories is not more clearly defined.

The key phrase of the April 19 constitution has disappeared: "The proper interests of the overseas territories are administered and managed by local assemblies elected by universal and direct suffrage. . . ." (Article 115). This makes it possible for the M.R.P. to take its revenge in regard to the organic laws establishing the local assemblies. Renewing its blackmail, it gets a law approved which, violating the spirit of the constitution, grants the government power to organize these assemblies by decree.

The promulgation of these decrees has provoked indignant astonishment in black Africa. Bearing evidence of having been drafted by the upholders of the colonial system, these decrees are unquestionably a backward step if one compares them with the laws of April 25, 1946. The functions of the assemblies have been singularly restricted by extending the list of obligatory expenditures.

Restrictions on Autonomy

Thus all means of combatting the curtailment of public services and of adding assigned credits for social undertakings have been taken away.

More serious is the inauguration of the double electoral college, a form of racial discrimination, which enables the Europeans, who represent the vested interests, to thwart a democratic government.

In summary, if the constitution of September 28 represents progress toward federal union, it is at the same time less democratic than that of April 19. Fortunately, the measures of racial discrimination in it have been deleted and they are to be found only in the decrees dealing with the local assemblies. Now these decrees must be replaced by organic laws before July 1, 1947.

In other words, the damage can yet be repaired. And it will be, for we Africans will not agree to remain within the French Union except on that condition. We do not wish to be either dupes or accomplices.

In conclusion, I wish to point out what distinguishes us Africans from other peoples of the French Union. It is that autonomy is for us not an end but a means. In other words, we wish to get rid of the oppression of international imperialism more than we desire to be free of the protection of France. We think that an autonomy which would simply restore among us a feudal caste system would not solve the problem, although that regime was less oppressive than is the system of colonial imperialism.

We are revolutionists, not rebels. We wish to build a better world, better than the colonial world of yesterday, better also than our African world which existed before the European conquest. We will build it, drawing our inspiration from both European socialism and traditional African collectivism. Thus we will adapt modern technique to African humanism. For the problem is to construct a new world in which all men living together in an organized society will be equal and brothers "without distinction of either race or religion."

LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR, *Paris*
(Translated from the French)

Facts About The French Union

The French Union comprises Metropolitan France, the French Overseas departments and territories, and the Associated States (Morocco, Tunisia, the Indo-Chinese Federation).

The High Council of the French Union is composed, under the chairmanship of the President of the French Republic, of a delegation of the French Government and of the representatives that each Associated State is permitted to accredit to the President of the Union. Its function is "assisting the government in the general conduct of the Union."

The Assembly of the French Union is composed half of members representing Metropolitan France (elected two-thirds by the National Assembly and one-third by the Council of the Republic) and half of members representing the colonies and elected by the local assemblies. Its membership is limited to 240 representatives. It has only advisory powers and may make recommendations on overseas territorial affairs to the National Assembly and to the High Council of the French Union.

Representatives of colonial territories are allocated 73 seats out of 619 in the National Assembly, major law-making chamber of the French Parliament. They are allocated 70 seats out of 315 in the other chamber of the Parliament, the Council of the Republic, which has only advisory functions.

The number of representatives elected to the French Parliament from each of the African colonies is as follows:

Territory	*National Assembly*	*Council of the Republic*
Fr. Morocco	0	3
Algeria[1]	15 Moslem	
	15 European	14
Tunisia	0	2
Fr. West Africa	12	19
Fr. Equat. Africa[1]	2 European	8
	4 African	
Fr. Cameroon[1]	1 European	3
	2 African	
F. Togoland	1	2
Fr. Somaliland	1	1
Madagascar[1]	3 Malgache	5
	2 European	

[1]Territory with two electoral lists, according to racial division.

There are thus 58 (including 20 European) representatives to the National Assembly and 57 to the Council of the Republic from France's African territories, which have a combined population of over 40,000,000 non-Europeans and 1,670,000 Europeans. France's other non-African territories, with a combined population of over 28,000,000, have 15 representatives to the National Assembly and 13 to the Council of the Republic.

MADAGASCAR REVOLT CONTINUES

(*Continued from page* 1)

before the occupation by France, a sovereign and independent state. The great nations of the world at that time such as England, United States of America, Germany, Italy and France itself had recognized the Malagasy government and had signed treaties of commerce and friendship with it which have not even at this time been revoked."

Madagascar's nationalist leaders maintain that the French law of annexation, August 6, 1896, was a unilateral act imposed by force in violation of earlier treaties. They demand the restoration of Madagascar's independence, citing Ethiopia and the liberated countries of Europe as precedent.

"Because we demand our freedom, it does not necessarily follow that we are anti-French," says M. Ravaohangy Andrianavalona. "We will cooperate with other nations in a spirit of fraternity and justice."

A few of the grievances pointed out by him are as follows:

- Sixty percent of the Madagascar budget is used up in payment of imported French officials "nine-tenths of whom, except for some technicians, are absolutely useless."
- In 1944 there was a frightful excess of 25,000 deaths over births as a result of the establishment of an official rice distribution agency which proved "as useless as it was costly."
- The innumerable repressive measures including imprisonments, exiles, fines, requisitions imposed upon the native inhabitants.
- After fifty years of colonization, there are yet no heavy industries in metal, textile, chemicals, etc.
- There is no provision for higher education, either scientific, political or literary. Instruction is very inadequate, "designed to make the Malagasy people divided, ignorant, and easy to keep in bondage."

South Africa—"different from any other place in the world"

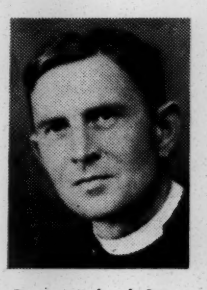
The above phrase ends a recent *New York Times* article setting forth the advantages of South Africa as a vacation resort for American tourists. South Africa is indeed different from any other place in the world. And not merely in its scenic and climatic features. Nowhere else does Jim Crow rule so openly, absolutely and despotically. Nowhere else is there the same shocking contrast between the wealth and privileges of the whites and the degradation and misery of the non-whites.

The *Times* article also has this to say: "Here in the native kraals (villages) nearly 10 million black Africans live in much the same manner as when Henry M. Stanley explored the country."

If that statement were true, it would be an indictment of the white rulers of South Africa who call themselves the guardians of the Africans. The fact is, however, that they do not live as they did before. Their condition is WORSE. In Stanley's time they had land enough on which to live and their family and social life were stable and well-regulated.

For a picture of how thousands upon thousands of Africans live today in South Africa—a *picture that one will not find in the tourist or Royal visit propaganda*—one may examine the photograph below of a squatter settlement near Johannesburg inhabitated by 2,000 families.

A vivid description of the Jim Crow shanty-town slums found on the outskirts of Johannesburg and other South African cities was given by the Reverend Michael Scott when he appeared in court a few weeks ago to answer charges of violating the law prohibiting white persons from entering or residing in "native areas" without a special permit from the authorities. The clergyman had gone to give what practical help he could to the people living there. He told the court:



Rev. Michael Scott

". . . Here all around this great city of gold these thousands of Africans have been gathering from all parts of the Union impelled many of them by land shortage, hunger and unemployment, many of them attracted by recruiting agencies, by false promises of land or gold.

"Here they have been obliged to organize their own existence independently of the State or local services. A vast 'urban area' has grown up with hundreds of little streets and houses made of sackcloth and old tin cans. Without water or lighting, without any police or drains or latrines, with enormous mounds of accumulating rubbish comprising the entrails of oxen, human excreta and decaying garbage, these African people have yet been trying to provide some sort of social organization for themselves, some form of discipline and order.

". . . Family life amounts to nothing more than eating and sleeping in inadequate shelter from the weather, men, women and children all sleeping on the floor of the hut in many cases. When the rains come, the roofs leak and streams run down the hillside often through the middle of the huts, and children can be seen lying on mattresses entirely surrounded by running water.

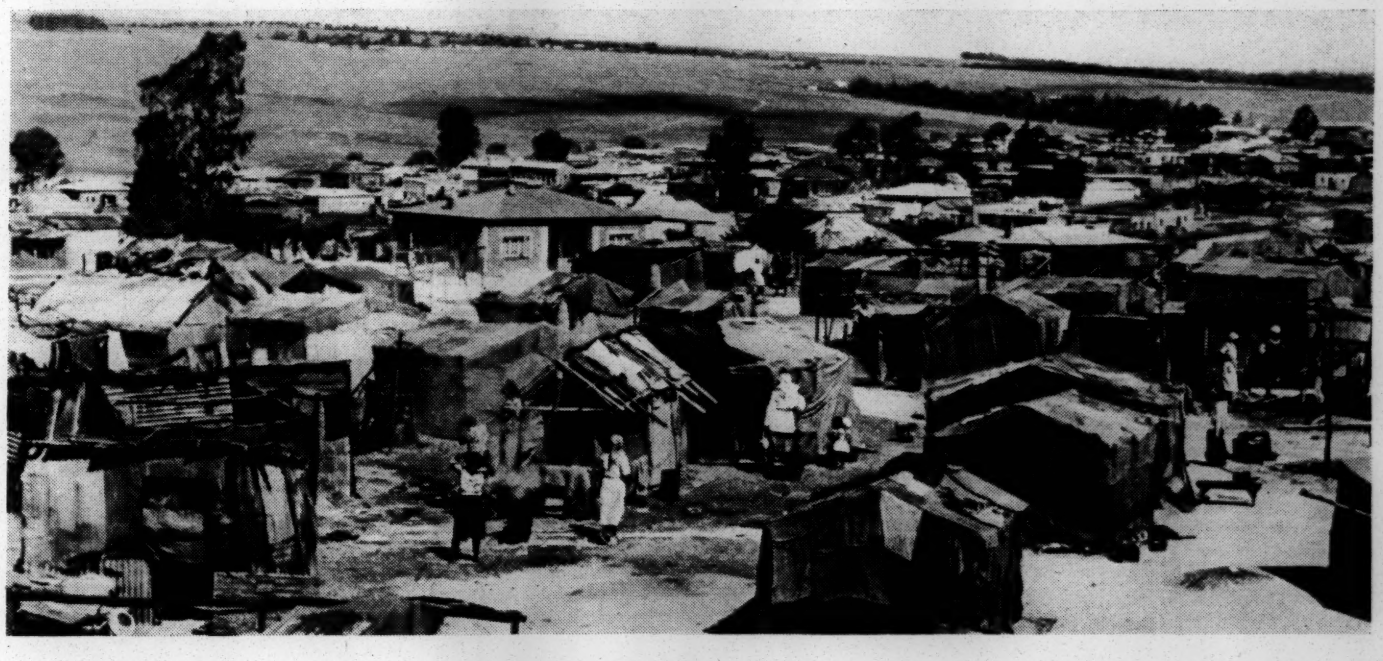
"There is no education for the children, the Orlando schools being already overcrowded. The narrow streets and zig zag lanes and rubbish heaps are the schools and playgrounds of these children.

". . . Where else in any other civilized country in the world would seventy thousand people on the outskirts of a great industrial city be expected to organize their own entire existence?

"Here we have a situation in which the poorest and most uneducated and untrained section of the people have neither land nor homes in which to bear their young. They are denied the most elementary needs of the most primitive existence. They have no security, no protection against the vices and crimes which our civilization teaches them. Their own tribal laws and customs have broken down in the general trek to the towns for white man's work and wages.

". . . The conditions of these thousands of Africans shows that we have devoted little or no conscious thought or planning to the vital problem which is now the whole world's problem of incorporating the African and non-white groups into our social-economic system as a permanent, stable, and essential element in that system.

"They have been regarded as our raw materials have been regarded as an endless field for exploitation, the residue to be discarded as useless refuse."



Robeson Calls for "Fight to the Death" Against Fascism At Mass Rally on Council's Tenth Anniversary

On April 25th, one week after the banning of Paul Robeson's appearance in Peoria, Illinois, by reactionaries had aroused nationwide protest, an audience of several thousand assembled at a rally in New York, called by the Council on African Affairs, gave Mr. Robeson a tremendous ovation when he declared that the fight against imperialism and fascism right here in America was the top concern of all freedom-loving people today.

As Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, Mr. Robeson was the principal speaker at the meeting commemorating a decade of service by the Council in the cause of African freedom.

Other speakers included the Rev. Asapansa Johnson, born in Sierra Leone, West Africa; William S. Gailmor, WHN news commentator; the Rev. W. Ellis Davies; and Dr. Max Yergan, executive director of the Council on African Affairs.

The rally also featured a special dramatization by John Latouche, author of "Ballad for Americans" and "Beggars Holiday." It was produced under the direction of David Heilweil of the American Theatre Wing. The dramatization depicted the struggle of people in countries all over the world to achieve freedom from imperialist domination, emphasizing their common stake in the development of a strong United Nations which would work to achieve world democracy.

Many Messages of Support

Greetings to its Chairman, Paul Robeson, and messages of support to the Council on the occasion of its tenth anniversary were received from leaders in many fields of American life and also from African, Indian and other leaders abroad. Excerpts from some of the messages follow:

"Congratulations on ten years of solid work. Urge you carry on till Africa is freed from bondage. A strong United Nations organization is our best hope. May our Paul (Robeson) be spared for many more years. Africa needs him more than ever today."—DR R. T. BOKWE, African physician, Member of Council in Union of South Africa.

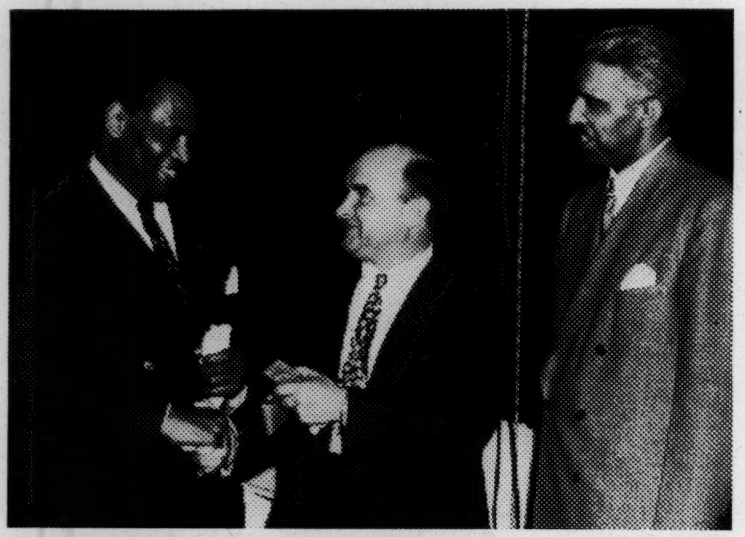
"Your rally is greatly heartening to millions in Africa whose only hope for freedom is a strong United Nations. Heavy responsibility now on all, especially progressive Americans, to save humanity from war and the colonial peoples from further exploitation. We in South Africa, on Paul Robeson's birthday, wish him long life to continue his heavy struggle for world peace and freedom. His self-sacrificing spirit acts as an inspiration to unknown millions of all races."—SENATOR H. M. BASNER, white leader of progressive minority in South African Senate, who opposed annexation of South West Africa.

"I do not think that the United Nations can continue to function successfully or unitedly, unless there is full freedom everywhere and an end of colonial domination, both political and economic. The policy we pursue in India has this for its objective. The time has come when the United Nations must clearly accept this objective and work to realize it."—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, leader of India's interim government.

"I firmly believe that the political and economical emancipation of the now subdued and exploited people in the world is one of the most urgent needs in our time. Without a genuine solution no reliable and lasting peace will be possible in the long run."—PROFESSOR ALBERT EINSTEIN.

"My greetings and good wishes to the Council on African Affairs on the occasion of their 10th anniversary. I hope you will meet with continued success.'—MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.

"The United Nations Organization today appears to India as the foundation of the peace and prosperity of the human race, which also presupposes the fullest individual and national freedom of all the peoples of the world. It can be confidently asserted that India with her teeming millions will always strive to achieve this end by helping those who have yet to achieve their political, social and economic freedom."—H. E. ASAF ALI, Indian Ambassador to U. S.



(At top) **At the rally on April 25th Paul Robeson was presented a watch as a birthday gift from the Council on African Affairs and the American people in general. Mike Quill, President of the Transport Workers Union, hands the watch to Robeson as W. A. Hunton of the Council looks on.** (At bottom left) **Some of the characters who portrayed the part of Africans in the dramatization presented at the meeting.** (At right, top to bottom) **Speakers who participated in the program with Robeson: Max Yergan, Executive Director of the Council; William Gailmor, radio commentator; and Rev. Asapansa Johnson, from West Africa, President of the N.Y. Interdenominational Ministers Alliance.**

"Your organization has made a remarkable contribution to developing understanding on the part of the American people of the imperative need to assure the African and colonial peoples of their complete enjoyment of the four freedoms. Until the common people everywhere can freely exercise the right of self-determination and be permitted full democratic freedom, no people anywhere can feel safe or secure."—LEE PRESSMAN, CIO counsel.

"May Council and you (Paul Robeson) live long to play your part to free colonial peoples through a strong United Nations."—DR. A. B. XUMA, President, African National Congress, South Africa.

Africa and British Imperial Strategy

It is a matter of topical comment that the continent of Africa is assuming a role of great importance in the scheme of British imperial strategy. Hardly a week passes without a report of some new development in that connection. It is therefore of more than ordinary interest that the London newspaper, the *Evening Standard* (April 16th), takes up the subject, rather significantly, in its gossip column.

The *Evening Standard* reveals that military circles in Britain regard Nairobi, in Kenya, as the next headquarters of the Middle East Command. It is expected that the change will be made within two years when the fate of the former Italian colonies and the Palestine problem will have been settled. An alternative site to Nairobi is Cyrenaica, which is greatly favoured. "But its choice would depend on Cyrenaica being granted independence . . . and Britain making a satisfactory treaty with the future government in that country," naively concludes the writer.

The transference of the headquarters of the Middle East Command from Cairo has, of course, been made necessary by the evacuation of British troops from the Egyptian capital. But by selecting Cyrenaica as an alternative base even while its future status remains as yet undecided, the British imperialists draw attention to their expansionist designs on a country the promotion of whose independence Mr. Bevin has so often declared to be a "sacred trust."

Why Africa Is Strategically Important

To say the least, it is a matter for surprise that the astute British should reveal their minds in such crude terms. But these are anxious times for British imperialism and that perhaps explains why some of its methods are lacking somewhat in their usual finesse. The war against fascism exposed the industrial, military and strategical weaknesses of the British Empire, above all the vulnerability of the British Isles, where are concentrated the bulk of the empire's defensive resources.

Now, faced with the development of powerful centrifugal tendencies within the empire, elbowed out of China by aggressive American imperialism, hustled on by the national liberation movements in India and South-east Asia, and jostled by Arab and Jewish nationalisms and American oil diplomacy in the Middle East, Britain seeks a solution to her problems in Africa. (See *New Africa,* Nov., 1946: "Colonial Military Bases")

The lines along which Africa is to serve the declining empire seem to have been laid down by Brigadier G. S. Brunskill in an article entitled "British Africa: Key to Commonwealth Security" which appeared in the magazine *Crown Colonist* at the end of last year.

The Brigadier considers the British Isles of little use as a Commonwealth base in a war against a European Power, as modern aircraft, bombs and rockets demand the dispersion of war industries to a much greater depth than is possible there. "In Africa," he opines, "we have that depth adjoining Europe and Asia, and so it behooves us to develop belts of industry throughout that five thousand miles in the interests of strategy as well as economic prosperity."

For Defense or Offense?

These proposals make it clear that although forced to concentrate on Africa for the preservation of their empire, the British imperialists are nevertheless also concerned with plans which bear little relation to defense. It is not very difficult to guess against which Power such plans are in fact directed.

There is, moreover, every evidence that the plans are not exclusively British in origin or design. It is generally believed that Africa was discussed last year when Field-Marshal Montgomery visited Washington. There can be little doubt that the developments now taking place are a result of that visit.

South Africa appears to have been chosen as the main industrial base to be developed to serve as a source of supply for the advance military bases already constructed or in process of construction in the northern part of the continent. To that end there has been a large and continued flow of capital from Britain to the Union in recent months. In March it was reported by Mr. Mushet, Minister of Public Workers of South Africa, that during the previous few months £100 million (400 million dollars) of British capital had reached South Africa for financing "great industrial developments."

The increasing importance of South Africa to the needs of British monopoly capital and therefore of British imperialism accounts for the whole-hearted support given by Britain to the reactionary and tyrannical Smuts government at the UN meeting last fall.

Stakes in Northeast Africa

It must be noted that among the advance military bases which the South African industrial base is intended to serve are those Britain maintains in Eritrea and ex-Italian Somaliland, whose fate, like Cyrenaica's, has still to be decided by the Big Four Powers.

Britain is not only laying claim to these territories, but has given every indication of a desire to add to them the Ogaden Province and the so-called Reserve Area adjoining Somaliland, which together comprise one-third of the territory of Ethiopia.

The Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1944, which replaced the agreement signed two years earlier on Ethiopia's liberation, set December 19th, 1946 as the time limit for British occupation. Yet British troops remain in occupation to this day.

British imperialism may be much weakened and in retreat, but there is no intention to make Africa a kind of redoubt from which a disintegrating empire will be defended to the last ditch. On the contrary, it does appear that in the sphere of Anglo-American geopolitics the role of the British is to consolidate and even extend their strategic positions in Africa, thereby preparing the way for Anglo-American domination of the world. These are schemes which encourage the war incendiaries and contribute to the general feeling of uncertainty and insecurity.

DESMOND BUCKLE, *London*

WHAT THE WAR STRATEGISTS FORGET

Last year an African novelist, Peter Abrahams, wrote an article on British foreign policy in which he said:

"War with Russia would mean that the vast majority of His Majesty's black subjects, and they constitute the numerical strength of the British Commonwealth and Empire, would be either passive or active saboteurs.

"And why would it be so?

"It would be so because for the dark-skinned peoples, particularly the peoples of Africa, Russia represents, in the words of Mr. Priestley, their 'secret dream.'

"In strange places in and outside Africa and from the ordinary, common people of South, East, Central and West Africa, I have been told that there is no colour-bar in the Soviet Union. Some black men, unable to read or write, have quoted the Stalin Constitution to me to show that it is a crime to practice any form of racial exclusivism. Seamen coming back from war time convoys to Russia were full of the absence of colour prejudice there.

"The race-ridden and land-hungry black folk of Africa are not interested in the name of the system, whether it is Socialism or a dictatorship. They are satisfied that there is no colour-bar in Russia; that there is land for those who live and work on the land; and the literate and more ambitious are satisfied that they would be judged according to ability only.

"Because the Russians come nearest to symbolising the secret dreams of millions of black folk, colonials have a passionate and personal interest in the Russian State and people. It has nothing or very little to do with party politics or the red bogey. It is something simple and human. To them it represents the complete opposite of the Governments under which they live."

Protest Use of Senegalese Troops Against Madagascar Nationalists

The Council on African Affairs has repeatedly protested against the vicious imperialist trick of using colonial troops from one area to suppress colonial revolt in another area. Indian troops were used against the Indonesians, Africans have been used to police the Middle East, and Sudanese soldiers under British command patrol the former Italian colonies.

In the last month we have seen further evidences of this same evil, this time under French auspices. On April 7 Senegalese soldiers, presumably being used to preserve order in tense Morocco, clashed with Arabs in Casablanca, resulting in the killing and wounding of scores of Moroccans and Senegalese.

Again, in Madagascar, we have reports of Senegalese troops being used to assist French soldiers in putting down the nationalist revolt of the people there. Strong protests against this action have been voiced in the Paris National Assembly.

The British, French and other imperialist overlords have contrived an artful system of recruiting, training and indoctrinating a certain segment of people in each one of their colonial possessions to be used as policemen of the empire. But it is doubtful whether this system can work effectively much longer. More and more it is becoming necessary for the colonial rulers to rely on non-colonial military aid.

President Vincente Auriol has at this critical time chosen to make a tour of France's African empire, somewhat after the manner of the British king's recent tour of South Africa and Rhodesia On his arrival at St. Louis, Senegal, he was met by Senegalese carrying banners reading: "We Demand Full Equality," "Look at our Misery After 300 Years of French Rule!"

Because of lack of space in this issue, the report on the work of the Trusteeship Council at its first session will be held over to the next number of New Africa. A pamphlet on the subject of the United Nations Trusteeship will be issued by the Council during the summer.

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News Items About Africa Worth Noting

LAGOS, NIGERIA — When the Nigerian Legislative Council held its first meeting under the new constitution on March 20th, there were three vacant seats in the chamber. The elected members for Lagos, one of whom is the well-known West African leader, Nnamdi Azikiwe, had decided to boycott the Council as a protest against the undemocratic character of the new constitution. Without any reference to the absentee members, th Governor, Sir Arthur Richards, opened the Council's meeting with a lengthy speech in which he noted that the colony was not yet ready for full self-government despite the agitation of some for it.

* * *

LONDON — British authorities, it has been disclosed, have decided to establish an internment camp in Kenya, East Africa, fully staffed with troops, where so-called Jewish terrorists from Palestine will be sent for confinement. Two thousands now held in Palestine jails are slated for such internment in Kenya. In February 200 Jewish prisoners held in Eritrea were moved to an internment camp at Gilgil, Kenya, where African soldiers were shot for disobeying orders in January. Some time ago Herbert Hoover advocated settling Jewish refugees from Europe in Kenya. The minds of men like Hoover and of British colonial officals function similarly.

* * *

DAKAR, FRENCH WEST AFRICA — Fifty-seven delegates representing more than a million members of eighteen national and territorial trade union bodies met here last month at the Pan-African Trade Union Conference, sponsored by the World Federation of Trade Unions. All areas of Africa were reported represented, with the exception of Egypt and the Portugese colonies, where unions are practically outlawed. A report of the conference proceedings will be given in a later issue.

KISUMU, KENYA — In this city at the northeastern terminus of Lake Victoria, Kenya's second general strike of African workers this year started on April 14th. As in the case of the Mombasa strike, Africans in all lines of work acted together. The strikers included municipal workers, railway and lake steamer employees, and domestic servants.

* * *

NAIROBI, KENYA — Benaiah Apolo Ohanga, 34 year old teacher and son of a village carpenter, was appointed last month by the governor of Kenya as the second African member of the colony's Legislative Council.

* * *

SOUTH AFRICA—Residents of Langa, an African settlement near Cape Town, assembled on Sunday, March 17, to register protest against the establishment of a municipal beer hall in their "location." The meeting was quiet and orderly, but suddenly violence broke out, police charged into the crowd and finally resorted to rifle fire. One African lay dead and several had sustained serious injuries when calm was restored, and twenty Africans leaders were hailed into court and charged with incitement under the Riotous Assemblies Act, one of the numerous Color Bar laws.

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for May, 1947

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

Volume 6, No. 6 June, 1947

264

SOUTH AFRICA GETS $1,400,000 LEND-LEASE SURPLUS FROM U. S.

The intricate financial relations between the U. S. of A. and U. of S. A. on the government level have been brought into prominence by recent lend-lease settlements which indicate clearly the extent to which this government is propping up South Africa's shaky economy.

Back in 1944 Smuts told his parliament that the British would foot the bill for lend-lease supplies sent South Africa. "We have no direcet obligation," he said. "The British government has taken everything on its own shoulders."

It therefore came as quite a shock to South Africa when the U. S. last August handed the government there a lend lease bill amounting to about $900,000,000. The *Cape Times* (Cape Town), reflected the popular attitude in a cartoon representing Uncle Sam in the guise of a Shylock saying, "What's wrong, I'm entitled to my pound of flesh, ain't I?"

South Africa offered to settle for $44.-000,000, a token payment. Agreement was finally reached this year on a payment of $100,000,000, after Smuts himself had been over here to intercede. Considerable fanfare attended the payment of the first half of this amount in March. (Remember how little Findland paid its World War I debt?)

No such publicity was given one important part of the settlement whereby $1,400,000 worth of American lend-lease equipment in the Union (not counting other military stores there previously bought) was sold to the Union government *on the condition that payment not be made in U. S. dollars but in South African pounds which would be spent by the U. S. government in South Africa.*

And so Uncle Sam isn't such a Shylock after all. This little deal merits some attention by those investigating the disposal of surplus war supplies.

Meantime shipments of gold bullion from South Africa, product of the blood and sweat of black labor, continue to arrive in this country. Early last month a single cargo of $10,000,000 in gold arrived from Cape Town consigned to the Federal Reserve Bank in Manhattan.

Basuto People Plan Delegation To Next U. N. Assembly Meeting

Another fresh cause of worry to both the British and South African governments is looming up at the next meeting of the U. N. General Assembly in September. A delegation representing the 560,000 people of Basutoland will attend that meeting to bring to the attention of the delegates the "violation of agreement of protection and rights of the Basuto people by England."

This decision was unanimously agreed upon by people's and chief's representatives from all parts of Basutoland at a conference held in April at Mapoteng, called by the Basuto nationalist movement, Lekhotla le Bafo.

Basutoland is one of the three colonies under British rule contiguous to the Union of South Africa and long coveted by the government of the latter country. (*New Africa,* Sept. 1946, told how Chief Tshekedi Khama was prevented by the British government from bringing a petition to the U. N. from the people of Bechuanaland, another of the three colonies.)

Josiel Lefele, one of the most respected leaders of Lekhotla le Bafo and a member of the Basutoland General Council, made a three and a half hour address in which he traced the history of the colony and the violation of the treaty of alliance signed by King Moshesh and Queen Victoria which guaranteed internal self-government of the Basuto people.

He warned that the British government was paving the way for the annexation of their country by the Union of South Africa.

Lekhotla le Bafo has previously appealed to the General Secretary of the U. N. against the ban placed on its activities by the British government. In 1942 Josiel Lefela and two other leaders of the organization were interned by the government for making the demand that Basuto soldiers be given full military training and arms in order to be able to defend their country and fight against fascism. This was regarded as seditious—in the three protectorates as well as South Africa recruits were used only in non-combat services.

Welcome to Azikiwe

The Council on African Affairs joins in welcoming West Africa's great leader, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who arrived in the United States May 21 for a short visit.

Dr. Azikiwe is the owner and publisher of five newspapers in Nigeria, including the militant WEST AFRICAN PILOT. Because of the tremendous influence of these papers in the fight for democratic rights of Africans, Azikiwe is a marked man among British officialdom. Three of his papers were temporarily banned by the Governor because of the strong support given the 1945 general strike in Nigeria. The Council made formal protest against this and other instances of official persecution against Azikiwe.

Dr. Azikiwe

On the death of Herbert Macaulay last May, Azikiwe inherited the leadership of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, a powerful federation of organizations throughout the country. Just this year he won the largest vote among the three Lagos members elected to Nigeria's Legislative Council.

Azikiwe received his higher education in this country at Storer College, West Virginia; Lincoln University and Pennsylvania and Columbia Universities. Last year he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Lincoln. This year he received an honorary doctorat of literature from Storer College and made the commencement address at that institution on June 2nd.

Next month Azikiwe will go to England to head a delegation of the National Council of Nigeria which will place the demands of Nigerians before the British public and government. Immediate demands include changes in the constitution to grant more representative government and revision of ordinances relating to land rights, minerals, and the status of chiefs.

Azikiwe believes Nigeria should have the right of self-determination after 15 years, during which time certain preparatory stages of development toward full self-government should be completed.

Indian-South African Relations "Have Deteriorated Further", Nehru Tells Smuts

THE Indian government on June 3 made public the contents of letters from Pandit Nehru to Field Marshal Smuts expressing the Indian government's desire for steps to be taken in accordance with the U. N. General Assembly resolution on the treatment of Indians in South Africa, and indicating the unreadiness of the Government to agree to the return to South Africa of the High Commissioner for India, as requested by Smuts, until Indian-South African relations improve.

Copies of the letters, dated April 24 and May 6, were sent simultaneously to Trygve Lie, U. N. Secretary General.

Smuts replied to the first letter, stating that negotiations on the question at issue could best be carried out if the High Commissioner for India should return to South Africa and confer with Union authorities. Replying on May 6, Nehru said that his government did not regard the absence of the High Commissioner from the Union as in any way hindering solution of the question.

He pointed out that the High Commissioner had been recalled "as a consequence of the deterioration in relations between our two countries of which the General Assembly of the United Nations has taken note. The India Government have to state with regret that these relations have not only not improved since but have deteriorated further."

Up to June 3 Smuts had not replied to Nehru's letter of May 6.

U. N. Vetoes U. S. Discrimination

Hearty congratulations to Byron Price, U. N. Assistant Secretary General in charge of Administrative Affairs, for refusing to sanction disrimination by the Metropolitan and New York Life Insurance Companies in housing accomodations for U. N. employees. Mr. Price cancelled rental agreements between the United Nations and the corporations involving 912 apartments when the companies insisted upon the right of excluding employees it regarded as "unsuitable" as tenants.

New York citizens have waged a long fight against the discriminatory policy of the giant insurance companies.

It is to be hoped, as Dr. Yergan stated in his letter of congratulation to Mr. Price, that the action of the U. N. Secretariat in giving concrete implementation to the U. N. principle of racial equality, will set a precedent for democratic hospitality instead of Jim Crow insults to dark-skinned U. N. delegates as well as staff members coming to America.

1,698 SENTENCED TO JAIL IN INDIAN RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN

Up to May, according to *The Passive Resister,* published by the Indian Natal Congress, 1,698 people had been sentenced and jailed since the passive resistance campaign began last June in protest against the South African government's discriminatory housing and land legislation aimed at the Indian minority.

The figure of 1698 includes 275 women. The prisoners, among whom have been Africans, have served a total of 181 years, 10 months, 3 wekes in jail, it was estimated.

Racial antagonism has been aggravated by the campaign organized in the Transvaal Province by white farmers to boycott Indian traders. The boycott movement has developed into a widespread scheme to drive Indians entirely out of business throught the whole of South Africa.

A few of the wealthier Indians have attempted to find a basis of compromise which would save the South African government from further embarrassment. These compromisers, who met recently with General Smuts, are called Indian "moderates" in the South African European press and in press dispatches to papers like the *New York Times.* But the leaders of the passive resistance movement call them Quislings, "puppets of General Smuts."

SOUTH AFRICA'S GREATEST DEMONSTRATION OF AFRICAN-INDIAN COOPERATION: Part of the throng at the Unity Rally in Johannesburg May 4, organized jointly by the African National Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress, and Transvaal Branch of the African People's Organization. Dr. Xuma, Senator Basner and other speakers denounced Smuts' failure to carry out the United Nations decisions on South West Africa and Indian discrimination. Greetings from Paul Robeson, Chairman, Council on Africa Affairs, were read and warmly applauded.

Colonial Powers Emphasized Own Prerogatives At First Session of U. N. Trusteeship Council

A GOOD clew to the net result of the first session of the U. N. Trusteeship Council March 26 to April 28, is the statement of the British delegate, Mr. Ivor Thomas, when interviewed by *Commonweal*. He was somewhat more optimistic about the future of the trusteeship system than he had been at the close of the General Assembly session last December. The members of the Trusteeship Council, he said, "worked as a team," whereas during the General Assembly meeting, the administering powers had been the victims of what he called ignorant and abusive attack.

Contrary to the observation of Mr. Thomas, there was considerable opposition from the three non-colonial members of the T. C. (China, Mexico and Iraq) to the position taken by the administering powers on many of the points under discussion. But the six colonial powers on the T.C. (Britain, France, U.S.A., Belgium, Australia and New Zealand) ordered things pretty much as they pleased. The absence of the Soviet Union from the session made it difficult for the non-colonial minority to present a very effective opposition. Sharp criticism of some of the decisions made is expected when the report of the T. C. comes before the General Assembly.

As an indication of the general tenor of the session, one may cite the following matters of record:

• The colonial powers were firmly opposed to letting the Secretariat of U. N. use the slghtest initiative in dealing with trusteeship matters. For example, the T. C. voted 5-4 that in circulating any petition the Secretary-General should give no background information or comments from any source unless the comments of the administering authority concerned were available at that time.

• There was opposition to acknowledging that the General Assembly or the Security Council might call special sessions of the T. C. The New Zealand representative, for instance, declared that the T. C. "should maintain a position of independence" and be "in no way subordinate to the Security Council." The Charter's provisions on this matter, however, could not be ignored. But a Chinese proposal that special sessions should also be called "upon the petition of the inhabitants of the trust territories with the approval of the majority of members of the T. C." was not adopted in the rules of procedure.

• The same jealous attitude was evident in the decisions on relations of the T.C. to other U. N. agencies. A proposal that representatives of such agencies be permitted to propose resoluions or amendments to the T. C. but not vote on them, was rejected. The Belgian representative wanted the Economic and Social Council in matters relating to trust territories to deal directly with the administering authorities rather than with the T. C., emphasizing that the T. C. was "only an organ for supervision and not for direct administration."

• The attempt was made to enable administering powers to screen petitions from inhabitants of the trust territories addressed to the U. N. It was decided to allow three months between the time of receipt of a petition and the review of it before the T. C. The state concerned could in the meantime report that the grievance had been satisfactorily resolved.

• The colonial powers made a strong fight to virtually nullify the power of oral petition, one suggestion being that all such petitions be honored only if they had previously been submitted in writing. The drafting committee adopted the view that oral petitions should be regarded as "exceptional" and should be preceded by notice of their subject matter by the petitioners.

• On the matter of the questionnaires to be answered by states holding trust territories, the states concerned objected to the request for "comprehensive and detailed" information. The Belgian representative, supported by the British, made an effort to get adoption of the inadequate questionnaire drafted twenty years ago and used by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

• The T. C., by majority vote, decided that the administering powers, in answering questionnaries, should not be called upon to disclose information of international concern about armed forces and military bases in the trust territories. (The right to establish such bases without consent of the Security Council was one of the most hotly debated points at the last Assembly meeting.)

At its first session the Trusteeship Council:

• Adopted 107 rules of procedure, including provision for two regular sessions annually in June and November.

• Approved provisionally the questionnaire to be sent to states administering trust territories, the final decision to be made at the November session after consultation with specialized U. N. agencies.

• Established an investigating mission consisting of Belgium, Iraq and the U. S. to go to Western Samoa this summer in response to the petitions of the inhabitants of that New Zealand-governed territory for self-government.

• Reviewed petitions from Germans and Italians in British-administered Tanganyika asking the prevention of repatriation of the petitioners to their countries of origin; the T. C. decided not to intervene, leaving the matter in the hands of the British.

• Postponed for consideration until the November session petitions from the General Secretary of the All-Ewe Conference relating to British and French Togoland, protesting the division of the Ewe people between the two administrations and demanding unification followng a plebiscite.

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W. A. HUNTON, *Editor*

News Notes

NAIROBI, KENYA—The U. N. committee on freedom of the press will please note: In Nairobi last month the publisher and editor of the only Indian-owned and African-edited weekly newspaper, *Habari*, were convicted of sedition and sentenced to jail because of publication of a letter written by an African soldier complaining against the European treatment of Africans. Also last month, the publisher and editor of the *Umma* newspaper in Khartoum were fined for allegedly attempting to "incite feelings of dissatisfaction" against the government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

•

SOUTHERN RHODESIA—A resolution that the African branch of the Southern Rhodesia Labor Party should be disbanded was defeated at the annual congress of the party in April. The Trades and Labor Council of Rhodesia also went on record in support of African trade unions and proposed that the Industrial Conciliation Act which excludes Africans (as in South Africa) should be amended to give recogcognition to them.

•

WASHINGTON—The question of the disposition of the Italian colonies is again in the news. The U.S. State Dept. has emphasized that the Big Four conference to be held soon on this problem should be regarded simply as a preliminary meeting for the purpose of arranging for a commission of investigation to be sent to the Italian colonies to ascertain the views of the local population and secure other pertinent information. Meanwhile the former Italian colonies remain under British military rule.

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ETHIOPIA—Two Sudanese doctors, graduates of the Kitchener Medical College at Khartoum, have arrived in Addis Ababa to serve with the Ethiopian Ministry of Public Health.

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NIGERIA — The Secretary General of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, E. E. Esua, announced that a deadline of May 14th had been set for a teachers' strike in the event the government had not by that time arrived at a satisfactory decision with respect to improvement of salaries and other grievances of teachers.

•

PARIS—French, British and Belgian colonial officials and experts held a 3-day conference here last month and agreed to cooperate more closely in certain common matters of administration of their African colonies. Problems of health, food, labor conditions and soil conservation will henceforth be considered jointly by representatives of the three nations at periodic conferences to be held in Africa.

•

CAPETOWN, SOUTH AFRICA — Considerable excitement was stirred up in the House of Assembly not long ago when, for the first time, General Smuts referred to the African people as "Africans." "Why don't you call them 'natives'? That's their name," called out one member.

"Have you fallen for Communist propaganda?" shouted another.

"I cannot see anything wrong in calling a people by the name they prefer," General Smuts replied. Then he added, smiling: "I am an African as well."

The Natives' Representatives (white) in the House, who always refer to "Africans," still meet with Nationalist objections almost every time they use the word.

Government Cracks Down On South African Labor Unity

Coincident with noteworthy action by the South African Trades and Labor Council at its recent annual conference cementing ties between white and non-white workers (of which more below), General Smuts began talking about the desirability of separating African and Colored Workers from the general labor movement in their own unions.

Following this, an Industrial Conciliation (Natives) Bill was drafted for consideration in the Union parliament. Officials speak of the bill as answering the long heard demand for official recognition of African trade unions, BUT—

- *It would bar strikes by those unions. There would be compulsory arbitration of all disputes by officially appointed boards. Thus the unions would be no better off than they are now.*
- *It would not permit union organization of the hundreds of thousands of workers in the mining industry and in farming and domestic service. Thus only a minority of the employed Africans would have "recognized" unions.*

African leaders naturally oppose this phony recognition of their trade unions. The African National Congress has declared that the proposed bill "is unacceptable because it maintains the principle of racial discrimination and domination."

Labor Conference Action

Now, let's look at the other side of the picture—which explains the reason for the government's bill. At the annual conference of the South African Trades and Labor Council held in April, a demand for the exclusion of non-European workers was defeated. Further, the conference by majority vote condemned the police brutality against the African mine workers during their strike of last August and repudiated the Council's Executive Committee for justifying that police brutality in a cabled message to the W.F.T.U.

It should be noted that the S.A.T.L.C. is a federation of predominantly white workers. Of the 117 affiliated trade unions, representing 168,000 members, 68 have some non-white members. Of the 170 delegates attending the conference, only 30 were non-white.

Writing on the African representation in S.A.T.L.C. and the conference action on this question, H. A. Naidoo, an Indian delegate to the Conference, who visited the United States last fall during the meeting of the U. N., says:

"A large number of African trade unions are still excluded from affiliation by reason of their inability to meet their financial obligations . . . although the Council has no color bar, many non-European members are prevented from exercising their influence in it.

"Despite these difficulties, there is an increasing sign that non-European workers are bound to play their full part in the S.A.T.L.C.

"With the increasing participation of Non-European workers in the S.A.T.L.C. there has been a growing demand for their exclusion. In recent years this demand has come mainly from unions which have come under the grip of fascist influence.

'At the last Conference this demand for excluding non-European workers took the form of a resolution seeking to amend the constitution by providing that only unions registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act shall become members of the Council.

"Clearly this was an attempt to exclude African workers, who are not recognized under the Industrial Conciliation Act. When put to the vote, the motion was defeated by 30 to 115. The card vote which was called for gave the following result: 36,373 voting in favor and 88,497 voting against, thus revealing an equally significant majority against this reactionary demand.

'After the defeat of this fascist-inspired resolution, nine delegates *representing only* 2,929 *workers* walked out of the Conference. The daily press seized the opportunity to report the incident as causing a 'split' in the S.A.T.L.C., although, as can be seen by the figures given above, the dissenting unions represented less than 2 per cent of the affiliated membership."

Smuts Rebuffed in Plea to Natives Representative Council

General Smuts met last month with six members of the Natives' Representative Council, whose members voted to adjourn *sine die* last August because their recommendations to the government were completely ignored.

The Prime Minister was in a conciliatory mood. He acknowledged that the N.R.C., established in 1936, had been given no responsibility and that it was merely a debating chamber whose resolutions fell on deaf ears. He recognized the dissatisfaction and frustration felt by the members but hoped that the Council would resume its functions.

"I think the time has come," Smuts said, "to place a measure of responsibility on the Natives Representative Council. Some executive authority must be given it. I should like to give the Council a bone to chew."

The Africans' attitude to the Prime Minister's tentative proposals (which appear to be designed to strengthen his position at the next meeting of the U. N. General Assembly) was expressed by the working committee of the African National Congress headed by Dr. A. B. Xuma. That body described the proposals as "vague and disappointing" and said:

"The Prime Minister seems to have sidestepped the main cause of the deadlock—the demand of the Natives Representative Council for the repeal of discriminatory colour legislation against Africans and the Council's consequent resolution to adjourn indefinitely until such demands have been complied with.

"The proposals in fact are a retrogressive step in that as long as present discriminatory legislation remains on the statute book the Africans are in effect asked by the Prime Minister in his proposals to administer their own domination, discrimination and oppression under the cloak of giving them responsibility and participation in the administration of their own affairs.

"In other words, we do not accept any proposal that does not provide for direct representation of all sections of the community in all legislative bodies."

3,000 Kenya Africans Petition Government

One of the largest meetings of Africans ever held in East Africa took place on April 20th in Nairobi, Kenya, sponsored by the Kenya African Union. Over 3,000 men and women were present. E. W. Mathu and B. A. Ohanga, African members appointed to the Kenya Legislative Council, and Jomo Kenyatta, author of "Facing Mount Kenya," were among the principal spakers.

Political activity among both Indians and Africans in British East Africa has recently risen sharply as a result of the government's plan for the reorganization of inter-territorial services and establishment of a central legislative assembly for Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.

E. W. Mathu

In all three colonies the legislatures with their white and official majorities approved the proposals over the united opposition of Indian, Arab and African members who protested against the British government's abandonment of the principle of equal racial representation. The East African Indian National Congress has been active in bringing this question to the attention of all non-white peoples in East Africa and a joint Indo-African deputation is scheduled to take their protest to London.

It was against this background that the meeting on April 20 was held in Nairobi. The audience fully endorsed the stand taken by the African members of the Legislative Council in voting against the inter-territorial scheme. The meeting also declared that:

- The political objective of the African in Kenya must be self-government by Africans for Africans, and that in that African state the rights of all minorities would be safeguarded.
- More African seats should be provided at once in the Kenya Legislative Council.
- More land must be made available both in the Crownland and in the Highlands for the settlement of Africans.
- The introduction of compulsory and free education for Africans, as is given to the children of other races, is overdue.
- Abolition of the Kipande (registration certificates) and pass laws is essential.
- A Royal Commission, like the Caribean Commission, should be sent to Kenya.
- In view of the recent strikes in Mombasa, Kisumu, Kisii, Maseno and Asembo Bay, the government should take action at once to substantially improve wages, housing and other conditions of African labor and provide equal pay for equal work.

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Monthly Bulletin

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U. N. Faces Crucial Test on Issue of Colonial Freedom

SO SHOCKING and flagrant was the Dutch aggression against the Indonesians as an example of imperialist oppression of subject peoples, that the United Nations was compelled to take action, setting an important precedent with which the imperialist powers were none too pleased.

It should be added, however, that the Security Council's "cease fire" order fell short of justice by failing to order the Dutch to withdraw from the territory taken by force of arms. The Dutch achieved their objective—access to the rich resources of Java—and are content to remain where they are.

The case of Indonesia is far from settled. And Indonesia is only one of several areas of colonial oppression whose problems the United Nation must face and solve. Pandit Nehru's message to the Council on African Affairs a few months ago is truer today than ever:

"I do not think that the United Nations can continue to function successfully or unitedly unless there is full freedom everywhere and an end of colonial domination both political and economic. The time has come when the United Nations must clearly accept this objective and work to realize it."

Colonial Problems Facing the U. N.

At the present time Egypt has brought the question of the Sudan and the evacuation of British troops from that territory and Egypt before the Security Council. The UN's Special Committee on Palestine is preparing its report to the General Assembly. Further, the UN may be faced with the demand for the independence of the French North African territories. It may be called upon to intervene in Madagascar, where fighting still continues. And it may hear a demand for correction of British misrule in Basutoland, South Africa.

Finally, the U. N. has the unfinished business of South West Africa and discrimination against Indians in South Africa to attend to.

The provisional agenda of the U. N. General Assembly, which convenes September 16, includes the following items of concern to colonial peoples:

Report on the action taken by the governments of South Africa and India to end the dispute between them regarding the treatment of Indians in South Africa. General Smuts has flatly refused to rescind the discriminatory legislation affecting South African Indians and has taken no steps to meet the Indian government's request for consultation and settlement of the question.

What About South West Africa?

Consideration of new trusteeship agreements, if any. Under this heading, it was anticipated that the South African government, in conformity with the resolution adopted by the UN last fall, would submit an agreement covering the mandate territory of South West Africa and placing it within the trusteeship system.

Instead, at General Smuts' behest, the South African government has moved to grant representation to the white minority of South West Africa in the Union Parliament, at the same time continuing administration of the territory as under the mandate system. As "a little gesture,' South Africa will send reports on administration of the territory to the UN, but will concede nothing further to the international organization. In this manner General Smuts hopes to be able to eat his cake and have it too: to achieve virtual annexation of South West Africa while making a polite bow to the UN.

The report of the Trusteeship Council. The action of the T. C. at its

(*Continued on last page*)

An Appeal for Action

The U. N. General Assembly convenes again on Sept. 16.

NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT!

Let the United Nations and the U. S. State Department Hear from the American Public, Urging

- **Condemnation of the South African Government for its failure to place South West Africa under U.N. trusteeship, and insistence that this be done.**
- **Pressure by the U.N. for immediate correction of the grievances of Indians in South Africa, which led to the still unsettled dispute between the governments of India and South Africa, and launching of a U.N. investigation into the general denial of human rights to non-white peoples in South Africa.**
- **Immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Indonesia, Palestine, Egypt and the Sudan, French North Africa, Madagascar and all other non-enemy areas where they remain against the will of the inhabitants, and settlement of the problems of these areas through the United Nations rather than by unilateral action.**
- **Full adherence to and implementation of the provisions of the U.N. Charter pertaining to colonial and minority peoples.**

Help toward the realization of these democratic objectives by writing yourself, and getting organizations with which you are associated to send communications supporting the above-mentioned policies, to:

Mr. Trygvie Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, Lake Success, N. Y.

Secretary of State George C. Marshall, Dept. of State, Washington, D. C.

Members of the U. S. Delegation to the United Nations, Fisk Building, 250 West 57th St., New York 19, N. Y.

Smuts Puts Taft-Hartley Act in the Shade

The Taft-Hartley Law shackling American organized labor is as mild as a summer breeze compared with legislation which the South African government has drafted in order to smash the developing unity of white and non-white workers and prevent African labor from organizing to to win its rights.

These are some of the things that will happen to South African labor if the Industrial Conciliation (Natives) Bill, sponsored by Smuts, is enacted into law:

- It will be a crime for African workers to go on strike. Any who do so may be fined £500 ($2,000) and, in addition, be sent to jail for three years.
- Anyone organizing or belonging to a trade union which includes both Africans and non-Africans may be punished by a maximum fine of £100 plus one year's imprisonment.
- Any African already belonging to a non-segregated trade union having collective bargaining rights would be compelled to cease membership, and within 30 days the secretary of any such union would have to delete the names of African members from the register or be found guilty of an offense.
- A registrar representing the government would have authority to intervene in the affairs of any trade union regardless of the union's executive or its constitution, and could be empowered by the Minister of Labor to cancel the registration of any union regarded as "not in the public interest."
- Workers in the mines, on the farms, and in government employment (these categories cover the vast majority of employed Africans) would be barred from trade union organization, and it would be a criminal offense for these workers to organize or for anyone to assist them to organize.
- All disputes would be settled by compulsory arbitration, this authority being vested in a central mediation board of five members, none of them African and all government-appointed.
- The labor minister could make any agreement binding on non-African workers if the mediation board so recommended. Thus the mediation board could fix wages and other conditions for European, Indian and other workers, as well as for Africans.

The bill thus menaces ever South African worker. As one white labor leader described it, "The bill should be an exhibit in a museum, along with Hitler's Labor Front Law and Mussolini's Labor Corporation Laws to show the close relation among the three."

An all-out fight against the bill has been declared by all sections of African labor and many white trade unions in South Africa, and it has been brought to the notice of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

We call upon American labor organizations to join in opposing this fascist anti-labor bill, making their views known to H. T. Andrews, South African Minister to the United States, Washington, D. C.

"Organize or Perish"

In his address to the Third Annual Conference of the Gold Coast Mines African Employees Union, President J. N. Sam said:—

"We dig gold in exchange of poverty; we dig gold in exchange of sickness and death. This is the last honour one expects in the Mines.

"But do we make our voices clear? Do we fight for our rights or tell the authorities our immediate troubles and needs?"

And the *Ashanti Pioneer*, African Gold Coast newspaper, quoting the statement, asked its readers editorially:

"How long should YOU condone this play of economic and political forces which make you exchange daily your brain and brawn for just poverty, disease and untimely death?

"The law of the modern world is—Organize or Perish!

"It is for Africans in every walk of life to organize themselves and fight relentlessly against those conditions and abuses which seek to make them 'drawers of water and hewers of wood' for ever!"

WFTU ACTS TO PROMOTE AFRICAN LABOR'S RIGHTS

Meeting at Prague in June, the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions took action on the status of labor in Africa, declaring that immediate reforms should be demanded from the governments of Britain, France, Belgium and South Africa, and from the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations and inter-governmental agencies.

The resolution adopted by the Council declared that racial discrimination prevailed in countries of the African continent in such fields as social legislation, wages, education and medical care.

A statement of policy set forth necessary remedies in these matters and indicated the goals of full trade union rights, democratic social legislation, and raising the standard of living of African workers. It was adopted unanimously.

This action by the General Council of WFTU arose from recommendations of the All-African Trade Union Conference held in Dakar, French West Africa, under the auspices of WFTU in April.

That conference was attended by sixty delegates representing twenty-five labor organizations in Tunisia, Algiers, South Africa, Nigeria, Gambia, Senegal, Morocco, Cameroons, Sudan, French Guinea, Madagascar, Ivory Coast, French Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo and Sierra Leone. Altogether the delegates represented 902,000 organized workers in Africa.

WOULD BAR AFRICANS FROM VOTING IN SOUTH RHODESIA

The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia has proposed to the Legislature that two Europeans be appointed to represent African interests in Parliament and that the Common Voter's Roll be closed to further Africans who may be qualified for the franchise, retaining only the 136 already there — 136 out of approximately 1,500,000 Africans.

To vote in S. Rhodesia at the present time one must have an income of £100 ($400.00) a year or possess property worth at least £150. This effectively bars all but a handful of Africans from qualifying for the franchise even though the franchise law does not discriminate on the grounds of color or sex.

But the ruling class among the 95,000 whites in S. Rhodesia have decided to do as the South African ruling class has done and bar Africans from the national franchise altogether. In the same way the Rhodesians have adopted South Africa's pass laws, reserve system, economic color bar and other repressive devices.

The South Rhodesia African National Congress, headed by the Rev. T. Saukange, held an emergency meeting of leaders of all African organizations on June 21 to consider the Prime Minister's declaration. Their decision was to launch a vigorous resistance campaign against this attempt at disfranchisement.

And they are supported by liberal circles in England who demand that the King exercise his long-neglected right to veto legislation in Southern Rhodesia (a so-called self-governing colony) which is considered harmful to the interests of the African population.

FAIR WARNING

A recent announcement of one of Nigeria's most militant trade unions reads as follows:

"The Executive Council of the Railway Workers Union of Nigeria wishes to warn all plain clothes detectives who mingle with the general body on our meeting days that, from now on, all such practice must cease.

"If, however, C.I.D. men [similar to our F.B.I. agents] wish to continue, they should understand that they are doing so at their own risk and this Council shall not in any way, directly or indirectly, be held responsible for whatever happens to them."

Liberia's Independence Observed July 26

Liberia's Founding-Fathers said:

"No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores; nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high consideration of those who aided us in providing this asylum. Liberia is an asylum from the most grinding oppression.

"In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we would be permitted to . . . evince to all who despise, ridicule, and oppress our race that we possess with them a common nature; are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man."

from Liberia's Declaration of Independence

W. V. S. Tubman, President of Liberia.

Water Street, Monrovia.

A Scene in Liberia's Interior.

A century ago on July 26, 1947, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, born in Petersburg, Virginia, and the first president of the Republic of Liberia, signed the Declaration of Independence of that country. This marked the establishment of the first and only Negro republic in the continent of Africa.

In celebration of the 100th anniversary of this event an international exposition has been planned for Monrovia, capital of Liberia, extending through next year.

The centennial was marked in Washington, D. C. on July 26, by the presentation of a plaque commemorating the event to the Honorable C. D. B. King, recently appointed Minister of Liberia to the United States. The ceremony took place on the steps of the Capitol Building, the presentation being made by Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson and Congressman William L. Dawson.

Mr. Justice Jackson in his address reviewed the history of Liberia and its relations with the United States. He concluded with the statement that the Negro Republic's "road to a truly ideal society is uphill and stretches beyond our sight, but we will travel it together."

Since the first eighty-eight freed Negroes from America emigrated to Liberia in 1822, the principal characteristic of Liberia's history has been its struggle for survival. The chronicle to date is mainly one of overcoming the difficulties of the primitive environment, fending off the enroachments of predatory European colonial powers, and ridding itself of the burden of heavy foreign loans incurred at exorbitant rates of interest. That it has overcome and survived all these handicaps is by itself reason enough for celebration of the centennial.

At the present time problems of a new kind must be faced as Liberia, as well as the whole of Africa, enters upon a new era of rapid advancement.

First, Liberia must keep pace with the agricultural and other economic reforms being made by Britain and France in its surrounding colonies, so that the Negro Republic can become economically self-sufficient.

Second, Liberia must proceed rapidly with the political and social reforms which have marked President Truman's administration as progressive, so as to hasten the bringing of democracy to all inhabitants of the country.

Third, Liberia, in maintaining and promoting friendly relations with the United States, must guard against becoming another Panama or Cuba, an outpost of American imperialism. This is a real danger. Other American corporations besides Firestone are becoming interested in exploiting Liberia's resources, and the U. S. government is spending considerable money on modern port construction and other works in Liberia (see *New Africa*, April, 1946). Liberia most assuredly needs development and it must have foreign help. But it must not be gained at the cost of its sovereignty.

We hope that the Republic of Liberia, during the next hundred years of its history, may become the model and beacon-light of progress and democracy in Africa.

Britain Looks to Colonies to Relieve Her Economic Crisis

BRITAIN is desperately trying to maintain her position as a first class power at a time when the events of history have rendered this impossible. The sun no longer shines perpetually on the British flag, and London is no longer the hub of world commerce. While the British worker pulls in his belt another notch and contemplates another grim, cold and hungry winter, Downing Street finds itself confronted with an adverse trade balance, a shortage of dollars, and the imperative necessity to reduce dollar purchases abroad.

This state of affairs has resulted in the British government's sudden awakening to the economic potentialities of its African colonies. From that source Britain can get much needed food supplies and raw materials and pay for them on a pound sterling basis instead of with dollars. Moreover, if this African market is properly developed, as it must be to supply Britain's needs on any satisfactory basis, there is the bright prospect that the African colonies will provide British manufacturers with a new and large purchasing market.

Therefore, Downing Street is going full steam ahead with various schemes for the rapid and intensive development of African resources. Says the London *Daily Telegraph*: "It has become necessary to apply the premise of the old nineteenth century expansionism to new fields and in a new manner. The problem today is to raise the standard of living of the world's backward peoples in such a way that they can absorb and benefit from the vast industrial production that is seeking markets.

"This can be done only by a revolution in agricultural methods among peoples like those of the African colonies, for their old subsistence method of wringing a living from the soil showed no prospect of a surplus to be invested in the products of modern industry. The shortage of primary products of all sorts, but especially of foodstuffs, timber and coal, which now beset us, have made this revolution economically feasible."

Large Capital Investments

And so the British government is busily mustering private and state capital to bring about an economic revolution in her African colonies. The $100,000,000 allocated for the extensive peanut-growing project in British East Africa (see *New Africa,* March, 1947), according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his statement to the House of Commons in June, is "only the first shot in the campaign for the more intensive development of the resources of the colonial territories."

It is now estimated that capital investments in British East Africa alone during the next ten years will amount to $1,600,000,000. The sum represents about four times the amount of foreign capital invested in the same area in 1936.

During recent weeks announcement has been made of a $20,000,000 hydro-electric station construction in Uganda, and of the formation of a $400,000,000 Colonial Development Corporation to operate under British government auspices, but on a private commercial basis. A government commission has also reported favorably on a scheme paralleling that in East Africa to grow peanuts and other foodstuffs in the British West African colonies.

"Nothing could be more abhorrent," says the *Daily Telegraph,* "than a suggestion that these schemes are merely exploitation to solve our own immediate difficulties." Yet the fact remains that the schemes were not conceived until Britain got into her present difficulties. Also beyond denial is the fact that no capital outlay in any way approaching that for the economic schemes has yet been mentioned in order to provide for the rapid educational and social progress of the African millions under Britain's rule.

Britain's plans for bolstering her economic condition by leaning on her colonies have been made possible by the willingness of the U. S. government to revise the Anglo-American loan agreement so that Britain can get certain commodities from her colonies—on her own terms—instead of having to buy them from the U.S.A. So far as this phase of the loan agreement is concerned, the U. S. government is willing to consider the British Isles and Britain's colonies (but not the dominions) as an economic unit.

Effect on African Producers

"The principal benefit" of the U. S. concession, a British official is quoted as saying (New York *Times,* July 23), "will be that we won't have to worry any more about prices at which the colonies are able to offer us food."

Quite right. But the Africans and other colonials will have plenty to worry about! The problem of making a living will become more acute than ever; for they will have to sell their cocoa, coffee, sugar, tea, peanuts, palm products, tin, cotton and other products more or less exclusively to British concerns instead of in the open market, and at prices dictated by the British and colonial governments (see *New Africa,* March, 1947).

Native peasant farmers and traders in the colonies have long protested against this economic straight-jacket which is a universal characteristic of colonialism. Will they submit to even more stringent measures?

One final point. As indicated by our correspondent, Desmond Buckle, in the last issue of the *New Africa,* these African economic schemes are linked with Britain's imperial strategy. This is no longer a state secret.

A speaker in a recent BBC broadcast, "Calling East Africa," remarked that the whole of Africa from Capetown, South Africa, up to Nairobi, Kenya, "forms a huge, sound, defensible base area. Economically, that area must not only be self-supporting in the primary needs of man at peace, but it should be able to produce the basic requirements of man at war.

"In this strategical set-up, East Africa, the new forward base area, must house, feed, train, clothe and shoe, entertain and refit the men and machines of a modern army."

Such, in brief, is the story behind the story about Britain's investment of millions of pounds sterling in her African colonies.

What Price Colonial Labor?

"The relatively high average standard of living among British workers is maintained in part by the low average standards among workers in raw material producing countries, especially the British colonies. Mass poverty in Ceylon and the West Indies is, in one aspect, just a function of the cheap tea, and cheap sugar, and cheap bananas enjoyed by British consumers. That is one reason why British people are on the whole so complacent about their imperialism.

"On the other hand, the huge disorganized army of low-paid colonial labor at the same time acts as a threat to the higher standards in Britain, as for example Lancashire textile workers have good reason to know.

"Nor are such effects confined to Britain. Unemployed copper miners in the United States, accustomed to a wage of $4 a day when in work, have often asked with a groan how any copper mine in any civilized country can keep in production, so long as wages in the mines of Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo average 16 cents a day."

Leonard Barnes, in SOVIET LIGHT ON THE COLONIES

Concerning the Dollar Invasion of French Africa

THE transformation of the French Empire into the French Union has, despite the limited degree of autonomy granted to the African territories, resulted in many not unimportant gains to the African people. Democratic and progressive measures which have electrified the African conscience were voted by the first Constituent National Assembly of France. The most noteworthy of these measures are the abolition of special jurisdiction over native Africans and the repeal of forced labor enactments.

Secondary schools are to be built in many territories and Dakar is to have a university. Although the decrees which were introduced with the establishment of local assemblies give advantages to European vested interests and therefore constitute a form of racial discrimination, the fact remains that for the first time the opinion of Africans is being consulted in the adminstration of their countries.

The immediate task is therefore to consolidate the rights already won, to render the local assemblies more democratic, and to raise the living standards of the people by the development of the natural resources of their territories in their interests.

In an article entitled "Africa on the March" appearing in the journal *Democratic Nouvelle* (Feb., 1947), Félix Houphouet-Boigny, Deputy for the Ivory Coast and President of the African Democratic Rally, said:

"Africans are expecting great things from a triumph of Democracy in France. With a France sincerely republican, truly democratic, the French Union will not remain an empty phrase."

But the triumph of democracy, we aver, does not depend upon France alone. The question whether the French Union becomes a reality is inextricably bound up with France's present economic problems.

Economic Dependence on U.S.A.

French Africa, not unlike all other colonial territories, stands in need of outside capital for development. Metropolitan France is herself impoverished and is in need of help in her economic rehabilitation. About the only country in the world in a position to grant help to both France and her overseas territories is without doubt the USA.

An article published in the Paris *Libération* (May 16th) outlined the following terms on which the U. S. will give economic aid to France: "First of all, control over capital investments . . . . . Secondly, a Franco-American pool for the technical equipment and development of overseas possessions, particularly North and West Africa. Thirdly, agreements providing for the organization of landing grounds in Africa for U.S. 'commercial' air lines . . ."

"According to trustworthy information," continues the article, "the first batch of credits for France is to amount to one billion dollars. These credits will not be furnished by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, but by private American banks to private French banks. . . . As Washington does not rule out the possibility of a de Gaulle government, the former head of government has been asked to say what his position would be on economic treaties of this kind."

These terms can in no way be represented as altruistic. It is obvious that in operation their effect would be to subordinate French policy to that of American imperialism. It is little known that the American dollar already exercises considerable influence in the economy of French overseas territories. It is legitimate, therefore, to survey briefly the extent of this dollar invasion in the case of French Africa.

In French West Africa the Franco-American Metals and Minerals Company controls the exploitation of the important iron ore deposits of Conakry. The bauxite of Guinea has been delivered into the possession of the Aluminum Company of Canada.

But what of the vast mineral resources of Senegal? Who controls them? The American trust, "Metals and Thermits," supplies the answer.

In the Cameroons a company financed largely by American capital has built factories for processing the oxide of titanium. One of the biggest trusts in the world, the Selection Trust, is engaged through its subsidiary company in the Cameroons in prospecting for diamonds and other minerals in Ubangi-Shari and elsewhere.

Dollar Domination Feared

In view of the political conditions usually attached to dollar disbursements (the terms in the *Libération* article quoted above provide a typical example), progressives in the French Union are filled with anxiety about present economic developments in French Africa. The writer of an article in *L'Humanité* (May 30th), André Carrel, expressed this feeling of disquiet when he declared:

"We cannot believe that this new form of American expansionism could develop except under cover of silence of accomplices. And we know that to economic conditions are rapidly added political conditions. We have proof of that every day before our eyes. French opinion cannot any longer be kept in ignorance for, in short, it is our national independence which is at stake."

It is one of the tragedies of the post-war world that the wealth and influence of the great American republic which could be used to promote the prosperity and welfare of mankind are in fact being used in the interests of those who would barter the freedom of peoples for their own selfish ends.

Can there be any wonder that in countries that are trying to break with the past people now say with bitter irony: "Judas no longer takes his money in pieces of silver; he prefers dollars."?

DESMOND BUCKLE, *London.*

At Dakar, French West Africa: New Streamlined Railroad Cars—But No Shoes!

News Notes

TUNISIA, Fr. N. Africa — A general strike here brought death to forty persons and injury to over a hundred on August 5, when soldiers acting on government orders moved to take over railroad property and crush the strike. Tunisian leaders assert that the troop action was also aimed at breaking the nationalist-independence movement.

•

GENEVA, Switzerland—After three years of consideration and debate, the International Labor Conference last month completed the preparation of conventions designed as a charter of rights for colonial peoples. Among the items of the charter are general social policy, the right of labor organization, labor inspection, protection against all forms of forced labor, and equal pay. The last point brought forth opposition from British delegates.

•

NORTHERN RHODESIA — A three-months long boycott of all shops in the so-called second-class trading area by 20,000 Africans at Luanshya came to an end a few weeks ago. The boycott was organized as a protest against the high cost of living. Cost of clothing and cotton piece goods has tripled in price since 1939 while the wages of Africans—$6.00 a month for domestic servants and $5.50 a month for mine workers is the average—have remained static. Africans in Broken Hill also took up the boycott movement.

•

ADDIS ABABA—Almost a year ago in September 1946, *New Africa* carried a note about a medical mission which the Soviet Union was sending to Ethiopia to aid in promoting public heatlh service there. Last month the Associated Press reported from the Ethiopian capitol that this medical mission had now begun to take up quarters in the Dejazmatch Baltcha Hospital. The mission consists of nine doctors (five men and four women), five nurses, a pharmacist and two administrators. They brought with them all their medical equipment, instruments and supplies. All expenses, including salaries, are being paid by the Soviet Union.

•

LAGOS, Nigeria—The *Daily Service* reports that a mining company has been organized by Africans with a capital of $400,000. The directors of the company, with headquarters in Lagos, are E. A. Dada and Ernest Ikoli. An experienced Canadian mining engineer and geologist has been engaged by the company.

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JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Mary Susan Malahlele, a young Bantu woman of 30, received her medical degree from the University of Witwatersrand on June 21, and became the first African woman to qualify as a physician in the Union of South Africa.

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W. A. HUNTON, *Editor*

U. N. Faces Crucial Test On Colonies (Cont'd)

first session, summarized in the last issue of the *New Africa,* is expected to provoke sharp discussion when it is reviewed in the Assembly.

The Trusteeship Council

Election of additional members to the Trusteeship Council. The U. S. Congress having approved the trusteeship agreement placing the U. S. in charge of former Japanese islands in the Pacific, this country has formally become one of the trustee powers (during the recent session of the Trusteeship Council, the U. S., though having *de facto* status as a trustee power, was counted as a non-trustee).

It is now necessary to elect two new members of the T. C. without trusteeship responsibility in order to make an even balance between the trustee and non-trustee states serving on the Trusteeship Council. India appears likely to be one of the new members elected to that body.

(The present membership of the T. C. consists of Britain, France, U. S. A., Belgium, Australia and New Zealand as trustee powers; . . . and China, Mexico, Iraq and the U.S.S.R., the latter not participating in the Council thus far.)

Report on information from non-self-governing territories. The Charter calls for all the colonial powers within the U. N. to submit annual reports on conditions in their respective colonies. These reports are to be reviewed by a special committee prior to coming before the General Assembly. This item on the agenda represents the one and only opportunity for U.N. members to deal with conditions in the large majority of colonial countries which lie outside the sphere of the trusteeship system.

The Palestine Question also looms large on the Assembly agenda.

Representation for Colonial Peoples

Various phases of the work of the Economic and Social Council have necessarily included the problem of the colonies. Most significant in this respect was the debate during July on the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

The delegates from India, Siam and the Philippines raised sharply the demand that this Commission should include representatives of the millions of peoples in the East whose welfare was under consideration. They criticized the composition of the Commission as being overloaded with Western authority.

It was finally voted that the non-independent Asiatic countries should be admitted to associate membership on the Commission. However, the European colonial powers insisted and won the point that this right should be conditional on the approval of the states responsible for the international relations of the colonies concerned.

Imperialists Resist U.N.

In this compromise decision, as in the decisions on trusteeship and in the refusal of the Netherlands government, supported by Britain, France and Belgium, to acknowledge the right of the U. N. to intervene in Indonesia, we see again the firm determination of the colonial powers to keep their colonies absolutely free of international authority, and to evade the obligations which they assumed in signing the U. N. charter.

This is the crux of the problem of colonial freedom which the United Nations must face squarely and resolve if the world's colonies are not to be a continuing source of international conflict and world insecurity.

THEATRE BENEFIT SEPT. 26

The Council on African Affairs is pleased to announce its sponsorship of a Preview Performance of Theodore Ward's play "OUR LAN' " on Friday evening, September 26, at the Royale Theater, New York City.

Tickets for this benefit performance, $1.80 to $4.80, may be obtained from the Council's offices. Telephone MUrray Hill 3-7622 for reservations.

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The United Nations and Non-Self-Governing Territories

THERE are roughly 300 million inhabitants of colonial countries throughout the world. These people have no direct representation or voice in the United Nations. Openly in revolt in many areas and everywhere impatient of the slow progress toward self-government, these people will be anxiously watching the current session of the United Nations General Assembly.

For at the present meeting the members of the United Nations will have before them for the first time reports regarding the conditions of the people in the majority of the colonies, submitted by the governing powers in accordance with Article 73(e) of the Charter. After considering these reports, the delegates will be called upon to decide what spcific measures the United Nations should and will take toward promoting the well-being and self-government of the colonial peoples, the the objective stated in Article 73 to be "a sacred trust" accepted by all the member states.

So far as the special category of colonies known as trusteeship territories is concerned, the Assembly will be called upon to review and approve the work of Trusteeship Council which held its first meeting earlier this year (see June issue of *New Africa*).

There are at present only 9 trusteeship territories including the Pacific Islands under the U.S.—whereas there are 74 other areas which have been designated "non-self-governing territories" (the term itself has never been defined) thus coming within the scope of Article 73. Of these the United Kingdom has 43, France 16 (four of which were taken off the list this year), the United States 7, Netherlands 3, New Zealand 2, and Belgium, Australia and Denmark one each.

At the tremendous overflow rally in New York on September 11, called by the Progressive Citizens of America, the demand that the American government adopt a democratic policy in both domestic and foreign affairs was voiced by Dr. Kingdon, Henry Wallace, Lena Horne and Paul Robeson, shown here (l. to r.) chatting together during the meeting.

Last year's General Assembly meeting, despite the opposition of the colonial powers, voted to establish a special committee to examine the information submitted concerning the non-self-governing territories, with a view to aiding the General Assembly in its consideration of the information and in determining how best to utilize it. This decision represented a victory for those delegates who argued that the information reports should not be merely "filed and forgotten," but should serve as the basis for constructive U.N. action on behalf of the colonial millions.

The Preliminary Skirmish

The special committee met at Lake Success from August 28 to September 12 and prepared its report for the Assembly. The committee was composed of the colony-holding powers mentioned above and an equal number of non-colonial states elected by the General Assembly—Brazil, China, Cuba, Egypt, India, Philippines, the Soviet Union, and Uruguay.

Sharp differences of opinion arose between the representatives of the colonial powers and the elected delegates over the character of the information reports submitted and questions of future procedure. On some of these points of difference, however, the representatives of Brazil, China, Cuba and Uruguay either abstained or voted with the colony-holding powers.

Information reports were available for only 57 of the 74 non-self-governing territories and these reports varied markedly in form and substance. The Soviet delegate, Jacob Lamokin, called the attention of the committee to the general absence of information on such matters as the relative living standards of the indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants of the colonies, electoral procedures, civil rights, discrimination, land tenure, corporal punishment, and tax and tariff structures.

Notwithstanding the excuses given by the representatives of the colonial powers for the incompleteness of data submitted, the committee was compelled to draw the conclusion that the "information transmitted up to this date does not draw a sufficiently clear picture of the living conditions of the peoples of the non-self-governing territories." Proposals were made for securing the submission of more uniform and complete reports in the future.

Disagreement on Political Information

At the first meeting of the committee the Philippine delegate, General Romulo, and the Soviet delegate criticized the failure of the colonial powers to give adequate information regarding the participation of peoples in the colonies in local self-government and their general political progress, and the failure to include this item in the agenda of the committee along with matters of education, health, labor and economic conditions. It was noted that the United Kingdom reports

(*Continued on next page*)

were completely void of such political information, whereas the United States reports had included such political data.

This same question arose again and again during the subsequent meeting of the committee. Representatives of the colonial powers insisted upon adherence to the literal wording of Article 73 (e) which calls for the submission of "statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to social, economic and educational conditions" in the non-self-governing territories. The Soviet, Indian, Egyptian and Chinese delegates, on the other hand, argued that Article 73 *as a whole* clearly implied that information on political progress was required and that, further, it was impossible to separate political factors from educational, economic and social conditions.

The committee finally voted that the transmission of political information should be regarded as optional but that it should be "duly noted and encouraged" by the General Assembly.

The strongest proposals with regard to this question and other functions of the U.N. in relation to non-self-governing territories were advanced by the Soviet representative. He recommended that a special questionnaire be prepared by the Secretary General following consultation with members of the committee in order to secure "fuller and more accurate information;" that the administering authorities should give "detailed data on the participation of the populations in the local organs of the administration;" that the Secretary General should transmit summaries of information from unoffical organizations and individual in the colonies together with the official governmental information; that U.N. representatives should make yearly on-the-spot-examinations of conditions in the colonies; and that the committee should examine petitions from local populations of the colonies, together with official information submitted.

None of these proposal secured the support of the majority of the committee, although in at least one instance the vote was as close as 5 to 6.

Criticism of Colonial Conditions

It fell to the Indian delegate, Dr. P. Pillai, and the Soviet delegate, Mr. Lamokin, to provide the committee with detailed information on such colonial matters as discrimination in educational expenditures and facilities and the inadequacy of educational service in Kenya and other territories; discrimination in wages; the deterioration of health because of malnutrition and other factors; discrimination in immigration regulations in East African colonies; the evils of labor migration; and the expropriation of land and resources in colonies by foreign monopolies.

Authorities such as Lord Hailey and various official documents were cited in substantiation of these charges. The Egyptian representative, Taha bey El-Sayed Nasr, joined in this criticism. These representatives pointed out that the information submitted by governments failed to give adequate data on these matters.

The representatives of the colonial powers at first attempted to bar discussion of the substance of the information and to hold the committee strictly to questions of procedure. When this failed, they argued that conditions in the colonies should be compared with conditions in independent countries in the same geographical area.

The delegate of the United Kingdom, Mr. Poyton, was most insistent on this matter, asserting that *"these territories are not backward because they are non-self-governing, but are colonial territories because they are backward."*

The British, French and Belgian delegates all gave instances of what their governments had done to promote the welfare of their colonial dependencies. They failed, however, to refute any of the specific points of criticism made by the Indian and Soviet representatives.

Proposals on Future Procedure

One of the most important positive recommendations of the committee to go before the General Assembly was initiated by the Indian representative.

After amendments by the U.S., Australia and Cuba, which detracted from its original effectiveness, the proposal, as approved, recommended that a special committee be constituted "to examine the information transmitted . . . on the economic, social and educational conditions in non-self-governing territories, and to submit reports thereon with recommendations as it may deem fit, and with such substantive recommendations as it may deem desirable relating to functional fields generally but not with respect to individual territories."

It was further recommended that the committee be composed of those states transmitting information for their colonies and an equal number of elective members. This is the composition of the committee originally established and also of the Trusteeship Council, and experience has demonstrated that the point of view of the colonial powers prevails in such an arrangement. Attempts to recommend a larger number of elective members on the committee were defeated.

It now remains for the General Assembly to consider and act on the proposals from its special committee. It is to be hoped that the Assembly's decisions will be truly liberal and in the interest of the colonial peoples.

Analysis of Information

The statistical tables which appear on other pages of this issue were compiled by the Council on African Affairs from the information reports transmitted by the United Kingdom government.

The tables, as a whole, reveal the incompleteness of the data presented for many of the territories. They also reveal clearly that the health and educational needs of the peoples in the areas dealt with are far from being satisfactorily met by government and are, indeed, shockingly neglected in many instances, particularly in the African territories.

The same conclusions may be drawn from the information transmitted by the other colonial powers. Analysis here presented has been confined to the British colonies, partly because they are the most numerous and partly because the statistical information presented is in general more uniform than for the colonies of the other powers.

Eighteen of the British colonies with largest population in Africa, the Caribbean and Asia have been used as the basis of this analysis of educational and health services. No information report has yet been submitted by the United Kingdom for Nigeria with its population of over 22 million and, therefore, it is not included in the analysis.

It is obvious, of course, that statistical tables of this type have their disadvantages. Expenditures for education and health, for example, may include varying items in different territories. And figures for total and school populations in most of the colonies are merely estimates or guesses. Further, the number of doctors or hospital beds should be supplemented by information as to their quality, distribution and accessibility to the population. Nevertheless, the tables *do show the general picture of educational and health needs in the colonial territories.*

Expenditures for education and health in Table I exclude expenditures for buildings and maintenance and for vocational education (unless indicated as government-aided) where such expenditures are separately listed. For comparative purposes, all sums of money have been converted to U.S. currency at present rates of exchange: £ Sterling=$4.00, $ Hongkong=$.25, $ Malay and Singapore=$.47½, $ Trinidad=$.83⅓.

ALL INFORMATION IN THE TABLES, UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED, IS FOR THE YEAR 1946. BLANK SPACES IN THE COLUMNS DENOTE THE ABSENCE OF INFORMATION IN THE REPORT FOR THAT TERRITORY.

Educational and Health Services in the British Colonies

TABLE I — EXPENDITURES

	Total Population	Total Expenditure of Government (in U.S. $)	Total Govt. Expenditure on Education (in U.S. $)	Total Govt. Expenditure on Health (in U.S. $)	% of Total Govt. Expenditure for Education	% of Total Govt. Expenditure for for Health
Barbados	195,398		$887,312	$456,560		
Basutoland	1,434 (E) 559,273 (A)		601,532	249,200[a]		
Bechuanaland	260,000 (A)[b]	$1,575,828	225,156[c]	242,704	14.3	15.4
Br. Guiana	381,324		1,315,360	1,401,455		
Br. Somaliland	700,000	2,306,520	51,580	257,128	2.2	11.1
Gambia	249,266	2,150,672	87,952	210,436	4.1	9.8
Gold Coast	3,571,176	26,830,892	3,540,800	2,138,428	13.2	8.0
Hong Kong	1,600,000	41,963,394	1,555,216	1,951,919	3.7	4.7
Jamaica	1,314,028	30,454,448	3,971,372	3,183,980	13.0	10.5
Kenya	21,020 (Ar.) 23,284 (E) 78,588 (I) 3,920,000 (A)[d]		36,920 (Ar.) 680,820 (E) 388,752 (I) 628,480 (A)[e]	1,926,588		
Malaya	5,000,000	73,449,250	[h]	4,505,977		6.1
Mauritius	428,273	13,076,326	739,647	821,261	5.7	6.3
N. Rhodesia	21,919 (E) 1,658,807 (A)[f]	11,595,152	352,132 (E) 819,268 (A)	810,516	3.0 (E) 7.1 (A)	7.0
Nyasaland	2,230,955	4,825,944	408,600	402,568	8.5	8.3
Sierra Leone	1,768,480[g]	7,333,928	408,136	657,464	5.6	9.0
Singapore	948,303	23,042,936	1,693,454	2,409,470	7.3	10.5
Trinidad	558,605	132,083,476	1,872,049		1.4	
Uganda	3,997,690	13,592,000	1,335,340	1,800,176	9.8	13.2

Footnotes for Table I

Ar.—Arabs, E—Europeans, I—Indians, A—Africans.

[a] Includes expenditures for sanitation and water supplies.

[b] No population figures given in information report.

[c] Of which $84,808 was estimated as expenditures of Native Treasuries.

[d] There are also 5,993 Goans and 21,020 Arabs.

[e] In addition, there was an "administrative and general" expenditure of $135,992.

[f] There are also 1,119 Asiatic and 789 "Colored."

[g] 1931 Census.

[h] Report on expenditure for education covers only 9 months of 1946.

We Won't Do Anything About Discrimination, South African Government Tells U. N.

Through its Chairman, Paul Robeson, the Council on African Affairs sharply assailed the report of the South African Government to the United Nations, released on September 15, refusing to abolish legal racial discrimination in that country and acknowledging that "no progress has been made in the settlement of the dispute" between the governments of South Africa and India in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly last year based on the complaint of the government of India.

"The South African Government's statement speaks open defiance of the United Nations," said Paul Robeson, "since it condemns and refuses to abide by the decision of the members of the United Nations arrived at last year after prolonged and careful consideration. The statement attempts to revive once more all the arguments which were debated at length and voted down at that session of the Assembly. Those arguments, summarized, amount to the rejection of the right of the United Nations to intervene in settling an international dispute arising from the South African government's policy of maintaining white supremacy."

Continuing, the Chairman of the Council on African Affairs stated, "The South African Government hides behind the charges that the UN Charter is neither explicit nor binding in its provisions concerning the guarantee of 'human rights and fundamental freedoms' to all people 'without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,' and that other nations also practice discrimination in various forms.

"It is for these very reasons," he said, "that the case against the Union of South Africa should be pressed by the United Nations as a clear demonstration to the peoples of America, Africa and the world that the Charter's provisions regarding racial equality are NOT mere empty idealistic expressions which can be ignored and violated with immunity by members of the organization."

TABLE II — EDUCATION

	Govt. Expenditure per head of total population (in U.S. $)	Average annual attendance in Govt. or Govt.-aided primary schools.	Govt. estimate of % of primary pupils to total school-age population.	% of primary pupils in relation to total population.	Govt. estimate of % of literacy.	Average annual attendance in Govt. or Govt.-aided post-primary and vocational schools.	% of secondary and vocational pupils in relation to primary pupils.
Barbados	$ 4.54	21,375[a]	62.8	10.9		2,597[a]	12.1
Basutoland	1.08	63,416[a]	75.	11.3	45.0	914[a]	1.4
Bechuanaland	.87						
Br. Guiana	3.45	47,756	66.4	12.5		3,291[b]	6.9
Br. Somaliland	.07	77	.5	.011	0.0014	none	none
Gambia	.35	2,126[a]	.9[c]	0.85		393[a]	18.5
Gold Coast	.99	71,603		2.0		1,716	2.4
Hong Kong	.97	30,306[b]	57.	1.9		6,035[b]	19.9
Jamaica	3.02	133,175	76.	10.1	74.4		
Kenya[g]	1.76 (Ar.) 29.24 (E) 4.95 (I) .16 (A)	573 (Ar.) 3,182 (E) 12,848 (I) 175,000 (A)[a]	20. (Ar.)[d] 100. (E) 100. (I)[e] 35. (A)[f]	2.7 (Ar.) 13.7 (E) 16.3 (I) 4.5 (A)		[g]	
Malaya		385,696[h]	29.[i]	7.7	28.[i]	7,594[h]	2.0
Mauritius	1.74	27,557	53.8	6.4		1,914	6.9
N. Rhodesia	16.07 (E) .49 (A)	2,306 (E) 108,881 (A)[a]	58.[k]	10.5 (E) 6.6 (A)		330 (E) 98 (A)[a]	14.3(E) .09 (A)
Nyasaland	.18	155,125 (A)[a]		7.0		76 (A)[a]	.049
Sierra Leone	.23	15,536	4.[l]	.88	5.[m]	1,865	12.0
Singapore	1.75	65,325[a]	55.	6.9		6,644[a]	10.0
Trinidad[q]	3.35	67,469	72.	12.1	54.2[n]	[g]	
Uganda	.33	92,851 (A)[a]	15.(A)	2.3		3,345 (A)[a]	3.6
England (1938)[o]	***8.55***[p]	***18,174,668***[s]	***84.2***	***13.5***		***6,387,805***[t]	***35.1***[t]
United States (1942)	***17.25***[r]	***4,204,223***	***10.9***			***425,618***[t]	***10.1***[t]

Footnotes for Table II

[a] No break-down of students in government aided and non-aided schools. Students in the latter schools, where separately listed, are not included in this analysis because such schools in most cases do not measure up to even the lowest standards of primary educational instruction.

[b] No average attendance figures given. Such figures give the only true picture of actual attendance and have been used in this analysis whenever available instead of total enrollment figures. In colonies and other agricultural areas school attendance is very irregular because of poverty, sickness, seasonal employment and other factors.

[c] For the Protectorate, 92% of population. Estimate for Bathurst, 8% of population, is 60%.

[d] For male, 5% for female.

[e] For male, 70% for female.

[f] For male, 15% for female.

[g] No break-down of students in primary and post-primary schools or in government-aided and non-aided schools (see footnote *a* above).

[h] No average attendance given and no break-down of government-aided and non-aided students (see footnotes *a* and *b* above).

[i] For Malayans, almost half of population. Estimate for Chinese is 39%; Indians, 45%.

[j] For Malayan male popultion. Male Chinese 43%; male Indians, 34%.

[k] For male, 30% for female.

[l] For the Protectorate. Estimate for the Colony, less than one-tenth of area, is 55%.

[m] For the Protectorate. Estimate for Colony is 30%.

[n] In 1931.

[o] Source: Cmd. 6013: Report of Board of Education, 1938-1939.

[p] In 1938, population was 38,700,000 and expenditure £67,645, 598 (1£=$4.89.)

[q] Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1946.

[r] In1942, population was 134,664,924 and total expenditure for education was $2,322,698,000. There is a varying difference in expenditures for Negroes and whites, per pupil, in the 17 southern states and District of Columbia, where separate school systems are maintained; in 1941-2 Alabama spent $31.87 per white student for instruction and $12.15 per Negro student; Mississippi spent $26.04 per white, $6.25 per Negro.

[s] Total enrollment. Average attendance of primary and secondary students combined was 85.6 per cent.

[t] Vocational students not included.

TABLE III — HEALTH

	Govt. expend. per head of population (in U.S. $)	Infant mortality rate per 1000	Death rate per 1000	Number of inhabitants for each doctor	Number of hospital beds per 1000 of population
Barbados	$2.34	157.	16.8	4,348	1.5
Basutoland	.45	[a]	[a]	33,333	0.6
Bechuanaland	.93			177,170	1.
Br. Guiana	3.68	94.	15.4	4,700	10.
Br. Somaliland	.37			65,444	0.8
Gambia	.84	103.4	22.8	25,000	0.07
Gold Coast	.60	109.8	26.1	50,000	0.4
Hong Kong	1.22	109.	14.2	3,570	2.5
Jamaica	2.42	89.3	13.3	5,519	2.2
Kenya	.48	[b]	[b]	17,856	1.
Malaya	.90	92.		16,557	4.4
Mauritius	1.92	145.2	29.5	6,000	3.
N. Rhodesia	.48	[c]	[c]	33,333	1.5
Nyasaland	.18	[d]	[d]	20,000	0.8
Sierra Leone	.37	208. [e]		38,000	0.4
Singapore	2.54	89.7	16.1	5,000	2.5
Trinidad		78.5	13.8		
Uganda	.45	109.6[f]	19.6[f]	20,000	0.7
England and Wales (1943-44)	*7.90*[g]	*45.*	*11.6*	*939*[k]	
United States (1944)	*6.49*[g]	*total 39.8* *white 36.9* *non-white 60.3*	*total 10.6* *white 10.4* *non-white 12.4*	*white 728*[i] *Negro 3,750*[i]	*12.5*[m]

Footnotes for Table III

[a] "No record." [b] "No vital statistics available. [c] Vital statistics given for Europeans only. [d] Figures given for Europeans and Asians. "Vital statistics in respect of Africans not available." [e] For Freetown only.

[f] In 1945.

[g] Population was 39,111,000. Total expenditure for health (including sewerage, refuse removal, and similar services) was £77,248,534. Source: British Inf. Service.

[h] In 1944, population was 138,083,449 and total expenditure for health (exclusive of incidental health expenditures relating to army, navy, education and other functions) was $906,000,000.

[i] White doctors (172,000) in proportion to total white population and Negro doctors (4,000) in proportion to Negro population in 1947.

[m] 1,729,945 beds in hospitals registered with the American Medical Asso.

[k] Based on total of 41,629 registered doctors. Source: British Inf. Service.

Nigerian Delegation Turned Down at Colonial Office

On August 13th, the delegation of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons under the leadership of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe visited the Colonial Office to discuss with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, the memorandum which they had previously laid before him recommending amendments in the Nigerian Constitution and raising certain other matters. If this delegation was received with perhaps a little more show of grace and courtesy than has been extended to some delegations from West Africa within recent years, the result of their mission was nonetheless equally unsuccessful.

Mr. Creech Jones made it clear that it was the intention of the Government to give the constitution which was introduced in 1945 a fair trial and that there was no question of changes being made until experience had shown what was required in the way of amendments. He considered the constitution flexible and adaptable. The government, Mr. Creech Jones emphasized, intended to do all in their power to assist the political, economic and social progress of Nigeria. He strongly urged the delegation to cooperate in this great task.

In regard to some of the other points raised in the memorandum and in the discussion, the Secretary of State informed the the delegation that these would require study and that he hoped to give a reply as soon as possible.

Following the unsatisfactory conference, the delegation took its appeal directly to the British people at meetings in Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Cardiff, Edinburgh and Glasgow.

The attitude of the Labor Government towards the claim of Nigeria for a more democratic constitution once more demonstrates the identity of views which exists between them and the Tory opposition in imperial matters. Apart from the unrepresentative character of the Legislative Council of Nigeria, there are other features of the constitution which are, to say the least, oppressive.

Take, for example, the subject of local taxation. The Government of Nigeria fixed the contribution of Native Authorities to the central revenue from direct tax at the amounts paid in by them during the year 1943-44. The remainder and the whole of any additional proceeds from any increase in the direct tax was to be retained by the Native Authorities themselves. It was claimed that the Native Authorities would thereby be encouraged "to adopt progressive policies." In actual fact this arrangement has led the Native Authorities to extort as much taxation as possible from their people.

Mrs. Funimilays Ransome-Kuti, a member of the Nigerian Delegation, writing in the London *Daily Worker,* has recently exposed some of the abominable practices resorted to in the collection of taxes. She states: "In Abeokuta and Ijebu Provinces of Western Nigeria . . . poll-tax and income-tax are forcibly demanded of women . . . Young girls are sometimes stripped naked in the streets by the men officially designated collectors in order to ascertain whether they are mature enough to pay tax or not."

Evidently the government intends to give this system of taxation—and the reprehensible practices which result from it—a "fair trial" before experience shows what amendments are needed.

DESMOND BUCKLE, *London.*

The Council on African Affairs Calls Upon The General Assembly of The United Nations

—to condemn the South African Government for its failure to place the mandate territory of South West Africa under U.N. trusteeship, and to reiterate the request that this be done forthwith.

—to launch a U.N. investigation into the general denial of human rights to non-white peoples in the Union of South Africa, in view of the failure of the South African Government to seek a solution of the dispute regarding discrimination against Indians in that country, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly last year.

—to give maximum implementation to the provisions of the U.N. Charter pertaining to colonial and minority peoples.

—to recommend immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Palestine, Indonesia, Egypt and the Sudan, and all other non enemy areas where they remain against the will of the inhabitants, and to seek settlement of the problems of these areas through the United Nations, acting in the interest of the inhabitants of the areas concerned.

We urge all American citizens to make known their support of these proposals by writing to the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie, and to members of the U.S. Delegation to the U.N., Lake Success, N. Y.

SEEING IS BELIEVING

Here It the TRUTH about

- The Color Bar
- Land Hunger
- .The Pass System
- .Labor Exploitation
- .Discrimination against Indians
- .Oppression of all non-white people

in the

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

"SEEING IS BELIEVING" is a new pamphlet published by the Council on African Affairs, just off the press in time to coincide with the UN General Assembly's reconsideration of the questions of South West Africa and discrimination against the Indian minority in the Union of South Africa.

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This is your News of Africa
for September, 1947

ERRATUM

In TABLE II — EDUCATION, the last two lines for England and the United States should read:

England						
(1938)°	*8.55[p]*	*4,204,223*		*10.9*	*425,618[t]*	*10.1[t]*
United States						
(1942)	*17.25[r]*	*18,174,668[s]*	*84.2*	*13.5*	*6,387,805[t]*	*35.1[t]*

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs
Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

Volume 6, No. 9 October, 1947

264

UN Faces Choice of Answering Challenge to Its Authority Or Making Weak Compromise on South West Africa Issue

"Mandatories have an ugly habit of forgetting their mandate and of considering their temporary charges as permanent property." This observation, made by the eminent anthropologist, Franz Boas, in 1919 at the time of the establishment of the mandate system, exactly defines the South African Government's refusal to bring the South West Africa mandate territory under UN trusteeship, as recommended by the General Assembly at its last meeting.

General Smuts did not choose to face the U.N. again this year. Sending some of his younger lieutenants to weather the storm at Lake Success, the General stayed at home to mend his political fences in preparation for the elections in 1948.

As regards South West Africa, Smuts' spokesman, Mr. Lawrence, stated that while his government was "not proceeding with incorporation" and would "continue to maintain the status quo," it was not bound by the Charter to bring South West Africa under trusteeship and could not do so in view of the wishes of the inhabitants of the territory.

Two distinct attitudes among the delegates toward this defense were revealed by the statements of Sir Maharaj Singh (India) and by John Foster Dulles (USA) who opened the General Debate in the 4th Committee (Trusteeship) immediately following the statement by Mr. Lawrence.

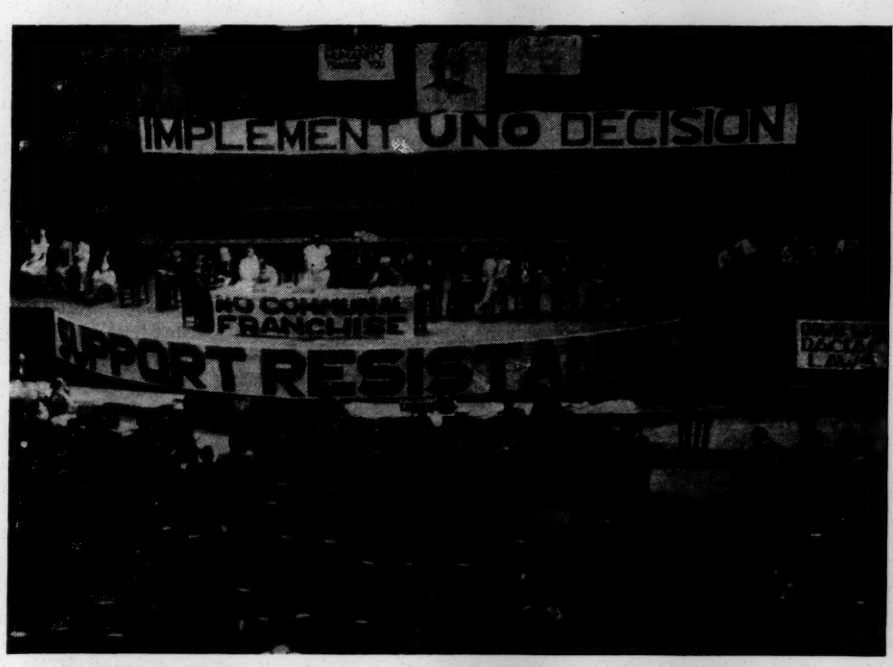
On the one hand, Sir Maharaj insisted that South Africa was legally, as well as morally, bound to submit a trusteeship agreement for SWA by the terms of the Charter and by previous resolutions of the UN. He sharply condemned the South African Government for having "flouted" the will of the Assembly. Among those who spoke in the same general vein were the representatives of China, Poland, Philippines, Guatemala, Soviet Union, Cuba, Iraq, Syria, Haiti, Byelorussia, Egypt, Ukraine, Uruguay, Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, Mexico and Liberia.

On the other hand, Mr. Dulles argued that while it was "regrettable" that no trusteeship agreement for SWA had been submitted, the Assembly should express gratification that South Africa had not proceeded to annex the territory. He especially stressed the point that South Africa was under no *legal* obligation to bring the territory under trusteeship, contradicting the argument advanced by India and others on this point, and maintained that one could only hope that "in the long run" the "moral power" of the UN would induce South Africa to submit a trusteeship agreement for the territory.

On Mr. Dulles' side of the debate were all the colony-holding powers—United Kingdom, France, The Netherlands, Belgium, New Zealand and Denmark—and, naturally enough, Greece. The representative of the Netherlands, which country is under attack in the Security Council for its aggression against the Indonesian Republic, boldly proclaimed that the Union of South Africa could neither be compelled to place SWA under the trusteeship system nor be blamed if she did not comply. Efforts by this delegate and by the New Zealand delegate to have the question referred to the International Court of Justice or to the Legal Committee for an opinion were unsuccessful.

The divergent views of the delegates resulted in the submission of two resolutions on the question, one by India and one by Denmark.

(*Continued on Page* 3)



A UN rally of South African Non-Europeans in the city of Johannesburg sponsored by the Transvaal Indian Congress. Another big UN rally attended by several thousands was held a few days ago in Durban on Sunday, October 12.

Unmasking General Smuts' "Referendum" in South West Africa—

THE South African Government's strongest argument for annexation of South West Africa and for its persistent refusal to bring the territory under U.N. trusteeship has been that it was necessary to "respect the wishes of the inhabitants" who favored incorporation of South West Africa in the Union of South Africa.

No one doubts the wishes of the majority of the 30,000 white inhabitants, who have prospered greatly under the Union's administration. As for the 300,000 African inhabitants, the government reported to the General Assembly that it had conducted a "referendum" among them and cited figures purporting to show that the majority of Africans, too, favored incorporation.

Many of the delegates expressed more or less polite skepticism regarding this remarkable "referendum," and one or two directly challenged its authenticity. The most sweeping challenge has now been made, however, and it comes from the most appropriate of all sources—from the Africans themselves in South West Africa.

With the same brave courage with which Negroes in a Mississippi courthouse a few months ago spoke out openly against their disfranchisement under White Supremacy tyranny, these Africans have affixed their names to petitions exposing the manner in which they were duped by the South African Government. They appeal to the United Nations for justice!

They entrusted their petitions to the Reverend Michael Scott to bring to the General Assembly meeting, since they were denied permission to send their own emissaries. They had confidence in Reverend Scott, a white Anglican minister, because he is known throughout the whole of South Africa as a *fighter* for Christian brotherhood. This man spent two months this year travelling into the far corners of South West Africa. He talked with Africans everywhere, and also to some whites, and took down their testimony.

Listen to what they said.

What Kind of "Referendum" Was It?

A missionary of nine years experience in South West Africa said: "I don't think there is any need to talk about the referendum. It was an absolute farce."

The Bishop of Damaraland said that those who allegedly expressed themselves in favor of annexation were the Africans who live completely apart from Europeans in Ovamboland and the Okavango and who "have little idea of what is meant by the Union of South Africa and no idea at all of what is meant by Trusteeship under the United Nations Organization."

A leading Ovambo said: "The man who conducted the referendum, mainly the Chief Native Commissioner, Major Hahn, who was also a delegate to the United Nations Organization, conducted the referendum in this way.

"He said the Government had come to ask them who they want from among these people. Do they want an Italian? Do they want a Chinese? Do they want a Russian? Do they want a Portuguese? Or do they want an Englishman?

"The people replied, 'We do not know the other nations except the English people.' Major Hahn didn't mention anything about the incorporation into the Union of South Africa. Taking it for granted that they were being asked if they wanted to be under the British Crown, they said they wanted to be under the British."

Another Ovambo holding an official position tells how "while one tribe was being consulted they told the people that the others have handed their country over to the British Crown and that if they do not do the same quickly they will find themselves left behind. This is what I have been told happened in the Kakoveld."

Max Gertse, a Nama Advisory Board Member of Windhoek states in his petition to the U.N.:

"The loyalty which the Native inhabitants expressed for the British Crown is being used by the Union Government as means of asserting that the Native inhabitants support the incorporation although in reality the Native inhabitants opposed the incorporation of South West Africa into the Union."

And this is the sort of explanation about the United Nations that officials gave Africans, according to one account in the petition of Herero leaders:

"After the United Nations session last year the Additional Native Commissioner Mr. Allen came and held a meeting in Windhoek at which he said that if the United Nations took over the Government of South West Africa it would mean that the people from these countries such as the Indians for example would be able to come to South West Africa and that the Indians who could live on the smell of oil on a rag—just the smell of oil he said could make them live—would come to South West Africa and take away the trade and livelihood of the Europeans and Africans."

What Do These People Think of the Smuts Regime?

A petition signed by some fifty Herero headmen, board members and other leaders declares:

"It is frequently reported in the Press of the Union and recently supported by prominent British statesman, that the treatment of the Natives in South West Africa is satisfactory.

"We only wish they could speak from their own experience as Natives of South West Africa regarding indentured, convict and child labor, pass laws, lack of educational and health services, etc., and the wholesale breaking up of family life leading to the same state of despair and frustration that exists amongst any landless people without any status or opportunity for economic, social or other development.

"It is this Native Policy of the Union which causes Africans in South West Africa, the Union and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to unite in protest against the annexation of South West Africa."

In a letter to the Parliamentary Secretary for Commonwealth Affairs, dated August 7, 1947, Hosea Kutako, Headman of the Aminuis Reserve in SWA, wrote:

"It is our opinion that the Union Government by reason of its treatment of the African people, both in the Union and in South West Africa, has now forfeited all moral right and claim to continue exercising the Mandate over South West Africa and we would ask for your support of our application to send representatives overseas to state our case." *more* ➡

Basuto Mission to UN Banned

Last year it was the people of Bechuanaland, British protectorate in South Africa, who were prevented from sending their leader and spokesman, Chief Tshekedi Khama, to the UN General Assembly meeting.

This year the same fate has befallen a delegation from Basutoland, another South African British protectorate, which had made plans to come to the current Assembly meeting in order to appeal against Great Britain's violation of treaties and agreements concluded with the Basuto Nation (see "New Africa", June 1947).

A cable received on October 9 from Basutoland states that the High Commissioner had prohibited the Basuto people's organization, Lekhotla la Bafo, from collecting funds to send the delegation to the UN meeting.

The cable of protest has been forwarded to the UN Secretary-General with the Council's request that it be brought to the immediate attention of the appropriate agencies.

Here Is Testimony Which the U. N. Cannot Afford to Ignore

What Do These People Ask of the United Nations?

Eighteen leading members among the Nama people signed a U.N. petition which concluded, "In view of the aim of the Union Government to take possession of the country, and in view of the injustice of her rule over the African people, we consider that the control of the country should be taken away from the Union Government."

Five representatives of the Ovambo signed another petition, saying, "We humbly request that a Commission of Enquiry be sent to South West Africa to see the conditions under which our people live and before whom those like ourselves who have not had an opportunity of expressing our views before an impartial body may give evidence."

In like manner, the Herero petition previously referred to concludes:

"Rather than reiterate the well known facts and figures concerning the Union's Native Policy we have asked for an impartial commission from the United Nations Organization to investigate and report how far and to what extent and with what effects this repressive policy is being enforced in South West Africa.

All this testimony is now in the hands of the delegates at Lake Success.

"The Union's Administration of the Mandate has proved disastrous for the Native peoples of South West Africa. And we petition that South West Africa should not remain under the Union as a Mandate but that it should be placed under the International Trusteeship System in such manner as seems good to the General Assembly of the United Nations."

What Is the U.N. Going to Do About It?

All this testimony is now in the hands of the delegates at Lake Success. But, at this writing, it has not yet been brought up for discussion by the delegates.

There is, moreover, additional evidence which the Reverend Michael Scott has asked for the opportunity of bringing to the attention of the members of the Fourth Committee (Trusteeship) of the General Assembly.

The Council on African Affairs appeals to the U.N. General Assembly to listen to and answer the petitions which have been lodged against the South African Government by the native inhabitants of South West Africa.

The Council on African Affairs on September 28, forwarded a detailed memorandum on the question of South West Africa to UN delegates urging that the General Assembly give the following directives to the Trusteeship Council:

1. That a commission of investigation be sent to ascertain the present conditions and needs of the African population in South-West Africa;

2. That the administration of South West Africa be given over to an international administrative body under the jurisdiction of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

Copies of the Council's memorandum and of the petitions from South West Africa cited above can be obtained from our office upon request.

Reverend Michael Scott, flanked by African leaders, addressing a meeting of Africans in the streets of Johannesburg. Reverend Scott arrived in New York on October 9 after waiting nearly six weeks for clearance of his American visa. Before granting him the visa the American Consulate in London subjected him to questioning regarding his political beliefs and required his agreement to four conditions restricting his travel and activities here.

U. N. FACES TEST ON S. W. AFRICA

(Continued from page 1)

Mr. Dulles threw the whole weight of the United States' influence behind the much milder Danish resolution, which expressed "regret" at the non-compliance of the Union government and "hope" that it would "soon" do so. Such a formulation would enable South Africa to postpone indefinitely the submission of a Trusteeship agreement for South West Africa, and would make it difficult to bring the matter up again at future Assembly meetings.

When, after much debate, the proposal was made to try to work out a compromise between the two resolutions, Mr. Stein, for the U.S.S.R., strongly supporting the Indian resolution, observed that it would be futile to try to bring about an artificial conciliation of the two positions. He remarked that the eagerness to find unanimous agreement at the sacrifice of the basic characteristics of each proposal reminded him of the League of Nations where resolutions were always approved by all and enforced by none.

Nevertheless, the proposal for setting up a drafting subcommittee was approved and implemented. The outcome was that all the clauses in the Indian resolution to which the "soft verdict" advocates objected were deleted, with the exception of the time-limit, but the "soft verdict" supporters were still not satisfied.

On Oct. 15 the revised Indian resolution was put to the vote in full committee. The time-limit clause at issue, which states that the General Assembly "urges the Government of the Union of South Africa to propose for the consideration of the Third Session of the General Assembly a Trusteeship agreement for the territory of South West Africa" was approved by 27-23 with 1 abstention.

Another clause which had been dropped from the original Indian resolution was reintroduced as an amendment by Poland and was approved by 21-19. This clause stated that "it is the clear intention of Chapter XII of the Charter" that all former mandate territories should be brought under U.N. Trusteeship until granted self-government or independence.

The vote on the revised Indian resolution as a whole, including the Polish amendment, was 27 for, 20 against, and 4 abstentions.

THE UNITED STATES VOTED AGAINST BOTH CLAUSES AND AGAINST THE WHOLE RESOLUTION. Others voting against the resolution were: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Greece, Iceland, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, South Africa and the United Kingdom.

Bolivia, Chile, Ethiopia and Uruguay abstained from voting on the whole resolution. Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru and Siam were absent.

The attitude of the United States will be a decisive factor in determining whether the Assembly in plenary session approves the present Indian resolution by the necessary two-thirds majority (38 votes if all delegations are present and vote yes or no).

All those who object to further appeasement of South Africa and who want the U.N. Charter's provisions with respect to colonial peoples respected and enforced should WRITE AT ONCE TO THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION, 2 PARK AVENUE, N. Y. C., DEMANDING THAT IT SUPPORT THE INDIAN RESOLUTION ON SOUTH WEST AFRICA IN ITS PRESENT FORM.

Review

Crisis in Kenya,
by S. and K. Aaronovitch.
Whither South Africa?
by Douglas G. Wolton.
Both published by Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1947.

South Africa and Kenya Colony are areas whose peoples, conditions and government loom large in the discussions at the present sessions of the United Nations Assembly.

Against the government of the Union of South Africa most serious charges are being brought. The treatment of four-fifths of her population, approximately 8,000,000 Africans and over 1,000,000 Indians and Colored peoples, is characterized as being shockingly brutal and undemocratic. While the government denies these charges, the United Nations Assembly is being pressed to censure General Smuts' government for its policy of racial discrimination and its insistence upon retaining absolute control and possession of South West Africa in defiance of the United Nations.

Kenya, a British colony in East Africa, is under indirect but significant discussion at the U.N. Assembly. All colony-holding governments, Great Britain, Holland, France, Belgium, for instance, are under fire and are on the defensive. They are condemned for their policies of denying democratic political rights to colonial people, for permitting the people to be robbed of most of the wealth they produce, for withholding adequate educational and health services—in short for their failure to govern in the interest of the people. Kenya is a classic instance of such failure and has been frequently cited as such in the U.N. debates on colonial policy.

These two books, *WHITHER SOUTH AFRICA?* and *CRISIS IN KENYA*, are therefore warmly welcomed because they contribute to the all too meager supply of information on and interpretation of African colonial conditions which demand international supervision and correction.

In *WHITHER SOUTH AFRICA?*, Douglas G. Wolton has made it possible for the reader to acquire at the expense of two or three hours of absorbingly interesting reading a broad picture of the essential factors which make present-day South Africa. Beginning with a brief excursion into the background of the Bantu, the African inhabitants of southern Africa, Mr. Wolton moves rapidly into the discussion of his main theme—the relation of 2,000,000 whites to 8,000,000 non-whites in that land. He makes clear that it is a dangerously bad relation, that many whites and Africans know that it is bad, and that a struggle is on with ever-increasing momentum.

Like any serious analysis of so-called racial conflict, *WHITHER SOUTH AFRICA?* describes the underlying economic causes. It reveals the blind, yet calculating, greed of the industrialists and plantation owners and the subservience to them of the government they set up and control. Mr. Wolton believes that inevitably white and black workers will cooperate, and he reveals the trend in this direction. However, he condemns the selfish and venal role of most South African leaders of white labor who have not hesitated to ally themselves with the oppressors of millions in that country, white as well as black.

In discussing the possibility of a democratic South Africa and the elimination of dangerous racial doctrines, Mr. Wolton draws upon the experiences of the Soviet Union in solving "native problems."

CRISIS IN KENYA is a detailed study of colonial rule in Kenya Colony, a vital part of Britain's extensive African empire. This book calls for careful reading, and is well worth it. Its detailed charts and tables add irrefutable factual documentation to the charges of exploitation and calculated misrule made against the white rulers of Kenya. The story of the Africans' desperate and miserable existence under foreign rule there is so clearly and convincingly revealed that even the casual reader will not put this book down.

CRISIS IN KENYA is constructive. Based on their analysis of the political and economic framework of the country the authors, Mr. and Mrs. K. Aaronovitch, have made some very valuable and important proposals for the advancement of the welfare of all the Colony's 3,500,000 people.

Like *WHITHER SOUTH AFRICA?, CRISIS IN KENYA* compares the condition of that colony's people with that of struggling peasant movements in other lands, thus setting forth the colonial question in its world aspect. Both books are serious studies of the meaning of imperialism.

We in America, the foremost modern imperialist power, need to know the lessons these books teach.

MAX YERGAN

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ARRESTS AND MURDER OF WORKERS MARK INCREASING LABOR UNREST IN KENYA

That the title of the book reviewed elsewhere on this page, *Crisis in Kenya,* is no overstatement of the situation in that British colony is borne out by recent news from there.

A correspondent in Nairobi, capital of Kenya, writes the Council that "Since the beginning of the year, the labor situation in East Africa in general, and in Kenya in particular, has been deteriorating on an unprecedented scale."

There was a nine-day strike of African dockers and general workers last month at Dar-es-salaam, harbor capital of Tanganyika.

In Kenya poor pay and bad living conditions of African workers have not been materially altered by the "Tribunal" award made as a consequence of the great Mombasa strike early this year.

On September 5, three Africans were murdered and three others were seriously injured when Kenya police were ordered to fire upon strikers at the Uplands Bacon Factory, about 30 miles from Nairobi. At a court hearing on the incident the magistrate ruled that the police action was justified because the strikers were engaged in an "unlawful assembly." The victims, he said, "died through their own misadventure.'

(This is the second time this year that Kenya authorities have ordered the shooting down of Africans. In January, six Askari soldiers were killed in the quelling of a disturbance at Gilgil, site of the detention camp for Jewish prisoners from Palestine.)

In another blow at the growing strength of African labor, Kenya authorities on August 22 arrested Chege Kibachia, President of the African Workers Federation and organizer and leader of the strike of 20,000 Africans at Mombasa. He was charged under the Deportation Ordinance and, after a 10-day closed trial, was found guilty of having conducted himself "in such a manner as to be dangerous to peace and good order," and was ordered deported to a place within the colony. Africans throughout Kenya rallied to Kibachia's defense, contributing funds at meetings for the expenses of legal counsel.

In still another deportation case Makhan Singh, well-known Indian labor leader, was ordered on August 27 to leave Kenya within 30 days.

The Kenya government has also stepped up its repressive measures against Africans outside the labor movement. James Beuttah, who attended the Asian Relations Conference at New Delhi as an observer, was among four Africans accused last month of attending an "unlawful meeting" in August. Information as to the final verdict has not been received. It is reported that the increasingly stringent measures taken by government in the denial of freedom of assembly are causing "acute unrest" among the people.

Council on African Affairs, Inc.

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for October, 1947

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Monthly Bulletin

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Volume 6, No. 10 November, 1947

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Colonial Powers Dictate Most Decisions on Colonies at U. N.

The salient fact which stands out in reviewing the decisions on colonial matters at the second regular meeting of the U. N. General Assembly is that the colonial powers, who were on the losing side in several important decisions voted by the Trusteeship Committee of the Assembly, were able to get those decisions reversed in their favor in the plenary sessions of the Assembly.

Now, all 57 members of the U. N. were represented in the Trusteeship Committee (not to be confused with the smaller Trusteeship Council responsible solely for trust territories). Normally, the member states who have voted for or against something in Committee, vote the same way in the plenary Assembly sessions. That there was a switch of votes on several important colonial questions when it came time for the crucial test merely confirms what is evident in the other decisions of the Assembly—the dominant influence of the United States in the U.N. In this connection, examination of the record of roll-call votes on the next page is instructive.

The major colonial decisions of the Assembly meeting were the following:

• The Union of South Africa was once again asked to submit a trusteeship agreement for South West Africa, her former mandated territory — by next year — but in more conciliatory language than in the text approved by the Committee. Moreover, the Assembly deleted an important clause of the Committee-approved resolution stating that it was the "clear intention" of the Charter that all former mandated territories should be brought under U. N. Trusteeship. This deletion strengthens South Africa's contention that there is no obligation upon her, under the Charter, to abandon her unilateral control of South West Africa.

• Another territory, the island of Nauru, jointly administered by Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, was brought under the trusteeship system. But as in the case of trusteeship agreements approved last year, the Soviet delegation voted against the Nauru agreement on the ground that it violated the terms of the Charter (see *New Africa,* Nov., 1946 and Jan., 1947). There has thus been no progress, in fact not even any *attempt* at progress, toward resolving the disagreements between the two major powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., on this matter.

• The Committee approved a resolution, introduced by India, expressing the hope that, in accordance with Article 77, 1, C of the Charter, the colonial powers "will propose Trusteeship agreements . . . for all or some of such territories as are not ready for self-government." This was defeated and discarded by the Assembly even though a compromise amendment was offered—it had already been drastically modified in Committee.

• The Assembly rejected a Committee-approved proposal that information concerning health, education, etc. in the colonies, as transmitted to the U. N. by the colonial powers, be compared with similar data concerning the metropolitan countries themselves. The colonial powers of course wanted no such comparison made. They preferred comparison between the colonies and self-governing countries in the same geographical area, countries like Liberia, Egypt, Cuba and China.

• The Assembly rejected a Committee-approved resolution recommending that the colonial powers include in their annual colonial reports to the U. N. information concerning "the participation of local populations in the work of local organs of administration." Instead, the "voluntary transmission" of such information was "duly noted and encouraged." But the United Kingdom and Belgium voted against even this.

• The Trusteeship Committee recommended the establishment of a Special Committee by the General Assembly to ex-

(*continued on next page*)

Leaders of the fight for democracy in South Africa. At a press conference held recently in the Council's library, Max Yergan, Executive Director of the Council, was snapped talking with three visitors from South Africa. Left to right: Rev. Michael Scott, representative of South West Africans and progressive European organizations in the Union; Max Yergan; A. I. Meer, secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress; and Barney Gordon, representative of the Springbok Legion, veterans' organization in South Africa.

HOW THEY VOTED ON EIGHT ROLL-CALL COLONIAL ISSUES
(Observe Where the N(o) Votes Came From!)

Column 1—Trusteeship Committee vote, October 15, on Indian resolution requesting submission of trusteeship agreement for South West Africa by the Union of South Africa by the time of the next Assembly meeting. Y=Yes. N=No. A=abstained (in all columns). Blank space=absent (in all columns). Total vote: 27 Y, 20 N, 4 A. Americas: 8 Y, 5 N, 3 A.

Column 2—Assembly vote, November 1, on whether the resolution on South West Africa should be approved by simple majority or by two-thirds majority. Y=for simple majority. N=for two-thirds majority (which meant defeat of the Indian resolution as approved by the Committee). Total vote: 20 Y, 31 N, 5 A. Americas: 2 Y, 15 N, 4 A!

Column 3—Trusteeship Committee vote, October 14, on resolution expressing hope that the colonial powers would bring "all or some" of their territories under the U. N. trusteeship system. Total vote: 25 Y, 23 N, 3 A. Americas: 5 Y, 10 N, 3 A.

Column 4—Assembly vote, November 1, on the same resolution after it had been amended to make it more generally acceptable. (Two-thirds majority approval required.) Total vote: 24 Y, 24 N, 1 A. Americas: 7 Y, 9 N, 1 A.

Column 5—Assembly vote, November 3, nullifying proposal of Trusteeship Committee majority that comparison be made between colonies and the mother countries with regard to such matters as education, health and other data. Y=against dropping this clause, N=in favor. Total vote: 18 Y, 30 N, 9 A. Americas: 5 Y, 14 N, 2 A!

Column 6—Assembly vote, November 3, on whether a simple or two-thirds majority should be required in voting on resolution as approved by Committee majority, establishing a special committee to examine and make recommendations regarding information in colonial territories. Y=for simple majority. N=for two-thirds majority. Total vote: 22 Y, 29 N, 5 A. Americas: 5 Y, 14 N, 1 A!

Column 7—Assembly vote, November 3, on Indian amendment to the same resolution, setting up the special committee "as an experimental measure." The opponents would not accept even this. Total vote: 16 Y, 25 N, 15 A. Americas: 1 Y, 12 N, 7A! Following this and the defeat of another conciliatory amendment, and of the Committee-approved resolution, a substitute resolution limiting the powers of the special committee, proposed jointly by Brazil, Denmark, France, Netherlands, Nicaragua, U.S.A., and Uruguay, was approved.

Column 8—Assembly vote, October 31, on a Soviet-sponsored resolution providing for the participation, without vote, of non-self-governing territories of Asia and the Far East in the U. N. Economic Commission for that area. Total vote: 13 Y, 23 N, 17 A. Americas: 1 Y, 8 N, 9 A!

AMERICAS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
United States	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Argentina	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Bolivia	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Brazil	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Chile	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Colombia	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	A
Costa Rica		N	A		N	N	N	
Cuba	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Dominican Republic		N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Ecuador		N		N	N	N	N	A
El Salvador	N	N			N	N	A	A
Guatemala	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Haiti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Honduras	Y	A	A		A	A	A	
Mexico	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Nicaragua	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Panama	Y	A	Y	Y	N			A
Paraguay		N			N	N	N	
Peru		N	N	N	N	N	A	A
Uruguay	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Venezuela	Y	N	A	A	A	Y	A	A
U.K. & DOMINIONS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
United Kingdom	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Australia	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Canada	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
New Zealand	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
U. of South Africa	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
India	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pakistan	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y
WESTERN EUROPE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Belgium	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Denmark	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
France	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Luxembourg	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Netherlands	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Norway	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Sweden	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
EASTERN EUROPE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U.S.S.R.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ukrainian S.S.R.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Czechoslovakia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Poland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Yugoslavia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OTHER STATES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Afghanistan	Y	A	Y		Y	A	Y	Y
China	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Egypt	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	A	A
Ethiopia	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Greece	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Iceland	N	N		N	N	N	N	N
Iran	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	A
Iraq	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	A
Lebanon	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	Y
Liberia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Philippines	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A
Saudi Arabia	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	A
Siam					Y	Y	Y	
Syria	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	A	Y
Turkey	N	N		N	N	A	A	N
Yemen	Y		Y		A	A	A	A

COLONIAL POWERS DICTATE (cont'd)

amine the information on colonies transmitted to the U. N. and to make "such recommendations as it may deem appropriate." In place of this, the Assembly voted that the Special Committee should act simply as a temporary subsidiary body of the Trusteeship Committee, and that it should *not* make recommendations "with respect to individual territories."

• A further effort was made by the colonial powers to trim down this Special Committee's work by cutting out the appropriation of $5,400 for printing its report, but this move was defeated.

• There was agreement on a standard form for the "guidance" of member states transmitting information concerning their non-self-governing territories, so that this information may be more complete, detailed, and uniformly presented in the future. The reports submitted to date were found to give an inadequate and inaccurate picture of colonial conditions.

• Finally, also on the constructive side, there was approval of a recommendation by the Indian delegation that the information submitted on colonial conditions "should be so classified as to show the manner in which the different elements of the population, indigenous and non-indigenous, are affected, and in particular, whether in law or administrative practice there is any discrimination based on race, color, or religion."

The Belgian Congo and Uranium Politics

EVER since the end of the last century when foreign observers revealed to a shocked world the atrocities inflicted on the inhabitants of the Belgian Congo in connection with the winning of rubber, Belgian governments have been reticent in regard to the publication of information about that vast territory. The present Belgium Government pursues that tradition with even greater determination than its predecessors.

Its secretiveness, however, is not so much in connection with the conditions of life of the people over whom it rules, deplorable though these conditions are. It is rather on the question of one of the products of the territory and of the condition and destination of its export that the government practices a policy of "sealed lips" and downright deception and falsification.

As is known, up to the outbreak of World War II the products of the Belgian Congo were exported almost exclusively to Belgium. However, in 1940 an Anglo-Congo Bipartite Agreement was reached whereby the British Government took many of the products of the Congo which were indispensable to the war effort. With the entry of the United States into the war and the loss of the Netherlands East Indies the resources of the Congo assumed even greater importance in the supply of raw materials to the war industries.

A tripartite agreement, Anglo-American-Congo, replaced the former bipartite agreement, and tin, cobalt, wolfram, industrial diamonds—and uranium—found their way to the U.S.A. in ever increasing quantities.

By 1945 the United States accounted for 35% of the total exports of the Belgian Congo. And it requires no great effort on the part of the average individual to imagine the important role of uranium in these exports. Yet the Belgian Government persists in describing its deliveries to the American atomic bomb industry as "scrap metal."

The Case of Senator Libois

Numerous questions on the subject of uranium exports from the Congo have been asked in the Belgian Parliament by several members, notable amongst whom has been Senator Paul Libois, well-known scientist and university professor. They have met with a stubborn refusal on the part of Prime Minister Paul-Henri Spaak to give the least information.

The Belgian Government cannot prevent these embarrassing questions on uranium being asked in the Chamber. But when it comes to talking publicly about uranium in the hearing of the Belgian people and indeed of the world at large, the Government is not lacking in resourcefulness to circumvent this awkward situation. Such was the experience of Senator Libois who sought to broacast on the Belgian radio on October 9th on "The Problem of Uranium."

The text of his speech was sent to the broadcasting authorities, according to established practice, for their approval. Finding in it nothing to which they could reasonably object, they nevertheless took the unusual course of passing the speech on to M. Achille van Acker, Minister of Communications. The Minister pleaded that he could not make any decision thereon whilst the Prime Minister was out of the country at the United Nations meeting. M. van Acker therefore begged Senator Libois to postpone his radio speech until the Prime Minister had been given the opportunity of seeing it.

This crude attempt to gag the senator was only partially successful. The Brussells newspaper, *Le Drapeau Rouge* (11th and 12th October), perfomed a public service by publishing the text of M. Libois' speech and giving the Belgian people a chance to judge it for themselves. It contained nothing more than what is currently passing through the minds of progressive people everywhere, not least among them the peoples of Belgium and the Belgian Congo.

Uranium is at present the most precious raw material. It is desired, nay coveted, by those who aim to dominate the world by their military power. It is also needed by those who see in it the principal source of energy of the future.

The U.S.A. Congo Uranium

It is well-known that the principal deposits of uranium are in the Belgian Congo, which accounts for two-thirds of the world extraction of the ore. All this output is exported to the United States, from whence a very small part is re-exported to Great Britain. No other countries—including Belgium—receive a share.

M. Libois accused the Belgian Government of maintaining a close secrecy in all matters concerning the uranium of the Belgian Congo. It refused to make public the text of the Belgo-American agreement on Congo uranium. It refused to give an account of the quantity of uranium exported to the United States and of the price paid for it. (Paradoxically enough, figures have been published in America and they show that the Congo exported 7,494 tons of uranium to the United States in 1946 and 1,646 tons during the first quarter of 1947—D.B.)

M. Libois believes that two alternatives are presented to the Belgian people. Should they help a State, or a group of States, to impose by force their political ideas or economic domination on the world? Or should they collaborate, according to their means, with other nations to build a peaceful and harmonious world in which man will at last enjoy the well-being which science and modern technique can provide for him?

There is little doubt as to which course the peoples of Belgium and the Belgian Congo want their government to take. The utilization of nuclear energy for industrial purposes both in metropolitan Belgium and in the Congo could bring great benefits to the peoples of both contries. To that end Belgian scientists should have been given facilities long ago to construct and work on experimental piles.

However, the Belgian Government prefers to deny to its scientists supplies of the uranium extracted within the confines of its own territory and even suppresses information about its disposal although such information is freely published in the United States.

By pursuing its present course the Belgian Government not only violates the honour of the peoples over whom it rules but also betrays a trust of humanity.

DESMOND BUCKLE, *London*

A Frank Statement of Belgian Colonial Policy

The following excerpts from a lecture, recently published in KONGO-OVERZEE, *by Mr. R. Godding, former Belgian Minister for Colonies, need no comment—except possibly the suggestion that the reader might note the similarity between the economic methods and objectives of the Belgian policy and those of the British schemes for colonial economic development now being pressed forward by the Labor Government in London. We quote*:

We can summarize the regime applied to the Belgian Congo as a combination of private enterprise and state nationalization. Our legislation decrees that the mines shall pay taxes varying from 10 to 50 per cent. At a meeting of shareholders, the Government has the right to vote just as any other partner. On every board of directors the Government is represented. At the launching of a new company the Government receives a considerable amount of shares. Altogether from 50 to 55 per cent of the net profits of the mines are being paid into the colonial budget. . . .

What have been the results of this system? It has led to exploitation of extensive gold, copper, tin and diamond mines, which could never have been carried out if it had been left to single individuals, and which the Government—supposing it had been able to find the competent personnel—could never have financed by itself. The system

(*Continued on other side*)

12,000 African Railway Workers on Strike Paralyze Transportation in French West Africa

A strike of 12,000 African railway workers in French West Africa, which began early in October, has brought railway transportation throughout that vast colony to a complete stand-still for more than a month.

The strike organized by the Railway Trade Union Federation has as its main objective the winning of the same wages and conditions enjoyed by the white railway employees.

Efforts at arbitration have failed. It is reported that French officials, who argue that the Africans' complaint of discrimination and their demand for equal pay for equal work are unreasonable, are confident that starvation will ultimately force the African strikers to come to terms.

The present strike represents a new stage in the development of organized labor in French West Africa. Although there have been previous strikes of African workers in the territory, this is the first organized on a such a large scale. It parallels the general strike which paralyzed communications for six weeks throughout Nigeria during the summer of 1945.

RHODESIAN WORKERS ASK PAY RAISE; GOVERNMENT PLANS CURB ON UNIONS

A memorandum entitled "A plea to all employers including government and municipalities to raise the wages of African workers", issued by the Federation of Bulawayo African Workers and two other organizations of African labor in Southern Rhodesia, has recently been received by the Council on African Affairs.

The memorandum warns that "Southern Rhodesia is drifting into an economic crisis. . . . Ever since the war began there has been a progressive rise in cost. The end of the war has not stopped this rise. Drought has aggravated these difficulties. The Africans, more than any other section of the community, have suffered immeasurably from the effects of the war and the drought.

"There must be a reasonable distribution of the wealth of the country. If Southern Rhodesia is a poor country, let us share that poverty. If she is rich, we have an inalienable claim to the wealth of the country."

The memorandum further points out that the system of migrant labor into which the African is forced results in a "demoralizing sense of insecurity" and urges the establishment of permanent urban residential sites for Africans and for the same recognition of skilled African workers as that accorded to whites.

The memorandum concludes with a plea for the establishment of the following scale of minimum weekly wages:

For unskilled workers, 35 shillings ($7.00) for men, 25 shillings ($5.00) for women; for skilled workers, including building tradesmen, teachers, social workers, clerks, etc., the equivalent of $10.00 for men and $7.50 for women. One can imagine what the *present* wages are!

On its side, the government of Southern Rhodesia has proposed a Native Labor Boards Bill setting up machinery for settling disputes between African workers and their employers.

The Bill would Not provide for official recognition of African trade unions but would enable certain limited categories of workers to make representations to an arbitration body composed mainly of representatives of employer interest. As in the case of the notorious Industrial Conciliation (Natives) Bill proposed for South Africa earlier this year, strikes would be outlawed and grievances would have to be referred to the Board.

A FRANK STATEMENT OF BELGIAN COLONIAL POLICY (Continued)

has enabled the laying out of extensive palm, rubber, coffee, tea, cinchona and pyrethrum plantations.

One forgets too easily the great help provided us by our Colony. As a single example I will mention that all the margarine consumed today in Belgium is made from palm and palm kernel oil from Belgian Congo. This margarine can only be sold at the present low price because the Belgian Congo has agreed to sell its oil to Belgium at half the price it could obtain for it if it were freely sold at world prices. Thus Belgian Congo is compelled to sell its surplus production abroad at the same low price. This represents for Belgium a yearly economy of some 250 million francs and for Belgian Congo a reduction in potential revenue of about 800 million francs per annum. *I do not think that this policy is detrimental to the Natives. . . .* (*Our emphasis—editor*)

We have found that by encouraging mining establishment and big plantations on scientific lines with modern equipment, we could produce from the same soil much more at lower cost and of better quality. Hence, we could also raise the standard of living of the Natives.

As regards European settlement, I am convinced that it is of political importance to Belgium to encourage Belgian nationals settling in the Congo . . . Some proposals are in preparation which will, I hope, enable us to double the Belgian population of the Congo within ten years from now. This increased white settlement will not be determintal to the Natives, on the contrary. The two regions where the increase in Native population is most marked —lower Congo and Kivu—are those which have been thrown open to white settlement. The European artisans, foremen, etc., have organized themselves in trade unions, now completely organized as in Belgium. . . .

Life for these people is pretty good, not forgetting that none of them get less than 120,000 francs (about $2,800) per year, in addition to free medical care, housing, and passages in and out. European children can now have in the Congo the same education as in Belgium.

In many respects I consider the attitude of Belgians towards their black brothers the right one. It is one of paternal strictness often mixed with good humor or a joke. . . .

New legislation has been introduced in the Congo, concerning trade unions for Natives, workers' councils and employment committees. As you may imagine, this contains a certain risk, and prudence and discretion are needed to ensure that this new experiment is not used by paid and irresponsible agitators . . . [or as] an instrument for political unrest.

WHITE SETTLERS SHOULD LEAVE EAST AFRICA, SAYS LEONARD BARNES

A meeting held in London last month under the auspices of the Fabian Colonial Bureau heard Leonard Barnes, well-known author of *Soviet Light on the Colonies* and other books dealing with Africa, propose a motion "that non-African settlers in East Africa should be induced to emigrate, leaving the country to the Native inhabitants."

Mr. Barnes said that a settler was a person owning land, making his home permanently in East Africa, proposing to bring up his family there, and making a living from his operations on the land by the use of African workers. Settlers were to be sharply distinguished from the non-African population as a whole.

His latest figures were that in Kenya there were about 1,700 Europeans holding farming land in the Highlands. So, multiplying by four to account for wives and children, there were, say, 7,000 out of a total European population of about 18,000.

"The project of repatriating all European settlers is not economically fantastic," he said. "If compensation of £5,000 per settler were paid, the whole group could be expropriated for some £10,000,000; for that sum they could be put on ships and sent back whence they came—with a box of cigars and a case of whisky apiece for the journey: for in Kenya whisky is known as a conventional necessity, is it not?"

Mr. Barnes cited four different attitudes toward the problem of white settlers in East Africa held by such personalities as Norman Leys, Mrs. Elspeth Huxley, Miss Margery Perham, and the present Governor of Kenya, Sir Phillip Mitchell. Though the attitudes differ, he said, "All assume that the settlers are there to stay, and that there is some means of reconciling the divergent interests represented by the settler group on the one hand and the other East African groups.

"Nobody would want to break down all contact between Europe and Africa. There are many essential tasks which can be effectively discharged only by Europeans. My point is that the presence of settlers, so far from providing favourable conditions for the rendering of such assistance, does exactly the opposite.

"Recently Dr. Hinden and I attended a conference of Colonial administrators in Cambridge. The whole theme before those responsible officials was that of the hand-over, of how our responsibility for social, political and economic affairs was to be transferred to Africans in the most rapid and orderly fashion possible.

"To build up in an African colony a group of people with very powerful and deep-rooted privileges will make insoluble the whole policy of transfer, which would be difficult enough in any conditions. It makes nonsense of the whole policy of partnership. Social planning is the only way forward in Africa, and the policy of white settlement stands condemned as an obstacle to that planning."

THE STATESMEN TALK ABOUT COLONIES—Notes of an Observer

Imperialist United Front

The impenetrable united front of all the colonial powers against any encroachment upon their "sovereign rights" of colonial rule and against any extension of the scope of the trusteeship system. Don't overload it, Mr. McNeil of the United Kindom warned; "the trusteeship system has enough on its plate." And Mr. Dulles of the U.S.A., champion of the U. N. Balkan and Korean Commissions, changed his tune when dealing with the colonies and trusteeship, cautioning against burdening the U. N. unduly and prematurely.

The Two Creech Jones'

The striking contrast between Mr. Creech Jones of today, British Secretary of State for Colonies, denouncing efforts to widen the application of the trusteeship system to colonies in general, and the Creech Jones of only two years ago when as leader of the Fabian Colonial Bureau he declared that the administration of all non-self-governing territories was "a matter of international concern," and that there was no reason why Kenya, for example, as well as Tanganyika, Nigeria as well as the Cameroons, should not be under international control. When this reversal of views was pointed out in full detail to the Trusteeship Committee by the Indian delegate whose resolution had been attacked, Mr. Creech Jones sat re-faced, with eyes averted, and said not a word in self-defense.

Hair-Splitting

The everlasting legalistic hair-splitting resorted to by the spokesmen for the colonial *status quo* and their oft-repeated demand for adherence to the strict letter of the Charter (when it suited their purpose), while evading fundamental moral and humanitarian considerations.

It All Depends—

The trenchant observation made by the Soviet delegate, Mr. Arutiunian: "It seems to me that Article 73 of the Charter has met with a peculiar fate: it has a certain elasticity in the hands of the colonial powers." He noted that the representatives of those powers, citing the Charter, had objected to extending to their colonies the convention prohibiting traffic in women and children, as well as obscene literature, because it would violate the principle of self-determination. Yet when the Soviet Union attempted to further that principle of self-determination by securing participation (without vote) of the colonial peoples in the work of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East "we are again shown the Charter and are told, on the basis of the very same Article, that this cannot be done."

Council Leaders Inverview Mr. Sayre

Leaders of the Council on African Affairs on October 28 interviewed Francis B. Sayre, U. S. representative on the Trusteeship Committee of the U. N. General Assembly. They exprssed criticism of the role of the U. S. delegation in opposing a forthright demand upon the Union of South Africa to submit a trusteeship agreement for South West Africa.

Stating that the side on which the U. S. A. voted on this issue would be closely watched by Negro Americans as well as liberal white people, the Council leaders urged the U. S. delegation to take the initiative in securing just and democratic solution of this and other colonial and racial discrimination questions before the U. N.

Present at the conference with Mr. Sayre were Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council; Max Yergan, Executive Director; Wm. Jay Schieffelin, Vice Chairman; W. A. Hunton, Educational Director; and the Rev. J. Henry Carpenter, a member of the Council and Executive Secretary of the Protestant Council of the City of New York, Brooklyn Division, who has visited South Africa on behalf of his Church Board.

Escape Clause

The clause of the Charter most often cited by defenders of reactionary, anti-democratic regimes is Article 2, paragraph 7: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. . . ." Cited by (among others) Argentina in demanding that the U. N. say and do nothing about South Africa or Spain, by South Africa in her own defense plea, by the Netherlands in protesting against U. N. interference in Indonesia, and by Belgium in rejecting decisions of the General Assembly affecting relations with her colonies. As one delegate remarked, from a certain point of view practically any question can be regarded as one of domestic jurisdiction. Unless correctly interpreted and applied, Article 2, paragraph 7, will unllify some of the most important sections of the Charter and render the U. N. powerless to achieve its declared objectives.

On the Defensive

The representatives of the colony-holding countries, particularly of the United Kingdom, striving to portray the colonial system as a benevolent and progressive institution and charging its enemies, especially the Soviet Union, with "making political propaganda." One of the worst examples of such defenses of colonialism was the 21-page and hour-long speech by the United Kingdom's representative, Mr. A. H. Poynton, in which he pompously lectured the members of the Trusteeship Committee of the Assembly, Ocotber 3, on what he called the "five fallacies which seem to color every international discussion on colonial affairs." The colonial system, he declared, "is not a negation of democracy: it is a practical illustration of democracy under tuition."

Racial Discrimination

A challenge that was not met: "I have cited more than once the case of Kenya" said Sir Maharaj Singh, speaking for India, in one of the plenary sessions of the Assembly. "Not a word has been said by any representative of the United Kingdom about the racial discrimination exercised in so intense a form against all Africans and all Asiatics in that colony. I should like Mr. McNeil (chief delegate of the United Kingdom) to make a reference even now—and if he wishes to do this, I shall sit down—to the colony of Kenya. I challenge him to defend the racial discrimination which prevails there."

Colonial Stooges

This year the French Government appointed Mr. Fily-Dabo Sissoko, an African, as a member of its delegation to the General Assembly meeting, presumably as a demonstration of France's democratic ideals. Like his predecessors,—Mr. Douala Manga of Cameroons at last year's Assembly meeting and Mr. Gaston Monnerville of French Guiana at the London preparatory meeting of the Assembly,—Mr. Sissoko proved himself to be a loyal adherent and supporter of the French colonial regime. Enough of such hand-picked stooges! It is high time that the delegations of *all* the colony-holding states, not excepting the U.S.A., included *duly elected representatives* of their colonial subjects. Why not?

Malicious Half-Truths

One of the most fallacious, self-in criminating, and exasperating arguments repeatedly used by Mr. Lawrence, spokesman for General Smuts, in attempting to defend South Africa's treatment of its non-white population was that conditions must not be so bad for them since Africans continue to "flock into South Africa" from neighboring territories, and the Indians refuse to go back to India even though offered free passage. Mr. Lawrence obviously did not realize that he was saying in effect that South Africa belongs to whites and to whites only. And he of course did not explain that Africans are *forced* to come to South Africa because they have been rendered landless and cannot find remunerative work to pay their taxes in adjacent territories; and that the Indians, by virtue of their contribution to the development of South Africa, have more right to re-

(*continued on next page*)

Democracy and Indirect Rule

E. H. Ashton, in an article in AFRICA *(Oct., 1947), Journal of the International African Institute, reaches the conclusions quoted below in analyzing the problem of whether present-day British colonial administration in Africa is advancing or retarding the Africans' political progress:*

When discussing the political development of the African it is important to ask whether in his social organization there is a sufficiently strong element of popular participation in government to form a basis for modern democratic institutions. . . .

The following conclusions may be drawn in answer to the question posed. . . The traditional native social organization contained a strong element of democratic control over the tribal policy and over the actions of tribal authority, namely the Chief. This control was exercised through recognized and clearly defined institutions. This control and these institutions have been considerably weakened in modern times by two interacting influences.

The first is the policy of the British administration of working through the local Native Authorities and regarding them as the link between itself and the people, without ensuring that the people are consulted. The second is that the people have been drawn into the stream of European economic and social influences.

As they have neither the education nor the experience to understand them, they can no longer play a significant part in the administration of their public affairs and are therefore dependent on the leadership of the British administration and of their Chiefs, whom, by the same token, they are in no position to control. Thus their government has become largely authoritarian and out of touch with the ordinary tribesmen.

The Chiefs should again become responsible to their people. The spread of education and economic development will help to bring this about, but at the same time (and long before their effects can be felt), Government should lay greater emphasis on the people and take more cognizance of their views. The Chief will still be the adminstrative link between the British administration and the people, but authority should shift from the top to the bottom.

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Social Services In Nigeria Fall Far Short of Need

Supplementing the information on Educational and Health Services in the British Colonies, given in the September issue of *New Africa,* as derived from the reports submitted to the United Nations by the United Kingdom Government for the year 1946, we give here the data subsequently made available concerning Nigeria.

Expenditures

Total population — 21,800,000, including 6,000 Europeans.

Total expenditure of government (in U.S.$) —$49,031,518.

Total government expenditure on education (in U.S. $)—$4,454,852, of which $1,000,000 (estimated) was spent by Native Authorities and $224,892 was from Colonial Development and Welfare Grant.

Total government expenditure on health (in U. S. $) — $4,888,000, of which $800,000 (estimated) spent by Native Authorities.

Per cent of total government expenditures for education—9.1%.

Per cent of total government expenditure for health—9.9%

Education

Government expenditure per head of total population (in U.S. $)—20 cents.

Average annual attendance in primary and post-primary schools—523,628 (no break-down of students in primary and post-primary schools, or of those enrolled in government-aided and non-aided schools, is given).

Government estimate of percentage of primary and post-primary pupils to total school-age population—24% (much higher than is generally estimated.)

Percentage of all school children in relation to total population—2.4%.

Government estimate of percentage of literacy—not given.

Average annual attendance in government or government-aided post-primary and vocational schools—only figure given is 2,600 teacher training students.

Health

Government expenditure per head of population (in U.S. $)—22 cents.

Infant mortality rate per 1000—109.7 for the township of Lagos, "the only rate to which any reliability can be attached."

Death rate per 1000—not given.

Number of inhabitants for each doctor—100,000.

Number of hospital beds per 1000 of population—0.3.

Notes of an Observer (cont'd)

main there than have a considerable section of the white population.

Conflicting Points of View

The Yugoslav delegate on one side of the debate on South West Africa criticizing "the intransigeant and even rebellious attitude of the South African delegation," and the United States delegate on the other side expressing solicitude for Smuts and South African (white) public opinion, and urging the delegates not to cause them any embarrassment.

And More of the Same

The electric effect when Madam Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation, unexpectedly entered the Assembly debate on South West Africa to answer Mr. Evatt's (Australia) lofty praises of Smuts and South Africa. And Sir Maharaj Singh's rejoinder to Evatt: "There is no such thing as a democratic government in the Union of South Africa."

Pan-American Bloc

Fourteen of the twenty Latin and South American members of the United Nations (while four of the remaining six abstained) obediently following the virtual command of Mr. Arce (Argentina) and Mr. Dulles (U.S.A.) to vote for the two-thirds majority requirement rather than the simple majority for approval of the South West Africa resolution, thus securing defeat of the Indian text and endorsement of the much weaker alternative proposed by Denmark. (See Column 2 on page 2).

Warning

The grave warning uttered by Sir Maharaj Singh: "They (the Africans) are awake in West Africa, in East Africa — I have been there; yes, and steadily but slowly they are awakening in South Africa. There is a sore festering among them and that sore is not going to be healed under present conditions. Agitation in those countries is increasing and will increase. It is for you, fellow delegates, and for you alone . . . to say whether you intend that justice should be done or to say that you are impotent and can do nothing and must leave them to their fate."

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23 West 26th Street
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for November, 1947

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

Volume 6, No. 11 December, 1947

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International Finance Looks to Undeveloped African Resources: Anglo-Saxon Scheme of Super-Exploitation Expected to Save Bankrupt Europe

"The whole Anglo-Saxon bloc must go into profit-making development; something which is going to develop entirely new sources of wealth, provide new markets, and smash right through the whole idea of reduction and restraint.

"The solution is an AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMPANY *with a minimum capital of* £5,000,000,000 [20 *billion dollars*] *subscribed in the currencies of the participants, and partly subscribed by private enterprise. . . .*

"It won't be necessary to ask America to lend money. By this means not only her Government but her private citizens can invest it with a chance of large financial profits, plus big openings in new markets, and the bringing into use of vast new sources of real wealth. . . .

"An AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMPANY *would have such resources and influence that it would get first priorities for everything it required. Of course, it would not interfere with the sovereignty of any territory; it would be a commercial concern—out for profits—large expanding profits."*

The foregoing declaration occurs in an article in the *New Rhodesia* (Sept. 12, 1947), a weekly journal published in Southern Rhodesia by Europeans "for the promotion and development of Rhodesian industries." The editor's foreword to the article states that it represents "extracts from a memorandum" on "a plan for an African Development Company that had been discussed in various influential quarters in Great Britain, America, and France and other countries of Western Europe."

The African Development Company scheme, then, cannot be lightly dismissed. It was introduced to Americans of influence by a British right-wing journalist and publisher, Kenneth de Courcy, who recently visited the United States for that specific purpose.

The anti-Soviet aspect of the super-exploitation project (discussed a little later in this article) has won it the plaudits of Britain's Munich-men and reactionaries, including the fascist leader, Sir Oswald Mosley, who echoes Hitler in his attitude toward the "inferior race" of Africans. One finds similar ideas expressed among the French fascists surrounding General De Gaulle.

What Part Will America Play?

Realization of this scheme depends primarily upon the availability of capital and capital goods from the United States. Will it be forthcoming? As far back as 1943 a State Department spokesman observed that trade with Africa "is bound to grow over the years. We would not be American if we were not interested in that . . . When the time comes to formulate the conditions for the better world we all hope will follow the present struggle, I feel certain that the American principle of equality of opportunity in trade will remain a paramount factor in Africa, applicable in the colonies of whatever nationality . . ."

In this day of the Marshall Plan, it is hardly likely that Britain, France and Belgium can oppose America's access to the wealth of their respective African empires. They have little choice in the matter if they accept American dollars on American terms. The best they can hope for is that Wall Street and Washington will agree to some joint international scheme such as that of the African Development Company, so that Africa may not be completely converted from a European appendage into an American colony.

Incidentally, it may be noted here that the U.S. finance group, Stettinius Associates (*See Liberia item on page* 3), is reported to be chief sponsor of the World Commerce Corporation, latest offspring of international finance, with representatives in forty-seven countries, subsidiaries in six, and "unlimited capital resources among its potent U.S., British and Canadian backers."

Africa the "Only Solution"

To return to the African Development Company (A.D.C.) scheme, its proponents declare that it offers the only practical solution to the economic difficulties facing Britain, Western Europe, and America itself. These countries, says the article previously quoted, "need new sources of wealth; new markets; new expansions; a fresh flow of world trade." Dollar loans and the Marshall plan can be regarded only as temporary stopgap measures: "If we meander along trying to reshuffle old interests, and old wealth, and embark upon no constructive policy of development, we shall tumble into a calamity. It is not far ahead."

This is, of course, the reason why the British Government is at present sponsoring two big undertakings, the Colonial Development Corporation and Overseas Food Corporation, and why Sir Stafford Cripps told the Conference of African Governors in London last month that "the whole future of the sterling group and its ability to survive depend in my view upon a quick and extensive development of our African resources."

But whereas the Government desperately hopes and strives to carry out this development unilaterally, with the temporary relief of the Marshall Plan affording three or four years of grace in which to begin getting substantial returns, the advocates of the A.D.C. plan declare that neither Britain alone, nor America alone, nor "a mere Anglo-American arrangement" can work out such a policy of African economic development. All of the Marshall Plan countries—"the whole Anglo-Saxon bloc"—must have a hand in it. So runs their argument.

Like the Truman-Marshall doctrine and the programs for American aid to Greece, Turkey, and Kuomintang China, the A.D.C. is proposed as a *stop-Russia* measure. We quote:

"Strategically the African continent is of first importance. It is not too much to say that in case of war, the Anglo-Saxon system couldn't be defended without a highly developed Africa. Beyond all the commercial and strategic attractions are political ones, too. If Africa is not developed by the civilized powers grouped in this way, it will fall victim to many political dangers."

The close relationship between economic schemes and military strategy for post-war Africa has been previously pointed out in *New Africa* (See November, 1946, May 1947 and July-August 1947 issues). This question has lately been widely and openly discussed—by Mr. Wilson (*see below*) for example, who declares that an "undeveloped"

(*Continued on page* 3)

U. S. A. Blocks United Nations Action on South African Discrimination Issue

The failure of the U.N. General Assembly to reaffirm the 1946 resolution on discrimination against Indians in South Africa, due largely to the influence of the U.S. delegation (which also successfully opposed reaffirmation of the Assembly's previous resolution on Spain), has in no sense weakened the fight against the South African Color Bar. It has, rather, merely served to make the democratic forces in South Africa more reliant upon their own efforts in continuing their struggle for racial equality and justice.

"In supporting the cause of Indians in South Africa," Prime Minister Nehru told the Indian Parliament on December 12, reviewing the action of the U.N. Assembly, "we have worked not only for the rights of people of our own race but for the rights of oppressed people throughout the world. That attitude we are determined to maintain in the firm faith our cause is right and that ultimately right will prevail."

On November 30, an emergency meeting of the Natal Passive Resistance Council held in Durban decided to convene a South African Indian conference as soon as possible and to prepare for two other conferences, one of non-European national organizations in South Africa, and the other of Asian and African liberatory movements throughout Africa. The Indian leader, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, warned the meeting that South Africa was rapidly moving towards fascism, and said, "It is for the Indian people, other non-Europeans, and democratic forces among the Europeans to close their ranks and put a stop to this dangerous trend."

Further, the Working Committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress on December 16 welcomed and supported the decision "to continue and intensify the Passive Resistance struggle." Government authorities have apparently tired of arresting Indian demonstrators for "trespassing" on land from which the "ghetto law" bars them. Indian leaders, however, are now planning new forms of mass resistance including violation of regulations requiring Indians to carry special passes in travelling from one province to another.

How the U. N. Assembly Voted

At the Plenary Session of the U.N. General Assembly on November 20, a minority of the members including the United States, United Kingdom and South Africa succeeded in defeating a majority-endorsed resolution on discrimination against Indians in South Africa, but failed in their attempt to have the question referred to the World Court.

The minority victory was made possible by the requirement of a two-thirds majority for approval of the Indian-sponsored resolution. It was defeated by a vote of 31 for, 19 against and 6 abstensions. The other substitute resolution proposed by Belgium, Brazil, Cuba, Denmark and Norway, and strongly supported by the U.S., was defeated by a vote of 24 for, 29 against and 3 abstentions.

The rejected substitute resolution represented in effect an attempt by the United States and other governments, against whom charges of discrimination have been made, to get a ruling of the International Court of Justice that such questions are domestic in character and hence outside the jurisdiction of the U.N. General Assembly.

This has been the main contention of the South African Government, despite the clear provisions of the U.N. Charter regarding "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

The Indian-sponsored resolution which was approved by the Political Committee of the Assembly by vote of 29 to 15 with 5 abstentions, but was defeated in the plenary meeting, reaffirmed last year's resolution on the same question, provided for a round table conference of India, Pakistan and South Africa "on the basis of that resolution," and requested that the result of the discussions be reported to the U.N. Secretary-General who would make a report at next year's Assembly on the action taken.

The votes against this resolution at the plenary meeting came from American, Western European, and British Commonwealth countries, as follows: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Sweden, South Africa, United Kingdom, and the United States. Bolivia Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay abstained.

Madam Pandit's Warnings

In a very moving speech to the Assembly just before the vote was taken Madam Pandit, leader of the Indian Delegation, addressed some very pointed remarks to the British Commonwealth countries, to the United States, and to the members of the United Nations as a whole.

She requested the members of the British Commonwealth "to reflect very seriously over the certain consequences all over Asia and Africa of voting down a resolution of this character. The Charter will lose its meaning for million of people throughout the world, and the foundations of the United Nations will be weakened by a denial of the very principles which we are so fond of quoting from this rostrum."

Turning to face the American Delegation, Madam Pandit observed that the United States by virtue of its own brave "breaking away from colonial domination" represented "a source of inspiration to peoples who cherish freedom and equality," and then she continued:

"Today, the United States, alone of all the nations of the world, is in a position to feed, clothe and rehabilitate those who are in need. The United States has stretched out its hands to aid the distressed millions of people in Europe. . . .

"But man does not live by bread alone; the spirit, too, must be fed. There are millions of people in the world whose spirit has been starved by the denial of elementary human rights, whose hunger for food and material needs, great as it is, is not greater than their yearning for a place of honor and equality in the world. To them, also, the United States owes an obligation."

Concluding her speech, Madam Pandit said:

"The world is facing imminent peril on account of mounting racial antagonisms. It looks to the United Nations for leadership based on a recognition of the maintenance of standards and values. We are on trial today. Let us not fail ourselves."

The delegates of the negative-voting countries listed above turned a deaf ear to this challenge.

ALL WE ARE ASKING FOR IS MORE CHAINS
(A Cartoon by E. Simms Campbell in the *Afro-American* Newspapers)

Council's Pamphlet on South Africa Makes Stir Abroad

The major European newspapers in South Africa have carried prominent articles summarizing the contents of *Seeing Is Believing—Here Is the Truth About South Africa,* the illustrated pamphlet published by the Council on African Affairs during the recent U.N. General Assembly meeting. Editorial comment was, naturally, unfavorable.

On the other hand, the progressive *Guardian,* the South African Non- European press, and African newspapers elsewhere on the continent warmly welcomed the exposure of South African conditions by an American organization. From London, also, the League of Colored Peoples reported a brisk sale of the pamphlet and ordered more copies.

The Council on African Affairs still has available a supply of *Seeing Is Believing* (25c) as well as other of its publications.

U. S. BIG BUSINESS IN AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA — With the transfer of control over the New Union Goldfields mining group to the Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment Company last October, American investment capital centered in the $20,000,000 American Anglo-Transvaal Corporation, established only a little over a year ago, automatically acquired control of vast mining areas throughout South Africa and substantial interest in over 100 industrial companies in the territory. Mr. Henry ("American Century") Luce's *Time* magazine described the deal as "the first big beachhead of American capital in South Africa."

Subsidiaries of big American industrial corporations, such as Goodyear, General Motors, Firestone, Ford and Studebaker are expanding their manufacturing and assembly operations in South Africa. American imports (only $66,000,000 before the war) totaled approximately $230,000,000 last year.

LIBERIA — The most recent and most important manifestation of the new American interest in Liberia (See *New Africa*, April, 1946) is the establishment of the Liberia Company under the chairmanship of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., whose association with the U.S. Steel Corporation is less widely known than his former role in the U.S. State Department. Seventy-five per cent of the shares of the Company are in the hands of private American capital (Stettinius Associates—Liberia, Inc.), the remainder being assigned to the Liberian Government. According to its ambitious, all-inclusive prospectus, the Liberia Company will put the Firestone Corporation's operations in the shade, definitely. The roster of American directors of the Company includes many prominent corporation heads.

EGYPT — Six major United States industrial concerns including the Westinghouse Electric Corporation are in the process of establishing branches in this former British colony.

ETHIOPIA — In this second zone of former British dominance, the Sinclair Oil Corporation two years ago obtained a five-year monopoly over the potential oil resources of the entire country. The area under lease would be reduced by half at five year intervals down to twenty-five per cent of the territory after prospecting has uncovered the main oil deposits.

BELGIAN CONGO — The United States in 1946 is reported to have paid $5,332,000 for 3,650 tons (major portion of the total output) of uranium from this colony in order to add to America's stockpile of atom bombs (See last issue of *New Africa*).

FRENCH AFRICAN COLONIES — American capital in these territories is reaping big profits through the operations of the Franco-American Metals and Minerals Company, the Aluminum Company of Canada, the Metals and Thermits Trust, the Selection Trust, the Newmont and St. Joseph Mining Companies, and other corporations (See *New Africa*, July-August 1947).

RHODESIA — The previously mentioned Newmont Mining Company, of which James F. Byrnes was recently named a director, is listed by Moody's Register as having a "substantial interest" in the British South Africa Company, which controls pretty much everything in Northern Rhodesia and shares copper mining profits (one company, Rhokana Corporation, made net profits of nearly 13 million dollars in 1946-47!) with Rhodesian Anglo-American, Ltd., another outlet for American investment capital.

Profit Seekers Look to Africa (cont'd)

Africa would represent "the gravest danger to the defense of Western democracy against an aggressive and expanding Communism."

The opportunity thus offered of making big profits and opposing Communism at the same time represents very tempting bait indeed for American capital.

The A.D.C. scheme ties in neatly with the "Capricorn Africa" idea as expounded by Mr. N. H. Wilson last August in an address to the Rhodesia National Affairs Association in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

The "Capricorn Africa" Idea

Capricorn Africa, said Mr. Wilson, includes "roughly all those states which lie approximately between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn. To enumerate them: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo, Angola, the two Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Mozambique, and Bechuanaland Protectorate. . . . If a portion of French Equatorial Africa were to be added, it would not be out of place.

"Capricorn Africa thus defined has an area of just over 3,000,000 square miles—slightly larger than the continental United States or than Australia. Its population appears to be some 35 or 40 millions. Its natural resources are far greater than those of the United States, in almost every important respect except deposits of petroleum . . ."

Mr. Wilson stated his credo as follows: "I believe it is the predestined role of Capricorn Africa to help the nations of Western Europe to complete economic recovery— as they cannot be helped except by Capricorn Africa.

"I believe it is the predestined role of Capricorn Africa, in the sphere of World strategy, to hold for democracy what may be in some ways the most critical sector of the front against totalitarian aggression.

"And I believe it is the function of this Colony of Southern Rhodesia to take the leading part—to be the economic, intellectual, industrial and politcal power-house—in shaping Capricorn Africa to play these tremendously important roles, perhaps decisive in the future of all mankind for several generations to come."

The fact that the Union of South Africa is excluded from Capricorn Africa, and that Southern Rhodesia instead of the Union is given the pivotal role in the development of the area, will come as a surprise to some people, since General Smuts and his friends in South Africa have long been advocates of an Anglo-Saxon Pan-Africa.

Apart from the fact that the Rhodesias are currently being boomed as a major steel and ferro-chrome manufacturing center, with a £23,000,000 project directed to this end in prospect, there are two likely explanations for this apparent slighting of South Africa. The first is the fear that if Smuts and his United Party lose the coming national election to the anti-British Nationalists, South Africa might become another Ireland and, consequently, an economic and *military* liability.

Maintenance of Colonial Status Quo

The second possible reason for by-passing South Africa is to allay the fears of the Belgians and French that their territories will be absorbed in a Greater British Africa. It will be observed that Capricorn Africa as defined embraces only *colonial* countries. Both the A.D.C. and Capricorn Africa concepts stress the maintenance of the political *status quo*. Colonial boundaries and national sovereignty will be strictly respected in the political sphere, although not allowed to stand in the way of broad economic development schemes. In other words, European political rule is to remain permanently in Africa.

Mr. Wilson makes this point clear when he says: ". . . broadly speaking, it may be assumed that in one manifestation or another the White Man and his influence are to be permanent features in Capricorn Africa; not transient, as in India, or China, or Indonesia, or perhaps West Africa.

"This is particularly important in respect of Native Policy and Immigration. Only too often the Native Policies evolved by well-meaning people would be justifiable if, and only if, the White Man were a bird of passage, developing the country as a trustee on behalf of wards to whom he would in due course turn over control. That may have been the role of the White Man in India, in French Indo-China, in Dutch East Indies, in Egypt, or even in West Africa; but it is emphatically not the role of the White Man in Capricorn Africa."

African Development Is Job for the U. N.

There are many more ramifications of these "Anglo-Saxon" plans for Africa which we cannot go into here. Enough has been described to indicate their dangerous and fascist content. Industrial and economic development is most assuredly necessary for Africa. But NOT development according to these schemes—not something conceived by and planned for the exclusive benefit of an "Anglo-Saxon bloc."

The economic development of Africa is properly a job for the United Nations. ALL of the major powers, including the Soviet Union and India, must cooperate in the central planning, together with the Africans themselves.

If the United States Government fails to declare its support for such a United Nations approach to the problem of African economic development, then we must assume that it gives its tacit approval to the participation—or perhaps, more accurately, the *leadership*—of Wall Street in the current drive to intensify the imperialistic exploitation of colonies and subject peoples.

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MINE AND RAILWAY WORKERS STRIKE FOR HIGHER PAY IN GOLD COAST

Practically every month since the end of the war has brought news of another strike of African workers in another section of the continent. Recently it was Kenya, East Africa, that we reported on. This time it is the Gold Coast, West Africa.

Twenty-five thousand workers in that colony struck their jobs on ten gold mines, September 29, after having had their demands for pay increase rejected by the Gold Coast Chamber of Mines. They remained out until November 3, when the strike was suspended pending publication of the arbitrator's award.

The Gold Coast Government at first maintained that there could be no arbitration while the strike continued. The workers nevertheless stood their ground, and when a stalemate resulted it was the Government which finally yielded. A member of the National Arbitration Tribunal of the United Kingdom was flown from London to the Gold Coast. It was only after arbitration hearings ended on October 29 that the Mines Employees Union, representing the workers, agreed to suspend the strike.

On October 23, Africans working on the Gold Coast's 467 miles of railway decided that they too had had enough. Their strike for higher wages and improved conditions brought pasenger service to a complete standstill. After two weeks, on November 7, they agreed to return to work pending settlement of their demands by arbitration.

Another strike of railway workers took place last month across the continent in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The strike of 15,000 Sudanese for a 140 per cent increase over their prewar pay actually began in the early fall. There was a return to work during negotiations, but the workers walked out again when no agreement could be reached.

BRITISH CAMEROONS— African laborers employed by the Cameroons Development Corporation in this trust territory went on strike in October because of non-payment of back wages due them. Police were called into action and 69 strikers were reported arrested, 33 of them being sentenced to prison terms ranging from nine to fifteen months. (*The U.N. Trusteeship Council will please take notice.*)

OUR CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON RECENT EVENTS IN LONDON

West African Independence

Under the title "Independence for West Africa Now?" the Fabian Colonial Bureau early last month held a discussion which was well attended by West Africans in London. The Rev. Reginald Sorenson, M.P., leading the discussion, said that he noted a strong general tendency toward a change in the point of view in the imperialist countries from mercenary to trusteeship motives. He considered the principle of national sovereignty and independence morally unassailable. It was the inalienable right of every people to assume direct control of its destinies.

As to the time factor in the question of independence it was for West Africans alone to determine. It was also for them to decide whether independence would be within or without the framework of the British Commonwealth, whether future guidance and economic cooperation from Britain would be required, and whether or not there would be foreign military alliances.

Dr. Segal, M.P., who replied, was not sure that it would be in the interests of West Africans to grant them independence now. He described the visit he paid to West Africa with a Parliamentary delegation early in the year.

Dr. Segal found Lagos full of enthusiasm for Nigerian independence. But that was not the real face of the country. At Oyo, 150 miles away in the interior, he came upon its real problem—poverty. How he felt for the women who had to walk 28 miles to and from the collecting depot carrying on their heads 60 lb. loads of palm kernels for which they received the sum of 9 d. (15 cents) per basket! He visited a village which drew its water supply from a well four miles away.

Even in the Gold Coast with its vast natural wealth, where the average income per head was four times that of Nigeria, there was a similar lack of social amenities. The hospital at Tamale, the capital of the Northern Territories, had only 18 beds to serve a population of over 200,000. The vital question of the moment, declared Dr. Segal, was therefore not the granting of independence but the giving of a helping hand to overcome poverty. Independence now, he considered, was the coward's way out of the problem.

In the contributions from the floor West Africans almost unanimously repudiated the Fabian thesis. Several speakers noted the change in the policy of the Fabians towards the colonies, now that a Labor Government was in power. The sophistry of the neo-imperialists would not deter them from the struggle for independence. The spirit of freedom was abroad now and was soaring ever higher. They cited the West African saying: "You cannot contain the flight of a bird by building walls."

Lena Horne in London

The tiny hall of the West African students' hostel was packed to suffocation by West Africans and their English friends on November 21st on the occasion of the visit of Miss Lena Horne, the celebrated colored film star, who was then appearing in London. Miss Horne in simple language but with an easy command of her facts told her audience of the struggle for equality of the Negroes of the U.S.A. "We Negroes in the States can lick our problem," she said. "We must help the African Negro to do the same." She then spoke of the work of the Council on African Affairs.

Lena Horne as the talented and consummate artist was well-known to her audience, but on this occasion they saw her in another light for she revealed herself as being in the tradition of great humanists which the American section of the Negro race has produced from time to time.

Indictment of S. Rhodesia

At a conference on Human Rights called by the National Council for Civil Liberties, the Commission on the British Colonies heard a powerful indictment of the Government of Southern Rhodesia for the intolerable conditions prevailing for the African inhabitants of that territory. This was delivered by a young Englishman, Mr. Peter Harris, who was resident in Southern Rhodesia up to about two years ago. He told of the proposal of the Rhodesian Prime Minister to close the African franchise for twenty years, a move inspired by the fear that many Africans might soon qualify under the property qualifications and thereby swamp the European vote.

Religious discrimination was rife in Rhodesia. The Dutch Reformed Church basing itself on the Old Testament claimed Africans to be descendants of Ham and formally excluded them from membership. The Catholic and other missionaries officially repudiated the color bar, but as their attitude met with the disapproval of the general European public they were not always vigorous in their denunciation of discriminatory practices. African children were denied education unless they embraced the Christian faith, he said.

DESMOND BUCKLE, *London*

BELIEVE IT OR NOT . . .

When the Council on African Affairs last year sent shipments of canned food and milk to South Africa for free distribution to African starvation victims in that country, the South African Government, despite representations made by this organization, refused to waive the custom charges normally placed on commercial imports. These charges amounted to over $800—to be exact, £204, 8 s., 11 d.

It has now come to our notice that the South African Government has recently voluntarily waived the import tax of $5,800 on a Hollywood film, "The Best Years of Our Lives" in appreciation of the educational value of the film.

We commend this latter action, but we wish the Government authorities would either practice more consistency or else acknowledge that it rates "educational" films for Europeans above life-saving food for Africans.

A MESSAGE FROM MAKERERE COLLEGE

Makerere College, located in Kampala, Uganda, is the only institution of higher education available to Africans in East Africa and serves students from the surrounding territories. A letter to the Council on African Affairs from Mr. A. C. MacPherson, dean of the college, states that "The students of this college are immensely interested in America and are very keen to establish any links they can between Makerere and institutions in the United States."

A magazine, "Makerere," is published three times a year by the college. The subscription rate for American readers is $1.25 for two years. The dean will be glad to send complimentary copies to those interested. Address him at Makerere College, P. O. Box 262, Kampala, Uganda, East Africa.

42/8F/44

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Educational Director

Dear Editor:

The enclosed pamphlets, 8 Million Demand Freedom! What About It, Gen. Smuts? and STOP South Africa's Crimes! What's Behind Smuts' Annexation Demand For S.W. Africa?, have just been published by the Council on African Affairs. We hope that your publication will carry a review of them in an early issue.

These are most timely publications. Africa, and South Africa in particular, looms large on the current agenda of the United Nations General Assembly. General Smuts has himself come to attend this meeting in order to intercede for the annexation of more territory to the Union of South Africa.

As the foreword to the first-named pamphlet states, "It is imperative that America and the world know what fascist-like violation of human rights prevails in the Union of South Africa, hidden behind the silken screen of Prime Minister Smuts' appeals for 'a better, freer world'..."

Please mention the address of the Council on African Affairs in your review, also the fact that quantity orders from libraries and organizations will be filled at reduced price.

With sincere thanks,

W. A. Hunton

W. A. Hunton
Educational Director

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SOUTH WEST AFRICANS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

Extracts of Statements and Petitions

of African Leaders in

South West Africa

Collected and Brought to the

United Nations General Assembly

by the

Reverend Michael Scott

(Supplementing the Petitions Circulated

to United Nations Delegates in Document A/C.4/96)

40/56/16

Issued by the

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

SOUTH WEST AFRICANS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

In the General Assembly debate concerning the Union of South Africa and its relation to the mandate territory of South West Africa the opinions of the native inhabitants of the latter territory on this question have found expression only through statements made by the spokesmen for the Union Government. According to these spokesmen, the attitude of the Africans in South West Africa was overwhelmingly in favor of the claims which the Union Government presented to the United Nations.

South West African leaders sought in vain to secure permission to state their views directly to the United Nations General Assembly. Nevertheless, ample evidence is now available to the UN delegates proving that the opinion of Many native inhabitants of South West Africa is quite contrary to that alleged by the Union Government. This evidence, in the form of petitions and statements signed by numerous tribal leaders, headmen and other prominent Africans in South West Africa was entrusted to the Reverend Michael Scott to convey to the current General Assembly meeting following his extensive two-months' tour of South West Africa during the last summer. The Reverend Scott was delayed in reaching New York because of difficulties in securing an American visa. He forwarded certain of the documents entrusted to him to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. These were circulated to the delegates (Document A/C.4/96). No reference, however, was made to the contents of these petitions during the discussion of the South West Africa question nor were they taken into account in the resolution approved by the Trusteeship Committee on October 15, 1947.

AD 56/17

Immediately upon his arrival in New York, Reverend Scott sent the following letter to the UN Secretary-General:

New York, October 10, 1947

The Secretary-General
United Nations
Lake Success
New York

Sir,

Further to my letter of August 29th, 1947 enclosing a petition addressed to you from representatives of African tribes in South West Africa, I must thank you for your good offices on their behalf in circularising copies of this petition to delegates.

As intimated in my covering letter, before leaving South West Africa, and in a subsequent communication from them a fortnight ago, I was asked to make certain further representations on the subject of the future of the Territory of South West Africa and its relationship to the United Nations and to the Union of South Africa, these representations being facts and opinions constituting their reasons for wishing that their Territory be brought under the Trusteeship system of the United Nations.

I should be most grateful if an opportunity could be afforded me of briefly imparting these reasons to members of the Trusteeship Committee at one of their meetings, and also their request that a Commission of Enquiry be sent from the United Nations to investigate impartially the wishes of the Native inhabitants of the Territory as well as their conditions of life and labour as compared with other Native inhabitants of the African continent and of the Union of South Africa.

If you so desire I will place at your disposal copies of the documents dealing with the above matters and the recorded statements of Native Chiefs, Headmen and others.

Meanwhile I should be glad to know whether it would be in order for the Committee to receive these representations either verbally in the form of an address to the Committee if that is permitted or in a written form.

I must express regrets that the delay in obtaining a visa to which I referred in my previous letter prevented my arrival at Lake Success until yesterday; but in view of the fact that much trouble and expenditure has been occasioned, as well as a journey of approximately fifteen thousand miles, in the preparation and conveyance of the representations of these Africans, I trust that their voices will be heard and due consideration now be given to their appeal to the United Nations.

In particular, their request for the return of their lands of which they claim they were dispossessed by the German Government in the first instance, and subsequently by the Union Government during the Tenure of the Mandate under the League of Nations, and their appeal for the return of their Paramount Chief at present living in exile in Bechuanaland are matters of vital importance to the Herero people and to the future of the Territory of South West Africa.

The complaints of the Herero and Hottentot tribal chiefs, as set forth in their petition, regarding the conduct of the Referendum by the Government of the Union are of a nature which seems seriously to reflect on the good faith of the Union Government both towards the African people of the Territory and towards the United Nations.

For this reason an impartial Commission of Enquiry by the United Nations Trusteeship Committee would surely be welcomed by all those who are concerned that justice should be done in shaping the future of this African Territory and the destiny of its inhabitants.

I am, Sir,

Yours truly,

(signed) Michael Scott (Rev.)

Having unfortunately failed to secure an opportunity to appear before the U.N. Committee concerned with South West Africa and bring the evidence in his possession to the direct attention of the delegates, Reverend Scott has authorized the Council on African Affairs to issue this memorandum citing relevant testimony culled from petitions and statements by the people of South West Africa.

A0156/18

The testimony presented here supplements that already brought to the notice of U.N. delegates in document A/C.4/96, and quoted in New Africa (Oct. 1947).

General Character of the Union's Administration of South West Africa

Frederick Mahareru, Paramount Chief of the Herero People (statement made at Mafeking, July 14, 1947):

> "I should not like my country to be handed over to the Union Government because that Government adopts the same oppressive policy towards the Native people as the Germans.
>
> "The Union Government has no respect for the Native inhabitants of their country as human beings. The Union Government does not want the Native people to progress economically so that they may become economically independent. They restrict them regarding the cattle they may own and regarding other means of livelihood. . . .
>
> "It is the restrictions and barriers which are placed in the way of the Native people so that they become their servants and dependent upon them which has driven the Herero people who lived in the Transvaal to cross into the country of the Mamangwato.
>
> "The Union Government does not encourage education among the Native people because they want the Natives always to remain their servants.
>
> "Those are my views, Sir, and those are the reasons why I should not like my country to be handed over to the Union Government."

Festus Kanjo (statement made at meeting at Windhoek of Herero representatives with Col. I.P. Hoogenhout, Administrator of South West Africa, according to testimony given by Theophilus Katjiuongua, Windhoek, August 1, 1947):

> "The Union Government is the same as the German Government. Even when we were under the German bondage it was sometimes lighter than your regime. My reasons for saying this are as follows. The Germans used to kill us straightforward because we fought against them. We did in battle kill their beloved ones, their brothers and their cousins. But then why do you people kill us? We did not have any war against you. It seems to us from your treatment of us as though there had been a war between us and you. Even our property, our cattle and our children are not our own. Even my wife is not my own.
>
> "Under the German regime we all used to carry an iron disc with our numbers written on it. This served both as a pass and a "service contract". This was worn always and did not have to be renewed after a certain time. Today I carry a pass in my pocket, although I am in my native land. But that iron disc was enforced by those whom we had fought against. But this pass I have got from people whom I did not fight against. After the time has expired if I have not renewed the pass then I have committed an offence.
>
> "If a day or two expires after I am due to pay the grazing fee for my cattle then I am taken to court and made to pay a fine. Even if my own child commits an offence and I punish the child I have committed an offence. The same applies to my wife. If I punish my wife I am guilty.
>
> "I have been under the oppression of the Union Government for thirty-one years. The Government which I did not fight against has oppressed me for that number of years. It is all this ill-treatment which compels us to be dissatisfied with the Union Government."

40/56/19

Frodolain Kazombiaze (statement made at Windhoek, July 23, 1947):

"In the time of Administrator Hodges (immediately after South West Africa passed from German to South African control) there arose a misunderstanding between the Europeans and African people.

"Chiefs Hosea Kutako, and Nikaner Hoveka were driven away from Okotumba, Seeis, Orumba, Okakrumae, Otjiunde, Otjimbondona, Tsaitos, Okapendje. All the people were expelled from these districts with the chiefs. In Okatumba and Orumba the houses of the people were burned because the people refused to leave. Leonard Maekopo and Alex Miese who are here now were present at the time this happened. They saw it with their own eyes. Their own huts were burned. The windmills were taken away at Tsaitos and Okakurame, Otjimbondona and Okapendje, and the people were forced to leave because the pumps had been taken.

"Some of the people went to the Aminuis Reserve under Chief Hosea and Epukiro Reserve under Chief Hoveka.

"After that Chief Salatiel Kambazembi was driven away from Waterberg. The houses of Salatiel were burned at Waterberg. Waterberg was the burial place of his father. He was forced to go and live at Okakarara with the people under him.

"At his death bed he made a plea that he might be returned to Waterberg to be buried at the graves of his fathers.

"The land at Waterberg was given or sold to a German named Schneider who is still living there. All these lands were handed over to Germans or settlers from the Union. We do not know if they were sold or given to them. This was about 1922.

"In 1925 a dispute arose in the District of Rehoboth. The Government insisted on the cattle there belonging to the Hereros and the Bastards being branded. Both Hereros and Bastards refused and the Government sent aeroplanes over them and the police, who were also armed, charged the people and beat them with sticks. Of those present here this afternoon the following were there: Christoph Katjitae, who was then Corporal in the S.A. Police; John Mpongoshe, who was in charge of twenty men with the task of making landing grounds for the aeroplanes. There are of course still very many people who remember this happening.

"All these people who refused to have their cattle branded were put into concentration camps. Fortunately the Prince came to South Africa and these people were then released. After they were released they stayed for a little while---about a year---a police regiment left Windhoek and drove all the Hereros from Rehoboth and they went to Armenis and Epukiro Reserves. . . .

"These grievances added to the other oppressions make us not to feel well towards the Union Government.

"The whole Herero people are convinced that the Union Government has not fulfilled its obligations to the League of Nations. Under the Mandate the Union Government was made the Trustee of the African people and their land. Education was denied to us and the wages which we are paid are really the wages of starvation.

"Emphatically I conclude with the plea that our lands should be returned to us. After our lands are returned Our Chief and the people in Exile should return to South West Africa. Our country should be given to a Trusteeship Council and not incorporated into the Union of South Africa, or failing that it should be held as a protectorate under the British Government as the Bechuanaland Protectorate is."

Simon Mpongoshe, Head Teacher of St. Barnabas Mission School (statement made at Windhoek, July 22, 1947):

A0/56/20

"When General Smuts was here a reception was held for him in Windhoek location. He made a speech in which he said the Union flag will always fly over S.W.A. under all circumstances. He did not consult the people at this meeting or ask their opinion on incorporation or on anything else.

"Question: Did the people applaud him?

"They did not applaud him when he said the Union flag will always fly over South West Africa. General Smuts also said all the people are his children, the white people and the black people. And the black people laughed when he said this."

Chief Tshekedi Khama and five other chiefs of Bechuanaland stated in a memorandum addressed to the British Government for transmission to the U.N. Trusteeship Committee:

"There are presently living in our country displaced persons, Hereros and others, who were persecuted and driven out of their country by the Germans. In addition to those mentioned, a number of South West African natives have since taken refuge in the Bechuanaland Protectorate during the Union's Mandate through fear of the Union's Native Policy, and all of these would return to their native lands in South West Africa if the purposes of the Mandate were being duly fulfilled."

Chief Tshekedi Khama in a letter to the High Commissioner of Bechuanaland, Sept. 24, 1946, lists the following hardships experienced by Africans in South West Africa:

(i) There is a pass system in vogue which requires every man, woman and child from 14 to 46 years to carry a pass. (This we respectfully submit is even more drastic than the Union Laws.)

Even to go from one Herero reserve to another in South West Africa passes are required e.g. from Okahanja to Windhoek.

(ii) It is common practice on account of the shortage of land for Africans in S. West Africa to receive no wage for their farm services beyond the right to run up to 25 head of cattle and 40 to 50 small stock on their master's farms.

(iii) The taxation of native stock is heavy, being 4d per head per month for cattle and equines and 1½d per head per month for small stock even in the native reserves.

(iv) There is also a dog tax of 10/- per annum and every dog found without a licence to its neck is destroyed.

(v) In all town areas the natives working therein must pay a tax of 2/7d per month per head. This also applies to visiting natives.

(vi) For every form of employment whether on farms, in industry or in mines the employee has to be registered subject to penal sanctions.

Festus Kandjo, when interviewed by Rev. Scott at Gobabis, August 25, 1947, said:

"There are only three schools run by the Government in all the eight Reserves. Other schools up to standard two only are run by the Missions. The children pay for their own books. All the school buildings are paid for by the Native Reserve Trust Fund. The food supplied to the children is also bought with Trust Fund money. The Trust moneys come from taxes on every cattle owner in the Reserves.

40/56/21

"The stock tax is 3d. per head for ordinary cattle per month. Scrub bulls are 4d. per head per month, donkeys 4d. per head per month, horses 2d. per head per month. For small stock, sheep and goats, we pay 2/6d per hundred per month. One dog is ten shillings per year. A donkey cart with two wheels is 15s. per year. An ordinary wagon with four wheels is one pound, ten shillings.

"Passes must be carried when going from one reserve to the other or when going to the towns to look for work. Special permits must be obtained to visit our relatives in Bechuanaland."

A prosperous German farmer in South West Africa interviewed by Rev. Michael Scott expressed these views:

Trade and marketing policy are being directed solely in the interests of the Union and to the disadvantage of S.W.A. The Territory is being run by the Administrator and the Union Government by Proclamations, the S.W.A. Assembly being little more than an Advisory Board. All the Union's laws including its native legislation are made applicable to S.W.A. automatically. At least seventy per cent of current proclamations issued by the Union are made applicable to S.W.A., while naturally the Territory is taxed to protect the Union's industries. Sugar, e. g., must be bought at the price paid by the S.A. consumer not the subsidised export price. If it is bought from Cuba or elsewhere the S.A. tariff must be paid. If the Union decided to manufacture motor cars we should be at the same disadvantage.

As regards Native policy, however, the Union's attempt to impose minimum wage legislation and provision for the sale or supply of necessary foodstuffs to the natives when prices were rising or these were scarce ended in fiasco, and the Proclamation issued on Dec. 24th 1943 laying down minimum wage rates, etc. had to be withdrawn on Jan. 26th 1944.

40/56/22

Alienation of Native-Held Lands in South West Africa

Stephanus Hoveka, younger brother to Nicanor Hoveka, headman of the Epukiro Reserve (statement made at Windhoek meeting of Herero representatives with Col. Hoogenhout, according to testimony given by Theophilus Katjiuongua, Windhoek, August 1, 1947):

"In addition to the grievances mentioned, I wish to point out that your Law says to us: 'This is your dwelling place—this space.' Then unexpectedly your Law removes us from that place. We first lived at the Aukeigas Reserve. Then we were told to remove from Aukeigas and go to Grumbo. Then we were told to remove from Grumbo, then from Grumbo and from other places over to the "sand veld" (i.e., the borders of the Kalahari Desert. It is the unfair treatment by the Union Government that compels us not to take their side. And we shall never want the Union Government."

Christoph Levy Katjitae (statement made at Windhoek, July 23, 1947):

"Sir, we are really dissatisfied with the ways of the present Government in S. W. A. It is hoped very much that you will be able to come to the reserves and see where the African people are expected to live. These lands which are set aside for the African peoples are not really lands for people but were known as lands for snakes and lions, and were only inhabited by people who roamed about such as Bushmen. There is not sufficient water there. It is not suitable for grazing or growing any crops. People have often tried to bore for water but have been unsuccessful. In case the people are able to get water that water is very often not suitable, being brackish, for humans or cattle. Many of the cattle which we reared in the parts which we inhabited before have died in the lands where we were driven to known as the Reserves. I wonder how if men can be treated in this

way how can such men be satisfied with such a Government. It is quite obvious that this Government is unqualified to be entrusted with ruling over the African peoples.

The following account of how the Herero were expelled from their lands soon after the Union Government took over the administration of South West Africa was given by Isaac Kazongari to Rev. Michael Scott at Mafekung, July 14, 1947, in the presence of Frederick Mahareru, Paramount Chief of the Herero people, and other representatives:

Isaac.
What happened was the Herero were first asked to leave those valleys to make room for the Angola Boers. They refused and were asked a second time and again they refused. They were then pushed out by force.
M.S.
What do you mean "by force"?
Isaac.
I mean that they were ordered to leave, and when they refused, their belongings were thrown out of their huts and their huts were set on fire. When I returned to S.W.A. I found that there was a case going on between the Herero and the Union Government. I could see the ruins of the huts where they had been burned down on the orders of the Native Commissioner.
M. S.
What was the case between the Union Government and the Hereros about?
Isaac.
The Hereros were complaining to the Court that their huts had been destroyed and that they had been driven from their lands. The district where this happened was Orumbo.
M. S.
What was the conclusion of the case between the Hereros and the Union Government?
Isaac.
The people were nevertheless driven out of the valleys. The Native Commissioner at whose command that was done was removed from office but only to be reinstated after a short time.

A0156/23

Chief Hosea Kutako (statement made at Windhoek, August 6, 1947):

"The statement made by officials that the Herero people are demanding that lands belonging to other African tribes be given to them is false.

"It is the opinion of our people that the lands which were taken away from them by deceit and by force should be returned to them and that they should be enabled to live their life as people. The Herero Nation does not wish to dominate over any other race or nation. They ask for the right to live their own life as a people. That will require the return of their lands and it will also require the return of the Paramount Chief Frederick Mahareru who is now in exile and with him the people who are now living in Bechuanaland together with their cattle.

"This is not the first time that this request has been made. The request for the return of our Chief and our lands was made in 1934 when Chief Frederick Mahareru last visited this country.

"We do not regard the Union Government as fit to be in charge of us as the trustees of the African people in this Territory. If we are regarded by the Union Government as their wards we want the other nations of the world to know that we have been deprived of our lands and we are prevented from developing as a full grown people by those who claim to be our trustees."

Extract from Minutes of conference between Mr. Allen (Additional Native Commissioner), Mr. Neser (Chief Native Commissioner), Major Hahn and the Bergdamaras --native inhabitants of South West Africa--at Okombahe Reserve during the last week of August, 1947:

> The Bergdamaras stated: "We do not want to be under the rule of the Boers. We do not want to join the Union Government." One leading Bergdamara continued, saying, "I still have my burdens on my back. We were given Angaikas Native Reserve, and we have been driven away from there. I am now, as I am speaking, come from Angaikas, from which the Union Government has driven me away. Our lambs and goats have died on the way. I have suffered since the day the Union Government became the Trustee of South West Africa, and I am still suffering."

Conditions of African Labor in South West Africa

Extract from Minutes of extraordinary meeting of the Windhoek non-European Advisory Board, Aug. 9, 1947, to meet Mr. Bottomley, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs:

> Boardman J. Kariseb, Damara Representative, said, "Greeting. Many thanks on behalf of my people. I heartily welcome the distinguished visitors and our officials in the Location today. I heard one speaker say that this is a sign of the coming of freedom and I shall be pleased if I see this freedom. I am very sorry that the Headmen of the various Reserves are not present here to listen to what has been said and to hear that they have democratic rights. We did not know that we were a free people but I have heard this time that the time is arriving and we will be free and I am very much pleased. I am also very much pleased that an Honourable man from overseas has come to see us and tell us we are free and have democratic rights. I also wish that you will tell his Majesty's Government that their subjects in South West Africa have greeted them heartily."
>
> In his remarks at the conclusion of the meeting, replying to this, Mr. Neser, the Chief Native Commissioner, said, "They say a dog will always have fleas and a human being always has something to worry him, and freedom does not consist in breaking laws and regulations and nobody is free to ignore those regulations. Even in a country like England, which is the "Mother of Freedom". . . . there are numerous big gaols and that is the most free country in the world and it still has gaols for people who break the law.
>
> "We must not get a mistaken idea of what freedom means. Freedom means to be able to talk what is in your mind and to say whether you want to do a certain class of work or not. Nobody forces you to work but if you make a contract you yourselves have bound yourselves to do that work, so when a man has engaged to do a certain work he cannot then grouse tomorrow and say he is not free because he has to work. I have engaged myself to work for the Administration of the country and I cannot just walk out of my job tomorrow and leave the Government. Still I am a free man because I myself said that I would go and work and I signed a contract."

The Bishop of Damaraland, who has lived in S. W. A. for 23 years, mainly working among the Ovambos, expressed the following opinion of the indentured labor system:

> Nothing could be said in its favour from the point of view of the African laborers.

40/56/24

It had to be admitted that the laborers came from the Reserves of their own free will to earn a wage. But they were not free to choose their own masters when they arrived or to bargain with their employers or to leave them if they were ill-treated. They were probably the lowest-paid laborers anywhere in South Africa. They were herded on to the trains with labels around their necks and were not properly fed or accommodated. Their wages ranged from eight shillings ($1.60) a month. The employers pointed out that it cost them £6 to bring them down from Ovamboland and if they were unsatisfactory it was a dead loss.

The Bishop deplores the breaking up of the family and tribal life of the Ovambo people which under this system is proceeding apace, especially so since in our urban and semi-urban civilisation there is nothing to take its place for the African who is excluded from most of the advantages of our urban and industrial society, both cultural and occupational.

Festus Kandjo, previously referred to, described the recruiting system as follows:

"This is how it is done:

"If a Reserve does not supply enough labor it is looked on as a bad Reserve. A message comes from the Native Commissioner to the Welfare Officer. The Welfare Officer calls the Headman and the Reserve Board Members. The Welfare Officer reads the letter to the Board Members and tells them they want a certain number of labourers to work on the farms or on the roads, and this number must be supplied.

"If that number is not supplied the Headman and the Board Members are scolded.

"As far as those labourers who come from Ovamboland are concerned every farmer who wants an Ovambo labourer from Ovamboland has to deposit £8.10.s. with the Government Native Affairs Department for each man. I do not know whether the money goes to a private company now or where it goes. All I know is that it has to be deposited and that it has always been done through the Native Affairs Department.

"Then they send the Ovambo off with a ticket. He does not know where he is going. The name of the master and the place is written on the label and the people at the railway station send him where he has to go.

"After the station master has read the label he rings up the police station to come and fetch this 'parcel' and he is then taken to the police station from where he is fetched by the farmer or taken by the police to the farmer. Sometimes they have to walk for fifty or sixty miles. They may be just shewn the road and told to go."

Simon Mpongoshe, previously referred to, adds this information:

"The people of Ovamboland do not know the conditions under which they will have to work on some of these farms. They are brought from Ovamboland to Grootfontein where the S.W.A. Native Labour Association has its headquarters. They can be seen after they have been issued with a khaki shirt and shorts. To the shirt is buttoned a label with the name of the boss and his place written on it. There they are sorted to their different destinations and herded on to the trains by the railway police like animals. They do not know where they are going and are crowded into buses being forced to crowd further together with the use of canes. From Grootfontein coming down South as far as Usakos they are loaded into cattle trucks but from Usakos to Windhoek they are given coaches.

"These Ovambo labourers are taken on for a twelve month contract period. For the first four months of this they receive eight shillings a month plus a mealie meal ration. For the second four months it is nine shillings and the third four months it is ten shillings. In some cases the money is kept and paid to them at the end of their contract.

A0156/25

They leave their women and families behind and build their own huts on the veld. They are not given any land or cattle. Their work is milking, tending the sheep and slaughtering Karakul lambs."

A. Tjipena, an Ovambo (statement made at Windhoek Location, July 23, 1947):

The Ovambos recruited come here from Grootfontein. They have no place to stay. They stay outside the railway station area on the veld. There is no shelter or shade from the sun. Of course they are very poor people. They have not sufficient clothes and they suffer from the cold or the rain. At Grootfontein they get a khaki shirt and shorts and one blanket. When they come here they are waiting for their different masters to come and fetch them. Sometimes they stay two days four days, or a week while waiting. I understand they get 6d a day for food while they are waiting. . . .

These Ovambos when they go to the farmers and find that some of them do not treat them well sometimes ask for a permit because they want to go to the police. The masters of course refuse them a permit and then they go off on their own to the police station. When they arrive there the first question is "Where is your pass?" Reply is "I have no pass." Question:"Why?" Answer is "I ran away from my master; he treats me badly". Question:"Where you from?" Answer: "So and so place". Answer: "All right. Because you got no pass we stick you in jail. You got no right to come here with no pass, no permit, no nothing."

Then they go to jail for fourteen days to one month. When that time is finished they give the boy a pass to his master. As I look at it the boy is prhaps frightened to go back on account of the beatings and because of being away for two weeks in the jail. Then he will come sometimes to Windhoek. Here he is asked in the street, "Where your pass?" He must answer "I got no pass". Question: "Why you got no pass?" Answer:"I ran away from my master because he is bad." They say "We cannot receive you as a complainer; first of all we got to let you fall under the Pass Law. We got to show you you got to have a pass before you come here to Windhoek. Then he is getting another fourteen days or one month, unless he pay the fine.

I tried to make a case through the Advisory Board. But the Chairman of the Board will ask many questions I cannot answer. "Who is the employer? What is the name of the employer? What is the district? How many cases have come to your notice from that man? Did they come to you or did you go to them? Did you see it? Did anyone see it? Did you hear it? Did anyone hear it? Have you got the evidence? Why you didn't investigate at the time?" I am saying the case will die on all these questions.

Why should the police take the farmers' side against the Ovambo? They ought to be on both sides and enquire themselves. Why should the police threaten them and chase them away?

Abraham Ugulu, an Ovambo (statement made at Windhoek, July 26, 1947):

Although it is said that our people are living under a tribal organisation they do not live in peace. They suffer hardship similar to the others.

The young boys are taken away from their parents. They range from 14 years to 30 years. They are recruited by the Chief Native Commissioner, Major Hahn was going about asking parents to send their boys to work on the farms to look after the cattle to look after the sheep and the calves and to do the milking on the farms. Some of them do not even return at all. In some cases they just disappear and sometimes even they are shot. Yes, I was present at a case in the Supreme Court in 1940 when a young man was shot. The farmer told the Court he thought the boy was an ostrich and all we knew was that he paid some money in the Court and then went back to his farm.

A0156/26

The old people in Ovamboland are very grieved because so many of the young lads go away to work on the farms and many of them disappear. Many of them do not return; they stay working on the farms or in the towns.

Joshua Muvangua (statement made at Gobabis, August 25, 1947):

Here in S.W. Africa we are being paid according to the colour of the skin not according to the quantity and quality of our work. It is one of the most sad things here in South West Africa.

All the rich men that there are in South West Africa derive their wealth from the labour supplied by the Natives because the labour is so cheap. . . .

Seven hundred sheep are worth £2,800. . . This shepherd looking after all these sheep earns anything between five shillings and seven and sixpence or eight shillings per month as his salary. And from this he has to feed his wife and children. He only gets about a sixpence worth of mealie meal per day. . . .

That poor shepherd is not supposed to bring in the flock before sunset and when he brings in the sheep he must also bring wood on his shoulder for his master, drive the sheep into kraal, chop the wood the same evening, fetch the water from the well, and he has got to be there again in the evening to wash the dishes after supper.

That shepherd leaves his hut by five o'clock in the morning. Then he gets back to his hut at ten p.m. Do you regard such treatment as a good treatment for a human being, sir? Would you regard such a prson as a free person or a slave?

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

40/56/27

The foregoing information, representing only a sampling from the documents brought by Reverend Michael Scott for the consideration of the United Nations General Assembly, confirms the urgency of the petition from Africans in South West Africa that:

1. An impartial Commission of Enquiry be sent by the United Nations to investigate conditions in South West Africa.

2. South West Africa be immediately brought under U.N. Trusteeship and control of the territory be taken away from the Union of South Africa.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, INC.
23 WEST 26TH ST., NEW YORK
OCTOBER 23, 1947

[Council on African Affairs]?

Appendix C

Extracts from letters to the educational director, 1947

"I have recently received a copy of your most informative and useful journal (New Africa), a file of which I should very much like to have here."—Louis B. Frewer, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, December 11, 1947.

"This is just a note to congratulate the Council on African Affairs for the real service it performed by setting out in the January 1947 issue of New Africa the votes of all members of the United Nations on the trusteeship agreements and other matters relating to colonial peoples."—Leslie S. Perry, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, February 28, 1947.

"Many thanks for sending me the ten copies of your eloquent and convincing "The Truth about South Africa"."—William Jay Schieffelin, October 14, 1947.

"The last pamphlet I have received from your Council on African Affairs has made a striking impression on my environment."—Elisha Bailey, Panama City, January 26, 1948.

"I have watched your movement grow from strength to strength and I am particularly delighted with the whacking you gave to General Smuts and for the proper end to the South African ambitions at the United Nations Assembly."—J. B. Danquah, Accra, Gold Coast, January 21, 1947.

"Your recent denunciation of South Africa's incapasity to rule South West Africa, etc., has appeared in a Section of the West African Press. Accept our congratulations in your noble stand for the Cause of African Freedom."—Willie Owen Essuman, Editor, "The Gold Coast To-Day", December 1, 1947.

"Please send three additional memoranda on the issue of South-West Africa, directed to my attention. One copy arrived today. After reading it, I concluded that we could well make use of a few extra copies. The information contained therein is available from no other source that I know of. Congratulations on the research."—Doloris Coulter, Institute of Ethnic Affairs, Washington, D. C., October 6, 1947.

"Thank you so much for the material on South Africa. It was extremely helpful to me and I appreciate so much your kindness in sending it to me."—Anne Winslow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, June 9, 1947.

"Many thanks for your letter dated September 28th and its very useful enclosure."—Sir Maharaj Singh, India Delegation to the United Nations.

"I am writing this letter in order to express to you my deep sense of gratitude and appreciation for your co-operation during my recent visit to the United States of America."—Nnamdi Azikiwe, Lagos, Nigeria, December 13, 1947.

"Thank you very much for your assistance in my search for bibliographical information on Africa."—Ruth C. Sloan, Chief of the African Branch, Area Division Near East and Africa, Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, June 5, 1947.

"Your letter of the 24th has given me much pleasure. Thank you for what you say of my Tanganyika petition, for the practical suggestions you make, and for writing to the Chairman of the Trusteeship Council to press for consideration of my petition."—Marius Fortie, Washington, D. C., November 26, 1947.

"Thanks very much for your comments on my manuscript. I found them quite helpful. Enclosed you will find a copy of the finished product."—Vernon McKay, Research Associate, Foreign Policy Association, April 23, 1947.

"Thank you very much for the list of African trade contacts, which you were kind enough to send us. We will contact the people listed, following the suggestions in your letter."—Joseph Taubman, Boross & Taubman, New York, New York, March 18, 1947.

"I am sorry that I have been delayed in sending you the enclosed report on South Africa. I profited from your comments in many ways. I only wish that space allowed me to expand some sections which you thought needed fuller treatment."—Grant S. McClellan, Research Associate, Foreign Policy Association, June 13, 1947.

VI-61-64

Foreign Affairs

22-15-30

November 18, 1947

Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Gentlemen: I want to thank you for the copy of The Foreign Affairs Reader, edited by Hamilton Fish Armstrong, which has just arrived.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:hhs

lecture in St. Louis?

ENRIGHT

1459 Enright Ave
St. Louis 6, Missouri

November 12, 1947
[Curtis]

Dear Mr. DuBois,

Greetings from the Mid-west!

We would all of us love to see you, and since we don't get to New York we were wondering if we could induce you to come to St. Louis.

22-12-6

125

A club (Vendare our program) is studying the Great Books. We have an open meeting at which time we invite a

guest speaker. As program chairman I thought of none other than you. So I am writing to enquire if you have a lecture tour scheduled and if so, could you include St Louis.

Could you give me an approximate fee that would be charged and the approximate date or dates that you might be available? It might be arranged that other colleges & groups would like to take advantage of your presence

22-12-7

in St Louis if we knew when you were likely to come.

Please arrange your thoughts with St Louis in mind. I would like to take the matter up with the club on December 6th and before that make some contacts with Lincoln, Washington etc.

Jimmie got his doctorate this summer from U. of Chicago. Economics.

The boys are growing fine. I do wish they could see you and know you for a while. We talk of you very often but

22-12-8

them to see you is so much
better.

Jamie send greetings. And
I would love to hear from
you soon.

Yours as ever

Mabel Byrd Curtis.

22-12-9

[Curtis]

St. Louis Letter

November 17, 1947

Mrs. Mabel Byrd Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Curtis: Your letter to Dr. DuBois, concerning his possible appearance before your group, has come during his absence from his desk. He is lecturing currently, and will not return to New York until sometime in December. However, I shall try to get in touch with him to see if anything can be done about your request prior to December 6.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

[Curtis]

December 18, 1947

Mrs. Mabel Byrd Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis 8, Missouri

22-12-10

My dear Mabel:

I wrote you the first part of the month. Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience because negotiations are on for a trip to California and much will depend on whether or not I can count on St. Louis.

With best love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

December 22, 1947

Mrs. Mabel Byrd Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Curtis: Upon instruction from Dr. Du Bois I am sending you the enclosed material. It is self explanatory.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

[Mabel B. Curtis]

December 26, 1947
4459 Enright Ave.
St. Louis, Mo.

22-33-25

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Pneumania had me in its grip which only partly explains the delay in answering your ~~in~~ letter right now.

State Teachers College (where I once taught) would like to have you February 18th if possible. If not they would like to know as soon as possible so another date could be arranged. However their maximum fee for all student

assembles is (a) $200 $\frac{00}{100}$.

My contact with Lincoln has not been as fruitful, for which I am very sorry.

The Booklovers itself is as men have judged a club of women whose treasury is very small. I believe they could offer $50 — which would still leave us $50 short of the $100 for your 2 lectures. But I shall try hard to get contributions for my avenues of contact are still not closed. I think the white St Louis public is urgently in need of you and since

22-33-26

This additional amount I am sure I

Campton has lined up with the White South, Washington U. needs you most. I am arranging some interviews with some of the men out there. The results I will not be able to give you until the holidays are over. But you may rest assured that I will do my best. If you come, to have a number of audiences for you.

It would give all of us such a tremendous lift to have you here. I am sorry that I can't at this moment

22-33-27

and
say to you, that the finances
of your proposed lectures are
satisfactorily arranged. But you do understand
that arrangements for "good and
precious things" come hard.

Personally you know that I
would like to see you and
hear you speak.

Let me know as soon as
possible

With high hopes of
seeing you -

Sam

Answer

Mabel B. Curtis

22-33-28

[Czechoslovakia]

ÚŘAD ČESKOSLOVENSKÉHO DELEGÁTA
U SPOJENÝCH NÁRODŮ
Office of the Czechoslovak Delegate
to the United Nations
Telephone: COlumbus 5-7528
1775 Broadway New York 19, N. Y.

October 7, 1947.

In reply refer to No.

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, N. Y.

22-13-49

Dear Sir:

Mr. Jan Masaryk has received your letter of September 29 and asks you kindly to send him a copy of the petition and statement on the denial of human rights to minorities.

Very truly yours,

M. V. Mára,
Secretary.

DAILY WORKER

thirty-five east 12th st., N. Y. Algonquin 4-7954

Received 9 April 1947

April 3, 1947

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
New York State NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

22-17-36

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The Worker is putting out a special edition for May Day emphasizing the fight of the people for peace, security and democratic rights. The issue will be that of April 27th. We would appreciate it if you could send us a statement of 100 words that we could publish on this occasion. Our deadline for this issue is April 14th.

Fraternally,

Alan Max

Alan Max
Managing Editor

AM:sm
ang

Soon

"THE TRUTH IN THE NEWS"

11 April 1947

22-17-37

My dear Sir:

I regret to say that I have so many engagement out of town that it will be impossible for me to promise you a statement for the DAILY WORKER by April fourteenth. I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Alan Max
DAILY WORKER
35 East 12th Street
New York City

Retire

1206 Lamont St. N.W.
Washington 10, D.C.
January 1, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

22-11-154

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

President Johnson's Office referred your communication about available dates as I was leaving the campus. The Forum does not function during the winter quarter. Nevertheless, the Forum Committee will always be glad to know of your availability, and is grateful for the information sent.

Best wishes for the New Year!

Sincerely yours,

Walter G. Daniel

[Butler Davenport]

THE DAVENPORT FREE THEATRE
138 EAST 27TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY
PHONE MURRAY HILL 5-2180
BUTLER DAVENPORT, FOUNDER-DIRECTOR

July 16-1947

22-8-26

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Out of the distance of many years do you recall the writer of this? A visit to his home in Stamford, Conn.? A dinner in his apartment in New York, after which he inflicted on you the reading of his play of "Justice"? By the way, in giving to revive that Coming October I did it in 1919. Others Francis Wilson and Rose Mrs. Coudrose

started their careers in the theatre
afterward going to the Theatre Guild
to be starred here next in Lovelace
in "Porgy & Bess". The Burningames,
told me that it was fifty years
ahead of the times. Die going to
see Ethel's grave upon (?)
your address to the convention
of the N.A.A.C.P. in "The
Worker" of July 13th brought this
all back to me. It was fine.
Just so true. Die sent two
copies to various friends who
are interested in this vital
question. You spoke of a book
being prepared. Do let me know
when it is ready. I want a copy
and do come and see me some
night. I came here 33 years ago
this coming Sept. 8th directly
Bates Dance Hall.

HOME SALES INVESTMENTS PROPERTY MANAGEMENT FINANCING INSURANCE

EUGENE DAVIDSON
INCORPORATED
REALTY

1423 YOU STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. HOBART 7577

July 17, 1947

22-10-23

My dear Doctor:

It was with a great deal of chagrin that I accepted your latest commission. It seems a pity that the brain which can conceive the great speeches you say you make should be doomed to trial by fire. If your plans are inadvertantly revealed, scientists will probably file an injunction.

I find that the McGuire Funeral Home, 9th and Westminister Sts. N.W. are able to arrange for the cremation you desire. They have an agreement with the only crematorium in Washington whereby the facilities are made available. Services may be held at any place selected, church or the McGuire Funeral Home and the ashes disposed of as directed, even to scattering to the winds by airplane.

I suggest that you communicate directly with Mr. Robert G. McGuire, Jr. and tell him that I made the initial inquiry. I did not mention your name.

I hope that you and Mrs. Dubois are enjoying very good health and that the consummation of your present plans may be delayed many, many years.

Best regards to you both.

Sincerely,

Eugne Davidson

Social mee

20 January 1947

My dear Mrs. Davidson:

I am coming to Washington next Friday night stay overnight and leave the next afternoon. Can you find a place for me to stop? My best regards to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Shelby Davidson
1336 R Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

6 May 1947

22-17-08

Dear Mrs. Davidson:

I am coming down Friday May 9th to have dinner with you; spend the night and have breakfast. I hope you can accomodate me. My best regards to the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Shelby Davidson
1333 R Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

13 May 1947

My dear Mrs. Davidson:

I ran off with your key and am returning it. I shall be in Washington from June 3rd until the morning of June 7th. I hope you can give me room and board. My best regards to the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Shelby Davidson
1333 R Street Northwest
Washington, D.C.

Lecture 1947

HARRY E. DAVIS
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
202-206 ENGINEERS BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14

MAIN 1320

January 17, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, New York

22-13-14

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Over a month ago I wrote to you with reference to your appearing on the St. James Forum on some Sunday during the month of April, 1947, excepting Easter Sunday. It will be appreciated if you will advise me if you can fill an April date and also your terms so I can communicate with the Forum.

Very truly yours,

Harry E. Davis

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

Apr 20
$100

January 23, 1947

22-13-15

My dear Mr. Davis:

I have just sent a letter to the St. James Forum, a copy of which I enclose.

My best regards to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Harry E. Davis
Attorney-at-Law
202-206 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Ref for info below
1947

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

January 29, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

22-3-37

Dear Dr. DuBois:

There are a number of people who are importuning the Ohio Legislature to ask the state to participate financially in the centennial celebration of the Republic of Liberia. Apparently they want a sizable appropriation, enough to build a permanent Ohio Building and also to have a commission from Ohio visit Liberia during the centennial year. There is a tie-up with this state arising from the fact that the fifth president of Liberia was a native of Ohio.

A very elaborate prospectus has been issued by a committee with headquarters in the east and they do make a very good showing. However, I want to be sure that this is not just another "racket" promoted by an unauthorized people for their own selfish aims.

It has occurred to me that because of your knowledge of Liberian affairs you might be able to tell me in confidence whether or not this project is worthy of support as I do not want to lend my approval to anything which will not stand inspection under the noonday sun. Any information you can give me will, of course, be treated in confidence.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Harry E. Davis

Harry E. Davis

HED/ewg

3 February 1947

22-3-38

My dear Mr. Davis:

Answering your letter of January 29, I hardly know what to say. The Liberians are trying to get up a Centennial Celebration, but their plans are, it seems to me, too grandiose and not suited at all to the situation. I think perhaps that a delegation from Ohio to visit the country would be all right but I do not think that money ought to be spent on a building. The proposal is not a racket but it is an extravagance for a country as poor as Liberia.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Pictures

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

April 7th, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th St.
New York, New York

22-8-10

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am looking forward to your presence in Cleveland on April 20th, at the Forum meeting.

When your plans are completed, please let me know when you will arrive and the length of time you will be able to stay.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Harry E. Davis

Arrive on Eastern Elev

HED/vg

11 April 1947

My dear Davis:

I have your letter of April seventh. I shall leave here the nineteenth on the Empire State Express arriving in Cleveland at 8:35 CST. I can, of course, get off the train at East Cleveland at 8:20. I shall leave the twenty-first. Thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Attorney Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

April 12, 1947

22-8-3

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I don't know whether or not I made it clear that I am home every weekend and that I am looking for you as my guest, as usual, for your appearance here on the 20th.

If you are coming from the East get off at the East Cleveland station and take a taxi to 1050 East 98th Street. I understand that you arrive in Cleveland about 8:30 P.M., Saturday the 19th.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

17 April 1947

My dear Davis:

I shall arrive Saturday, the 19th at 8:30 p.m. and get off at East 98th Street. I am leaving for Ann Arbor Monday.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-8-4

Mr. Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

April 22, 1947

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

22-8-2

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am herewith enclosing so much of the report of the North Central Association as deals with the administration of Wilberforce University; also a copy of Senate Bill No 258 by which it is aimed to correct some of the conditions that exist there.

Sincerely yours,

Harry E. Davis

HED/ewg

22-17-17

30 April 1947

My dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you so much for your hospitality while I was in Cleveland. I went to Ann Arbor and had a very fine audience of some six hundred students and talked on the very day that Youth for Democracy had been banned from the campus! It was an interesting occasion. I thank you so much for the material which you sent me. Is there any reason why I cannot mention in the Chicago Defender some of the facts concerning Wilberforce University?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Harry E. Davis
202-206 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

22-11-19

May 2nd, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

By all means, I think you should make the Wilberforce University situation the subject of an article, or even a series of articles, in the Defender.

There is nothing confidential about this report as it has been circulated in the Legislature, and rather widely in other parts of Ohio.

I will look forward with interest to your treatment of the situation since the bill has already passed the Senate.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harry E. Davis

HED/vg

8 July 1947

My dear Davis:

I think you know of, if you do not know personally, Ruth Anna Fisher now of the Library of Congress and formerly of Lorain, Ohio. Her father was once a leading real estate man in Lorain and Ruth Anna was from 1918 to 1938 resident in England. At first she was connected with the Labor Party and worked with it directing board. Then she became representative of the Library of Congress at the British Museum. Returning when the war broke out, she is now in the manuscript department of the Library of Congress in Washington.

However she has always wanted to go into politics again and was hoping to work with Willkie; but he died before arrangements were made. She would now like to meet Senator Taft and see if she could not work with the Republican National Committee. She writes me, "I would like permanently to do historical research for the party. God knows the party needs some historical background." I am sure she is competent to do such work from long experience.

Do you know her well enough to give her a letter of introduction to Senator Taft? If you could, I would be greatly obliged. Her address is 654 Gerard Street, North West, Washington D. C., apartment 409.

With best regards I am,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Senator Harry E. Davis
202-206 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

August 5th, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

One Ferdie H. Bernard, 121 Edgecombe Avenue, Apartment 15, New York, has requested a biographical sketch for inclusion in an "International Colored Who's Who". Do you know anything about this party and is the project worth any attention.

Very truly yours,

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

21 August 1947

22-8-6

My dear Davis:

Answering your letter of August 5th I do not know Ferdie H. Bernard and I also have a letter asking for a biography. I have sent hin the enclosed answer, which I think covers your inquiry. I hope you are having a nice summer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Harry E. Davis
Twenty-Fifth District
202 Engineers Bldg.
Cleveland, Ohio

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

22-11-18

September 2nd, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Am sending you under separate cover a pamphlet covering the action of the Grand Lodge of Mass. (W). This is almost an answer to your Defender article reviewing my book. I think another follow up article is indicated and hope you will find time and space to do it.

Sincerely,

Harry E. Davis

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

September 19, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

22-8-11

I have read the Statement prepared for submission to the United Nations. It is a most admirable document and will be a landmark in the history of world minorities. My enthusiasm, however, does not prevent me from expressing the opinion that an effort will be made to sidetrack it on the ground that it relates to the internal domestic affairs of member nations and therefore not a proper subject for action; the Anglo-American representatives will almost certainly take this position. However, the question of right and jurisdiction, as set forth in Chapter VI by Mr. Logan, seems to me unanswerable. We should have enough friends in the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the Commission on Human "ights to prevent the Statement from being ignored.

The only comments I have are as follows:

1. The preponderance of the colored population of the world (75%) should be stressed to a greater degree and contrasted with the English speaking groups who constitute only about 10% and yet wield tremendous power.

2. In the interest of accuracy Connecticut should be added to the states enacting an F.E.P.C. Law, and about 20 other state legislatures are considering, or have considered, the subject without, however, enacting legislation. (Pg. 72).

3. Also, I believe the Railway and Steamship Clerk's Union did abolish the color bar at their 1947 session in Cincinnati (Pg. 120).

4. Also, some of the "Columbians" were prosecuted and convicted in Atlanta, and public authorities did act with surprising energy to crush this body (Pg. 129).

This document should be printed and widely circulated just as soon as it is filed in order to bring maximum moral and social pressue on the Council and its sub-sections.

hed:jm

Sincerely,

Harry E. Davis

23 September 1947

My dear Davis:

Thank you very much for the kind words concerning my statement. I am taking note of the comments and corrections which you have made and am glad to have them.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Senator Harry E. Davis
202-206 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

(-Denmark)

DANISH DELEGATION
TO
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF
THE UNITED NATIONS

New York, den 3.Oktober 1947.

Oct. 7

Dear Mr. Smythe,

In your letter of September 29, you have raised the question whether this delegation would like to receive a petition prepared by The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

22-13-55

In reply I beg to state that the delegation would be happy to receive a copy of the document in question.

Very truly yours,

Henrik Kauffmann

Henrik Kauffmann
Acting Chairman of the Danish Delegation
to the United Nations

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe,
Assistant to Dr. DuBois,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

HK/nb.

[Des Moines, Iowa - Public Schools]

October 17, 1947

Mr. Paul H. Durrie
Director of Adult Education
Des Moines Public Schools
629 Third Street
Des Moines 9, Iowa

Dear Mr. Durrie: In accordance with your request to the East-West Association, which has been passed along to this office, I am enclosing a glossy print photograph of Dr. DuBois. Prior to his arrival in Des Moines on November 26, Dr. DuBois will contact you as to the exact time of his arrival.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

Enclosure

Venture

DES MOINES PUBLIC SCHOOLS
ADULT EDUCATION
629 THIRD STREET
DES MOINES 9, IOWA

N. D. McCOMBS, SUPERINTENDENT
PAUL H. DURRIE, DIRECTOR

October 21, 1947

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

22-11-115

Dear Mr. DuBois:

On behalf of the Department of Adult Education of the Des Moines Public Schools I want to express the pleasure with which we are anticipating your appearance here on the series of lectures which the East and West Association has arranged for us. Des Moines has a tradition of free public forums and a lecture series for which a fee is charged is a distinct innovation. This series is being conducted as a part of the adult evening school program and most persons will have attended a class an hour and fifteen minutes long just preceding your lecture. This necessitates a somewhat shorter program than is usual.

If you can plan your presentation for about 45 minutes we will then have a half hour for audience questions and for a motion picture where that is felt desirable. Miss Edelman has suggested motion pictures which she felt might be of aid to you in putting over your message and I am listing at the bottom of this sheet the film which has been suggested. If you know of another which you would rather use or if you would rather not use pictures, please advise me.

Upon your arrival in Des Moines I shall appreciate your telephoning this office at 4-2105. Should you arrive in Des Moines in the morning we will appreciate your giving an interview to the newspaper people who will call upon you at your hotel and a radio interview over station KRNT on a very fine women's program. The broadcast is at 11:30. These help build attendance since we do sell single admissions.

As soon as you know the time of your arrival and the hotel at which you will be staying I will appreciate hearing from you. If I can be of any help in securing hotel reservations, please advise me. We are looking forward to having you with us.

Very sincerely yours,

Paul Durrie

PAUL H. DURRIE
Director of Adult Education

PHD:wb
Home Phone (7-6167)

Film Suggested: "Brotherhood Of Man"

lecture

November 6, 1947

22-11-98

Mr. Paul H. Durrie, Director
Adult Education
Des Moines Public Schools
629 Third Street
Des Moines 9, Iowa

My dear Mr. Durrie:

I shall arrive in Des Moines November 25 at 7:50 P.M., via the Rock Island. I shall be glad to interview the reporters on the morning of the 26th and have a radio interview at 11:30. At night I will lecture for 45 minutes on COLOR AND DEMOCRACY. I shall leave the nest day at seven in the morning for Chicago.

Will you kindly secure for me hotel accomodations, a single room and bath for the night of the 25th and 26th.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

DES MOINES PUBLIC SCHOOLS
ADULT EDUCATION
629 THIRD STREET
DES MOINES 9, IOWA

N. D. McCOMBS, SUPERINTENDENT
PAUL H. DURRIE, DIRECTOR

November 8, 1947

22-11-116

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Many thanks for your letter giving the data in regard to the time of your arrival. We have made a reservation for you for the 25th and 26th at the Hotel Savery at 4th & Locust.

I shall get in touch with you the morning of the 26th and am looking forward to the pleasure of making your acquaintance.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Durrie

PAUL H. DURRIE
Director of Adult Education

PHD:wb

DES MOINES PUBLIC SCHOOLS
ADULT EDUCATION
629 THIRD STREET
DES MOINES 9, IOWA

N. D. McCOMBS, SUPERINTENDENT
PAUL H. DURRIE, DIRECTOR

Penfield

November 26, 1947

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Savery Hotel
4th & Locust
Des Moines, Iowa

22-12-5

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are very happy indeed to have you with us in Des Moines and I only regret that my responsibilities in regard to another meeting made it impossible for me to meet you.

If it is convenient with you I will inform the newspapers you will be staying at the Savery and they will doubtlessly contact you during the early part of the morning for a newspaper interview. At 11:00 o'clock we would like to have you appear on the Betty Wells program for a radio interview. I will call for you at your hotel at about 10:45 and will go with you to the broadcast.

We have made no plans for the afternoon as you will doubtlessly have personal things you wish to attend to. The program this evening (w.d.) will start at 8:30 and Mr. Hiram Hunn who moderates this series of meetings will call for you at your hotel at 7:45.

Should you have a letter or so you wish to send out my secretary is at your service and if there is any other way in which we can make your stay here more pleasant please let us know.

Very sincerely yours,

Paul Durrie

PAUL H. DURRIE
Director of Adult Education

PHD:wb

Office phone 4-2105
Home phone 7-6167

lecture

DES MOINES PUBLIC SCHOOLS
ADULT EDUCATION
629 THIRD STREET
DES MOINES 9, IOWA

N. D. McCOMBS, SUPERINTENDENT
PAUL H. DURRIE, DIRECTOR

22-11-83

December 4, 1947

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

A number of people have spoken of your appearance here a week ago Wednesday as the high-light of the Hobby Nights "post graduate course in public affairs".

Those of us responsible for the program felt that you did a very fine job indeed and we felt it a privilege to have been able to present a person with such a breadth of understanding and such a depth of insight.

I hope it may be our privilege to have you back with us again sometime.

Very sincerely yours,

Paul Durrie

PAUL H. DURRIE
Director of Adult Education

PHD:wb

TELEPHONE KENWOOD 9200

LAW OFFICE
EARL B. DICKERSON
3501 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO

January 18, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

22-21-19

Dear Dr. DuBois:

At Mr. Dickerson's request, during his absence from the country on a Carribean trip, I have checked the enclosed manuscript of our petition to the United Nations and have made the obvious corrections. I have refrained from making any criticisms as I do not feel that they could be incorporated into the finished manuscript at this late date.

Respectfully yours,

George N. Leighton

George N. Leighton

GNL:ON

October 20, 1947

220-13

Mr. Earl B. Dickerson, Attorney
3501 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Dickerson: I am writing to inform you that the formal ceremonies marking the presentation of the petition, "On the Denial of Human Rights," to the United Nations, is scheduled for Thursday noon, October 23, in the quarters of Mr. John P. Humphrey, Director, Division on Human Rights, United Nations, Lake Success, New York. Dr. DuBois would be pleased to have you appear with the NAACP delegation on this occasion and hopes you will be able to come.

We are having some revised copies of the document assembled, and as soon as they are ready you shall receive one.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:S

8 January 1947

Gentlemen:

Will you please send us copies of enclosed B-324 form?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

224-6

The Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York City

MERRILL B. SANDS. *President* • T. H. BEARD. *Vice President* • C. E. HALLENBORG. *Vice President* • H. F. JOPP. *Secretary Treasurer* • PAUL APPENZELLAR. *Chairman of the Board*

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

420 LEXINGTON AVE. • NEW YORK, N. Y., TEL. LEXINGTON 2-3700
CAROL LYTTLE, DISTRICT MANAGER

September 23, 1947

Dr. W. E. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is just a line to thank you for your order of September 19, 1947. On receiving your new Dictaphone Electronic Dictating Machine I am confident that you will be pleased with the results which will be obtained as a result of using same.

We will endeavour to deliver your machine to your home address as soon as possible. Your representative in that territory is Mr. Babbitt. When the machine is delivered, Mr. Babbitt will instruct you in the use of it.

If any questions should arise in your mind relating to the machine which you have ordered, I trust you will feel free to call upon the writer at any time.

Very truly yours,

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

J. S. Tushingham
Sales Representative

JST:mlm

B-71 MADE IN U.S.A.

October 31, 1947

Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is my check for $21.78, installment due on my dictating machine, A E 570635.

Please spell my name correctly on your bills.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Enclosure- Check---$21.78

WEBD:lm

20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York
November 28, 1947

Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen: Enclosed is my check for $21.78, installment due on my dictating machine, A E 570635.

Yours truly,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HS

Enclosure: check $21.78

December 18, 1947

Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is my installment of $21.75, due December 27. Will you kindly let me know by return mail what balance is due on my indebtedness to you and what payment would completely settle it January 1, 1948?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

MERRILL B. SANDS. *President* • T. H. BEARD. *Vice President* • C. E. HALLENBORG. *Vice President* • H. F. JOPP. *Secretary Treasurer* • PAUL APPENZELLAR. *Chairman of the Board*

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

BRIDGEPORT 5, CONNECTICUT

Paid in full by check dated Jan 1, 1948

December 30, 1947

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of December 18 enclosing your December instalment in the amount of $21.75.

At the present time we show a balance of $195.72 for your instalment account. If you were to make complete payment in January, we will allow a deduction of $6.35, as this was the interest charge of 6% on your initial invoice. This would be allowed as your account would be paid within our ninety- day terms and, therefore, an interest charge is not made. However, if this was to be paid after the beginning of January, the deduction would not be as great as we would have to take off four months of the interest.

Therefore, your check for the total of $189.37 received in the first part of January will make complete payment for your machine purchased in September.

Yours very truly,

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

F. J. Kekacs

Credit Department

FJKekacs/jw

Enclosed my check for $189.37

W. E. B. Du Bois

Jan. 2, 1948

222-6

F-118

22a-6

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

B-3-A-1 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

FOR CUSTOMER'S USE ONLY

REGISTER NO.	VOUCHER NO.

F.O.B. CHECKED

TERMS APPROVED | PRICE APPROVED

CALCULATIONS CHECKED

TRANSPORTATION

FREIGHT BILL NO. | AMOUNT

MATERIAL RECEIVED

_____ 19__ DATE | SIGNATURE | TITLE

SATISFACTORY AND APPROVED

ADJUSTMENTS

ACCOUNTING DISTRIBUTION

AUDITED | FINAL APPROVAL

SALESMAN	SHIPPED FROM	DATE SHIPPED	INVOICE DATE
	New York		1-10-47

SHIPPED TO

INVOICE

176118

SOLD TO Color and Democracy Colonies and Peace
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. & DATE	REQUISITION NO.	CONTRACT NO.	COLLECTION AT	TERMS
				NET 30 DAYS

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION		AMOUNT
	Regular Cylinders with Cartons	@	
	Regular Cylinders without Cartons	@	
	Clothlined Cylinders with Cartons	@	
	Clothlined Cylinders without Cartons	@	
12	Indicator Pads, Form B-324	@	
	Correspondence Envelope Folders, Form B-____	@	
		Sales Tax	
		Shipping Charges	
		TOTAL	

Phone Lexington 2-3700
420 Lexington Ave

MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION, 375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

FORM B-44-E-3
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF

Dictaphone
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

DICTATING MACHINES AND ACCESSORIES

NY Nº 87002

DATE 5/28 194 7 TERMS NET 30 DAYS

NAME Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois DEPARTMENT ROOM NO. 4

STREET AND NUMBER 202 W. 40 St. CITY N.Y. STATE N.Y.

CAUSE FOR SERVICE CALL REMARKS Maintance Agreement

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NUMBER	MATERIAL USED	MATERIAL AMOUNT
A10	6325		
A7	3060		
S7	1400	1-4216 Feed Screw Ball	
		2 Acoustic	
		1 S7	No Charge

P-1-42

INVOICE

INSPECTION FOR MONTH OF May	INTERIM CALL NO LABOR CHARGE	SPECIAL CALL NO LABOR CHARGE	INSPECTION OF MACHINES ON DEMONSTRATION	MATERIAL
	SERVICE CALL	SHOP REPAIR	MACHINES SERVICED / TIME USED HRS.	LABOR (MINIMUM CHARGE $1.00)
SERVICE RENDERED BY L. E. Stevens				SALES TAX
APPROVED W. E. B. Du Bois	LOCAL SERVICE STATION 420 LEXINGTON AVE. ROOM 228 NEW YORK 17, N. Y.			TRAVELING EXPENSE
BY CUSTOMER				TOTAL AMOUNT

THIS IS THE ONLY INVOICE WHICH WILL BE RENDERED
MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION, 420 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

DISTRICT OR BRANCH

TICKET NO. 340

DATE 9/16/47

SERVICE MAN A Charbonneau

CUSTOMER APPROVAL WEB DuBois per HHS

MONTH Sept

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th St.,
New York 18, N. Y.

N. Y. 284

11-1947

1A 6325
1B 5060
1E 1480

22-6

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME—Used on Acoustic Machines	

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME—Used on Electronic Machines	

Sept
3 Machs

FORM B461

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION
PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET
CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM B-108
PRINTED IN U.S.A.
REVISED 1-15-46

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION
REQUISITION—ACOUSTIC EQUIPMENT

- [x] 30 DAYS NET
- [ ] INSTALMENT
- [ ] C. O. D.
- [ ] DEMONSTRATION
- [ ] LOAN
- [ ] EXCHANGE
- [ ] RETURN OF CUST. PROP.
- [ ] CONSIGNMENT
- [ ]

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. _____

CUSTOMER'S REQ. NO. _____ DATE October 15, 1947

SHIP TO Dr. W. E. Dubois (NAME)
20 West 40th Street (ADDRESS)
New York City

VIA _____ PROMISED _____

BILL TO _____ (NAME)

(ADDRESS) SALESMAN _____

QUAN.	TYPE AND MODEL	MACHINE SERIAL NUMBERS	UNIT PRICE

CYLINDERS, ACCESSORIES AND PARTS

INDICATE BELOW ALSO EQUIPMENT INCLUDED WITH MACHINES. INCLUDE PART NUMBERS ON NEW MACHINE EQUIPMENT.

QUAN.	PART NO.	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	QUAN.	PART NO.	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE
12		CYLINDERS, REGULAR				CAMEO CYLINDER RACK	
12		CARTONS				NINE CYLINDER RACK	
		CYLINDERS, CLOTH-LINED				UNIVERSAL CYLINDER RACK	
		CARTONS				SPACE-SAVER CYL. RACK	
		CLAROPHONE HEAD BAND				CABLE AND PLUGS	
		HEARING TUBE HOLDER				CABLE EXTENSION { 5 FEET / 10 FEET }	
		FOOT CONTROL { PROGRESS / DUPLEX }				CARRYING CASE	
		ELEC. HAND CONTROL C-B-E				DUSTPROOF MACHINE COVER	
		DICTAPHONE STAND				AUTOMATIC MONITOR	
		CAMEO CABINET				AUTOMATIC INDICATOR	
		DE LUXE CABINET				INDICATOR PAD	
		CAMEO JR. CABINET				CORRESPONDENCE FOLDER	
		PROGRESS CABINET					
		TWO-DOOR JR. CABINET					
		OPEN FRONT JUNIOR CABINET					
		CAMEO DESK MOUNT					
		DESK MOUNT					

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

RECEIVED BY

PER _____

CLAIMS FOR SHORTAGE, DEFECTS OR DAMAGE MUST BE MADE WITHIN 24 HOURS

APPROVED

BRANCH MANAGER

PREPAID CHARGES $ _____

SHIPPING

SHIPPED _____ CLERK _____

DATE INITIALS

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th St.,
New York 18, N. Y.

DISTRICT OR BRANCH: N. Y. 284

TICKET NO.: 0 41

MONTH: 11-1947

DATE: 11/20/47

SERVICE MAN: Thomas Hegyman

CUSTOMER APPROVAL: Esther Murphy

1A 6325 ✓
1B 5060 ✓
1S 1400 ✓

22a-6

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME—Used on Acoustic Machines	

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME - Used on Electronic Machines	

Hours Worked

FORM Ba61

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION
PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET
CUSTOMER'S COPY

CUSTOMER'S COPY

422-3700

FORM B-3 MR
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DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

THIS INVOICE COVERS MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT BILLING FOR THE MACHINES LISTED AND FOR THE PERIOD INDICATED BELOW.

INVOICE NO. 1708

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. AND DATE.

REQUISITION NUMBER

NUMBER OF MONTHS	FROM MO.	FROM DAY	FROM YR.	TO MO.	TO DAY	TO YR.	INVOICE DATE MO.	INVOICE DATE DAY	INVOICE DATE YR.
12	12	1	47	12	1	48	12	15	47

SOLD TO

BILL TO

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th St.,
New York 18, N. Y.

N. Y. 284
0
12-1-47

E. O.

DIST.	BR.		CUSTOMER NO.

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NUMBER	UNIT CHARGE		AMOUNT	
2A [illegible]					
2B [illegible]					
1E [illegible]		$ 10	50	$ 31	50

422-6T

add notice of payment due for dictaphone service

L

☐ TERMS: NET 30 DAYS — PLEASE MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION, 375 HOWARD AVE., BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

B-3
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS

Dictaphone
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

DICTATING MACHINES AND ACCESSORIES

420 LEXINGTON AVE. NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. & DATE Form 250
REQUISITION NO. Sept 19, 1947
CONTRACT NO.
SHIPPED TO

INVOICE NO. **No 64984**
INVOICE DATE Sept 30, 1947
SALESMAN Babbitt- 4/5 & Units
ACCOUNT AT Tushingham - 1/5
Lyttle- New York

SOLD TO

Dr. W.E. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Ave.,
New York City.

22-30

DATE SHIPPED
TERMS NET 30 DAYS Sept 29, 1947
HOW SHIPPED Truck
FROM
PREPAID OR COLLECT
F. O. B.

FOR CUSTOMER'S USE ONLY

REGISTER NO. | VOUCHER NO.
F. O. B. CHECKED
TERMS APPROVED | PRICE APPROVED
CALCULATIONS CHECKED
TRANSPORTATION
FREIGHT BILL NO. | AMOUNT
MATERIAL RECEIVED
_____19 DATE | SIGNATURE | TITLE
SATISFACTORY AND APPROVED
ADJUSTMENTS
ACCOUNTING DISTRIBUTION
AUDITED | FINAL APPROVAL

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
1	Electronic Dictating Machine AE- # 570635	$ 295.00
	N.Y. Sales Tax	5.90
	Federal Tax	17.70
		$ 318.60
	Interest @ 6%	6.35
		$ 324.95

Down Payment - $ 63.92
Installments due
Oct 30th - 21.78
Nov 30th - 21.78
Dec 30th - 21.75
Jan 30th - 21.75
Feb 28th - 21.75
Mar 30th - 21.75
Apr 30th - 21.75
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Jul 30th	-	21.75
Aug 30th	-	21.75
Sep 30th	-	21.72
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Journal News

17 January 1947

22-17-20

Dear Dr. Diggs:

Mrs. Ernest Alexander at 234 West 139th Street, New York City, wants you to buy her certain books by and about Negroes while you are in South America. She is going to write you. If necessary reply to her and ask her to forward funds. I will be writing you more at length soon.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Irene Diggs
Yacht Club Uruguayo
Puerto de Buceo
Montevideo, Uruguay

São Paulo, Brasil
4/II/47

I had no idea that this was a city of more than a million inhabitant. Spent yesterday afternoon with Donald Pierson who is now with the Smithsonian Institution. Spent the evening dancing the samba and listening to Brazilian music. // Brasil is truly the land of the future!!! Is it hot - Even the men carry umbrellas. Hello to

A.P.T. AVENIDA — 10 II 47 — D.R. — D.F.

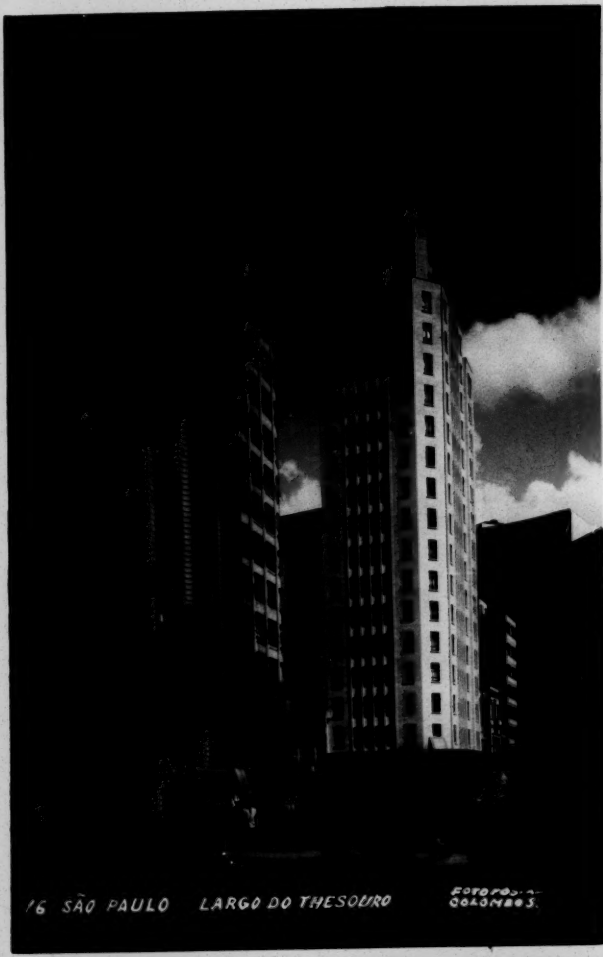
BRASIL
Cr$ *220
CORREIO

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois

409 Edgecombe Avenue
Apartment 13-H
New York City, New York
Nos Estados Unidos del Norte

Por Avion

Ellen Irene


16 SÃO PAULO LARGO DO THESOURO
FOTOPO...
COLOMBOS.

October 8, 1947

22-4-14

My dear Miss Diggs:

Yolande suggests that she can keep her bookkeeping with me straighter if you pay your board directly to me. She suggested that $10.00 a week would be right. If you agree with this you can remit to me from time to time.

Enclosed is a bill from Stechert, the book I am sure is yours. Will you communicate with them directly.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Ellen Irene Diggs
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 12, Maryland
/c/o Du Bois

WEBD:lm

New York City
9 September 1947

Books borrowed by Irene Diggs

22-6-15

Ogburn Nimkoff, SOCIOLOGY

Park and Burgess, INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

Lichtenberger, DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL THEORY

Hertzler, SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Barnes-Becker, SOCIAL THOUGHT FROM LORE TO SCIENCE

Irene Diggs

September 30, 1947

Myrdal, American Dilemma
Brown et al-Negro Caravan

[Ellen Irene Diggs]

J. D. Diggs

22-6-10

October 31, 1947

Dear Irene:

This is just a qick note which the Doctor has asked me to write you. He is in great need of his Myrdal, AN AMERICAN DILEMMA, and asked that I write and ask you to return it. At the same time, he asked me to tell you to please r[redacted]n any of his other books which you have and are not using.

Hope your work is going well. After a month of life as a pedagogue, I hope you find the teaching racket in a colored institution much to your liking. It does have its brighter side, but on the other hand there is always the shadowy side. No matter, keep on and help our young colored Americans to get knowledge and grow up to fight the race problem!

Looking to see the Dilemma soon, and with best wishes for success in whatever you are doing, I say

As ever,

P.S. Where is the supposed list you had around here with names of people who have books loaned to them? We have been unable to find any such list and the Doctor wants to know about it.

[D.C. Board of Public Welfare]

EDGAR MORRIS, CHAIRMAN
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MRS. RADFORD MOSES

THE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE
OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE DIVISION
462 Indiana Avenue, N.W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

August 19, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

Mrs. Audrey C. Farr is being considered by the Public Assistance and Children's Services for employment as a social worker and we would appreciate your candid and confidential opinion as to the applicant's qualifications for social work.

2-26

Social workers in the agency are responsible for determining eligibility and providing assistance and other services in the following categories: Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, Aid to Dependent Children, General Public Assistance and Protective Service to Children. Because of the nature of the work, we are seeking persons of intelligence and emotional stability who have a demonstrated ability to develop and maintain satisfactory and helpful relationships.

Will you tell us how long and in what connection you have known the applicant. If you were an employer, it would be helpful if you would include dates of employment, salary, and the kind of responsibility carried. In what way does the applicant show a sensitive attitude toward people? What is your opinion of the applicant's moral character, candor, dependability, resourcefulness, sense of responsibility, purposefulness and feeling for people? Ability to plan, consistency of effort, skill in writing, and an aptitude for learning new routines are great assets. What limitations, handicaps or special abilities have you observed? Do you feel that the applicant possesses the personal qualifications for such an exacting field of service as social work?

Your reply will be kept in confidence and will have an important bearing on the final decision. We are grateful for your assistance and hope that you will find it possible to reply not later than August 26, 1947.

Very truly yours,

(Miss) Doris Andrews
Doris Andrews
Plans and Procedures Consultant

P-2
Revised 1-10-46

[D.C. - Board of Public Welfare]

22-26-91

29 August 1947

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of August 19th may I say that I have known Mrs. Audrey T. Farr for several years. For two years she was a student in my graduate class in Sociology in Atlanta University and since then I have known of her activities and have visited her family in their home. She has a great deal of charm and kindliness, and a pretty good background of social studies; I think she would do faithful work. Her character and dependability are excellent. I do not know so much about her ability to plan or skill in writing.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Doris Andrews
The Board of Public Welfare
District of Columbia
Washington 1, D. C.

21 August 1947

Dear Mr. Dorch:

I have a box at the Cambridge Gun and Rod Club. Will you please have it sent to me by railway express? Dr. Beekman told me he has mentioned the matter to you. I shall be greatly obliged. My best regards to you and Mrs. Dorch.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Irwin T. Dorch
5 Pennington Street
North Randolph, Massachusetts

[Cedric Dover]

5 St. Peter's Square, London, W. 6

May 15, 1947

Carved

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for your letter of Feb. 20, the happy snapshot, and today's arrival of the magnificent gift of books. I am most grateful and need hardly say that they will be put to maximum use.

The essay I did for "Phylon" originally at your request, will be reprinted by Padma Books in Bombay. It seemed to me most fitting that I should make this small book a little birthday gift for you, and to print the dedication in an acknowledgment of what we owe to you, especially as it is the first study of Negro achievements to be published in India. I enclose copies of the dedication and acknowledgment. I have also finished a Profile which will go to you shortly.

I think you might be hearing fairly soon from Padma Books regarding the publication of "Colour and Democracy" in India, and they might also ask for other books, particularly "Dusk of Dawn". I do hope you will be printed in India: there is an important, growing audience there.

Padma Books' General Editor, Yusuf Meherally

P.T.O.

22-8-25

(Ex-Mayor of Bombay and well Known Congressman) is now in New York undergoing treatment for heart trouble. He knows the Negro scene fairly well and perhaps you met him when he was in the U.S.A. before the War. It would be a diplomatic gesture, if I may suggest it, if the N.A.A.C.P., led by yourself, paid him a fraternal visit and released a news item for the press. A copy of this item sent to me will find its way into several papers here and in India and would greatly help our feeling of solidarity. Yusuf Meherally's address is c/o The American Express Co., Broadway, New York.

Now that I have all your books I can get a real move on with publication here! The prospect of a novel from you is exciting and should be widely read. It is just what we want.

With Best Wishes,

Very sincerely,

Cedric Dover

P.T.O.

[Cedric Dover]

Fisk University

Nashville 8, Tennessee

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

November 29, 1947

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

22-19-36

I enclose the first, and so far the only, copy of "Feathers in the Arrow" to come by air from India. It is for you -- with the affection and respect of a disciple who owes much to your teaching, who is grateful for your generous friendship, and who has said for many years, with no sense of flattery, that you are one of the very great figures of our time. I wish my modest tribute could have been more in keeping with your stature, but I know you will accept it in the spirit in which it is offered. I simply could not wait till your birthday to send it.

I have been thinking for some time that it would be a cultural and political tragedy for the colored peoples of the world if we allowed your eightieth birthday to pass without some major acknowledgment to your inspiration and labour, which would be at once an expression of our own solidarity and a token of our regard for the elder brother of the whole coloured family. I know how you dislike pomp and ceremony, but I feel that you should allow the organization of a birthday dinner.

I feel sure, too, that it would be possible to establish ~~to~~ a research Fellowship in your name and to publish a birthday volume with contributions from representatives of all the coloured peoples. Such a volume could take the usual form of a biographical essay, followed by essays linked with the various aspects of your work, or the essays could be replaced by selections from your writings, each selection being made and prefaced by a notable contributor. It would not, of course, be possible to publish such a volume on your birthday, but it could be sufficiently organized by then for its detailed announcement to be included in a souvenir programme.

Obviously, the project is too big, and too charged with far-reaching influences, for it to be carried through by self-appointed organizers and presented to you as a "surprise". Dr. Ernest Alexander and Dr. Charles S. Johnson felt, therefore, that I should make a special visit

to New York to discuss the matter, first with you and then with others who could help to make the project a success. They are both most enthusiastic about it, and did not seem to think that I would be regarded as intruding, since there might be an advantage in associating a coloured man who is not a Negro with it from the start, apart from the close editorial and organizing help I could give. I need hardly say that I would regard my participation as "backstage" work only. ¶Are you sympathetic to these tentative ideas? If so when would it be convenient for me to come to see you? It would be a pleasure I have looked forward to for many years, and I hope it will be increased by finding you well and as proud as ever of your coffee.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Dover

Cedric Dover

cd:h

22-19-37

December 1, 1947

Professor Cedric Dover
Department of Social Science
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Professor Dover: Your letter to Dr. DuBois has come during his absence from the city on a lecture tour of the Middle West. However, I know that he will be pleased to receive this tribute you have sent, and you may rest assured that I will do all that I can to help in any way the celebration of the eightieth anniversary of the birth of Dr. Du Bois on February 23, 1948. Your letter shall be brought to his attention immediately upon his return to New York around the middle of the month.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

December 18, 1947

Mr. Cedric Dover
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

22-19-38

My dear Mr. Dover:

Your letter of November 29, found me absent in the Far West, where I have been talking to universities and public forums during the last three weeks. I found your letter on returning and I am sorry to be so long in answering.

First of all, let me express my deep sense of appreciation at what you have done and wish to do. On the other hand, as you have doubtless already learned there are a good many difficulties. At Atlanta University where I had hoped to finish my years and work, the new president retired me without notice and put me in serious difficulties, out of which I might not have emerged had it not been for the generous offer made me by the NAACP. This, of course, precludes any cooperation with Atlanta University in your proposal, as doubtless you have already learned.

On the other hand, my relations with Fisk University have envolved some difficulties. Several years ago, I headed a successful movement to get rid of an impossible president, McKenzie, who was catering to Southern prejudices. He was removed, but the trustees and various donors to the University have never forgiven me for my activities. In addition to that, I was not in favor of Charles Johnson as president of the University. I think that the American method of taking a man from one successful career and putting him in another is unfortunate for him and for the institution. For these reasons, I would hardly like to have Fisk University in the forefront of any attempt at public appreciation of what I have tried to do.

Dr. Earnest Alexander, is, of course, a very fine man and a good friend.

Finally, I rather doubt if the NAACP would take any leading part. Mr. White, the Executive Secretary, I do not think would be at all enthusiastic. On the other hand, you might correspond with the president of the organization, Mr. Arthur Spingar, 36 West 44th Street, NYC, and with the chairman of the executive board, Dr. Louis T. Wright, 218 West 139th Street, N. Y. C. They are both close and loyal friends. I shall, of course, hope to see you while you are in the country, and I trust you will make no great endeavor to carry out your plan unless you find spontaneous and generous cooperation. If you do not, I should be much happier to have the whole matter rest.

22-19-39

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Drake University]

Phone 2-0775

THE AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.

IOWA-TRI-CITIES AREA

For Justice, Amity, Understanding and Cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews

December 9, 1947

I. E. METCALF, Area Director
310 Empire Building
Des Moines 9, Iowa

IOWA CO-CHAIRMEN
Herbert L. Horton
George J. Pflanz, Jr.
Joseph Brody

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
CO-CHAIRMEN and
K. G. Carney
Harry Ginsberg
Henry Harmon
Robert Lappen
S. F. McGinn
Gerard S. Nollen
Reece Stuart, Jr.
NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMEN
Thomas E. Braniff
Roger W. Straus
Charles E. Wilson
PRESIDENT
Everett R. Clinchy

22-27-31

Mr W. E. B. DuBois,
20 W. 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I have been requested by the Drake University Convocations Committee to see if it would be possible for you to speak at an assembly in observance of American Brotherhood Week, February 22-29.

If you find it possible to come to Des Moines during this week, it would also be possible for us to secure other speaking engagements. We would like to use you in a way to secure as wide an audience as possible in our city.

Please let me know the financial terms upon which you could come to Des Moines for such a purpose.

Yours very truly,

I. E. Metcalf

IEM:rc

I. E. Metcalf

[Drake U.]

Lecture

December 17, 1947

Mr. I. E. Metcalf
310 Empire Building
Des Moines 9, Iowa

22-27-29

My dear Mr. Metcalf:

Answering your letter of December 9, may I say that it might be possible for me to speak at Drake University during the week of February 22-29. However, this will depend upon the outcome of certain pending negotiations for lectures in California. I will correspond with you as soon as the matter is settled. My charge would be $125.00, out of which I would pay my own expenses.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Drake U.]

8

Phone 2-0775

lecture

THE AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.

IOWA-TRI-CITIES AREA

For Justice, Amity, Understanding and Cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews

December 30, 1947

I. E. METCALF, Area Director
310 Empire Building
Des Moines 9, Iowa

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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Reece Stuart, Jr.
NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMEN
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Roger W. Straus
Charles E. Wilson
PRESIDENT
Everett R. Clinchy

22-27-30

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 W. 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

In reply to your letter of December 17, I have been advised by the Assembly Committee at Drake University that the charge of $125 is acceptable. They did ask me to clear the following point with you.

If you are placed elsewhere, to make an additional address during the time you are here, would there be an additional charge for that? I was also asked to inform you that in case the week of February 22-29 cannot fit into your schedule, the previous week, February 15-22, would be agreeable.

Sincerely yours,

I. E. Metcalf

IEM:rc

P.S. - I have just received an invitation for you to speak at the Advertising Club of Des Moines at noon on February 24th if you can do so.

I. E. M.

~~Would~~ My appointments in E. L. are not settled but will probably cover Feb 24-29 ~~Can I speak~~ I can speak at Drake ~~Probably the week~~ of March 2. Will let you know definitely by Jan 15. Probably I shall not be asked to take but the one lecture but if I can take another the charge will be $125

[1947]

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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22-8-22

• HC2 NL PD=BALTIMORE MD MAR 27

DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE DR W R BANKS=

STATE COLLEGE PRAIRIE VIEW TEX=

WE ALL WISH YOU A VERY HAPPY EASTER AND SEND LOTS OF LOVE THE EASTER LILY IS BEAUTIFUL=

NINA YOLANDE AND DUBOIS.(15)..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

11 April 1947

22-19-42

Dear Nina:

I had a very interesting stay in Baltimore and lectured in Washington and then returned to New York. I was especially glad to find you so cheerful and improving. I am enclosing some stamps for your use.

Tell Yolande I have written Gregory about the insurance. I leave tomorrow for Chicago but will return Tuesday.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
Baltimore

6 May 1947

My dear Nina:

I am coming down to speak in Washington, May 9th and then coming over Saturday morning and stay until Sunday morning. Your clock is finished and I have just sent the check for it. It ought to be sent to you very soon. I am going to go down to Wanamakers and look over some books for you. I hope either to bring them with me or get them to you before I come. I hope this will find you feeling well. My best regards to Yolande, Mrs. Matthews and the housekeeper.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-19-41

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

13 May 1947

22-19-43

My dear Nina:

Enclosed are a few dollars in cash which you may need for your expenditure. I got home safely and am going to Boston Thursday. I was glad to see you looking so well. I have written to the Y.W.C.A. people.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

29 May 1947

22-19-40

My dear Nina:

I have just returned from Arkansas. First I went up and visited Du Bois. The principal of the school called on me and asked me to speak at Chapel and came and got me in her car. I talked to the whole student body. I was entertained at luncheon twice with Du Bois and I at the same table; and twice I took her down to the hotel and gave her dinner. I attended one meeting of the students to talk about the United Nations and Du Bois, in the midst of it, piped up and said that she was bursting to hear what her grandfather thought of it. So I had to speak a little there. I went to the gymnasium and saw her swimming fifty laps in a inter-class marathon. She seems to be in good standing there and liked by everybody. I will tell you more about it when I see you the week-end of June 7th.

I am going down to Washington for a series of meetings and then coming back to stop over Sunday, June seventh, with you. Du Bois comes down to see me and have her hair taken care of tomorrow night. She returns Sunday noon. She seems to be in excellent health and spirits.

I flew to Arkansas Sunday last, starting from Newark at seven o'clock in the morning and landing in Little Rock at one o'clock the same afternoon. I went to the Colored State College at Pine Bluff and talked at a alumni reunion and then Tuesday night gave the chief address at the graduation exercises at the Junior College in Little Rock. Next afternoon I took the plane at half-past five and arrive here at midnight last night. Today and tomorrow I shall rest until Du Bois comes. I am glad to hear that you are getting on well. My best love.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

W. E. B. Du Bois

23 September 1947

22-8-27

Dear Nina:

Here is Ada Young's letter, I thought you would like to read it over. She promises to write to you directly. I hope this will find you comfortable.

The weather has been very nice here and I got back safely and am at work as usual.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 12, Maryland

5870 FEB 19 '47
AIR MAIL

DUNBAR JUNIOR COLLEGE
WRIGHT AVENUE AND RINGO STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

LEROY M. CHRISTOPHE, DEAN

ANNIE B. GILLAM, BURSAR
MARGUERITE K. ALSTON, CLERK

22-26-29

February 17, 1947

Mr. Walter White
Executive Secretary, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. White:

The faculty of Dunbar Junior College is unanimous in requesting you or Dr. W. E. B. DuBois to deliver our Commencement Address on Tuesday, May 27, 1947 in our school auditorium.

Our graduating exercises are always very well attended by people throughout this community and we believe that your presence or the presence of Dr. DuBois would be extremely helpful in stimulating our citizenry to larger efforts in securing full citizenship privileges. We hope that one of you will find it possible to deliver the address. We will guarantee all expenses and such fee as you will charge.

Since this invitation is not being extended to anyone else at this time, we are anxiously awaiting your early reply.

Very truly yours,
DUNBAR JUNIOR COLLEGE

LeRoy M. Christophe

LeRoy M. Christophe
D E A N

LMC:mka

DUNBAR JUNIOR COLLEGE
WRIGHT AVENUE AND RINGO STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

LEROY M. CHRISTOPHE, DEAN

ANNIE B. GILLAM, BURSAR
MARGUERITE K. ALSTON, CLERK

AIR MAIL

March 19, 1947

22-26-28

9951 MAR 20 '47

Mr. Walter White
Executive Secretary, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. White:

On February 17 we sent a communication expressing the unanimous request of our faculty for you or Dr. W. E. B. DuBois to deliver our Commencement Address on Tuesday, May 27, 1947 in our school auditorium. To date a reply has not been received to this communication.

We realize that you are extremely busy and there is no desire to burden you with correspondence. However, the time is growing short for arrangements to be made and we respectfully request that you inform us as soon as possible whether or not one of you will be able to render this service.

Yours truly,

L. M. Christophe

L. M. Christophe
D E A N

LMC:mka

[March, 1947]

NIGHT LETTER

L.M. Christophe,

Dunbar Junior College,

Wright Ave.,

Little Rock, Ark.

22-26-27

Can speak for you May twenty-seven. Fee $250 out of which I pay my own travel you furnish board and lodging

W.E.B. Du Bois

March, 1947

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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DR W E B DUBOID, CARE NAACP CARE WALTER WHITE OR ROY WILKINS=

=DLR 409 EDGECOMBE AVE=

=EXPECTING YOU TO SPEAK ON MAY 27TH FOR FEE OF $250=

=DUNBAR JUNIOR COLLEGE L M CHRISTOPHE DEAN=

22-26-30

27 $250=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DUNBAR JUNIOR COLLEGE
WRIGHT AVENUE AND RINGO STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

LEROY M. CHRISTOPHE, DEAN

ANNIE B. GILLAM, BURSAR
MARGUERITE K. ALSTON, CLERK

April 10, 1947

22-26-31

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York,18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We received your telegram of April 3 in which you accepted the invitation to deliver the Commencement Address at Dunbar Junior College on May 27. We will gladly pay the fee of $250.00. Our faculty and student body were extremely happy when we announced that you would be our speaker and everyone will be in frenzied expectation of your arrival here.

Will you kindly send mat, photo or cut of yourself and such information that will assist us in preparing newspaper information. Also inform us of the time and route over which you will arrive and when you will depart. It will also be helpful if you inform us whether or not you will attend social engagements during your stay here.

The selection of a subject will be your privilgge. However, we should like to be informed what it is. May I suggest that the following points be stressed during your address:

1. That Negroes in our community will make greater use of the emerging political status which is theirs as a result of the opening of the Democratic primaries to them.

2. That we develop a greater appreciation of the importance of economic status as a minority group.

3. That parents will be more interested in professional and vocational education for their children so that we, as a group, may rise above the status of common laborers.

4. That our students in general develop more desirable attitudes toward work and scholarship. Recently, an internationally known lecturer from England was here and he made the observation that the American student does not have the same attitude toward scholarship that he finds in the English student.

22-26-32

This fact has been verified by members of the Armed Forces who were stationed in England during the War.

Again, may we express sincere satisfaction with your impending visit to our school.

Very truly yours,

DUNBAR JUNIOR COLLEGE

L. M. Christophe

L. M. Christophe
D E A N

LMC:mka

11 April 1947

My dear Sir:

I am planning to speak for you May twenty-seventh. The fee to be two hundred and fifty dollars.

Will you kindly let me know where and at what hour the address will be, what subject you would prefer and how long I am expected to speak? I shall be glad to have a certified check for my fee in my hands by May twentieth. I will let you know several days before coming the exact time and route of my arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-26

Dean L. M. Christophe
Dunbar Junior College
Wright Avenue and Ringo Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

DUNBAR JUNIOR COLLEGE
WRIGHT AVENUE AND RINGO STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

LEROY M. CHRISTOPHE, DEAN
ANNIE B. GILLAM, BURSAR
MARGUERITE K. ALSTON, CLERK

April 15, 1947

22-26-26

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have received your letter of April 11 which was evidently written before you received our communication of April 10. A copy of our last communication to you is enclosed.

The Commencement Exercises will be held at 8:00 P. M. Tuesday, May 27 in our school auditorium.

We shall mail to you in advance a certified check for the fee of $250.00.

Yours very truly,

L. M. Christophe
DEAN

LMC:mka
Enclosure-copy

17 April 1947

22-26-25

My dear Mr. Christophe:

Your letter of April 10th reached me after I had already written you. I am sending a photograph herewith and you will find an account of my life and writing in Who's Who in America. I will inform you later of my route and time of arrival. The subject of my address will be "Democracy" and I will try to emphasize in that address the connection between the right to vote and the work which a person does during his life.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. L. M. Christophe
Dean of the Dunbar Junior College
Wright Avenue and Ringo Street
Little Rock, Arkansas.

DUNBAR JUNIOR COLLEGE
WRIGHT AVENUE AND RINGO STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

LEROY M. CHRISTOPHE, DEAN

ANNIE B. GILLAM, BURSAR
MARGUERITE K. ALSTON, CLERK

22-26-37

April 21, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I received your letter of April 17 in which you stated that your photograph was enclosed. The photograph was missing and I trust you will send one at your earliest convenience.

Your subject, Democracy, is appealing and I am confident that you will effectively stress the previously mentioned points in an address of this nature.

Very truly yours,

L. M. Christophe

L. M. Christophe
D E A N

LMC:mka

13 May 1947

My dear Mr. Christophe:

I am flying to Arkansas and arrive by the American Airlines at Little Rock at 12:55 noon May 26. I shall be glad to have you meet me. In the meantime, I trust I may receive your check for two hundred and fifty dollars.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-26

Mr. L. M. Christophe
Dunbar Junior College
Wright Avenue and Ringo Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

21 May 1947

22-26-24

My dear Mr. Christophe:

Frankly I do not quite like your failure to keep your promise as to advance payment but I do not want to cause you unnecessary difficulties and I am, therefore, going to take your assurance of eventual payment.

I am arriving as I have said by American Airlines in Little Rock at 12:55 noon, May twenty-sixth, but will be met by President Davis of the A. M. and N. College and will go to Pine Bluff to spend the night.

I will return Tuesday morning in ample time to speak for you Tuesday night. I shall leave for New York by plane on Wednesday the twenty-eighth.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dean L. M. Christophe
Dunbar Junior College
Wright Avenue and Ringo Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

letter

2 June 1947

22-22-5

My dear Mr. Christophe:

I want to tell you how much I enjoyed my trip to Little Rock and the opportunity of speaking at your commencement exercises. I reached home safely and am now hard at work. I hope that you and Mrs. Christophe will have a plesant summer. My best regards to all the persons whom I met.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. L. M. Christophe
Dunbar Junior College
Wright Avenue and Ringo Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

[Lula K. Duncan]

Sunday. July 27. 1947
Guthrie 5981
Las Angeles California

Dr W. E. Burghardt
Du Bois N.A.A.C.P.

Freedom House
20 West 40th St New York City N.Y.

Greetings: I was treasury of the Hamilton Memorial School Dilwille Illinois, for 15 years, now in California

22-3-22

And have worked several years tracing the history of Dr Silas Hamilton of Tunnuth Vermont, this good man established the school that challenges the world, the first place in all history where a negro could go to school, (I am white) the school that had one negro pupil, a slave child: and now has 15000000 negro friends, I have this work nearly ready for the printer

Can you help me any with the following questions

1) Have you any information that Dr Silas Hamilton of Tunbridge and Hallingford Vermont, was from the Tillet Hamiltons of Tunnock Scotland?

2) Clarence Wilfur R.F.D. Hallingford has the history but he wont answer a letter, even if it does aid Inter-racial relationship

22-3-23

3) Have you any information about his friendship of Pres Andrew Jackson, of Nashville Tennessee At the Hermitage

4) There two are the only two white men known in United States, that their slaves are buried with them?

5) Do you think there is a picture anywhere of Dr Silas Hamilton? he have none

6) When this is finished you will want a copy?

7) Have you any other books?

(8) this slave child was fought by Dr Hamilton at Harpers Ferry Virginia; and was the slave of George Steptoe Washington and Dollie Madisons sister. The nephew of George Washington Pres of the U. S.

(9) The grave of Dr Hamilton is becoming a shrine, and will be more so when this is finished

(10) This is the first Colored Endowment for Education in the U. S and

(11) The only place in the World or all history where a slave erected a monument to his master. In the school yard, in 1872, Cost 1500.00 Italian marble

(12) If you can only help me with a few sentences I will appreciate it, and I am thanking you Resp

Lula K Duncan
5981 Guthrie
Los Angeles
California

22-3-24

5981 Guthrie

22-3-21

21 August 1947

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of July 27th, I regret to say that I have never heard of Dr. Silas Hamilton of Vermont. I am sorry not to be able to give you any information. I would of course be glad to know more about him.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Lula K. Duncan
5981 Guthrie
Las Angeles, California

Reply for ~~a~~ position 1947

177-34-105th Avenue
Jamaica, Long Island
New York
Dues. 14th Jan., 1947

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I shall be great ful for an appointment with you to ask your assistance in helping me find a decent job.

I have been in New York quite sometime now and have been witnessing great difficulty in finding suitable employment.

Before coming here I worked as a sub-editor of the 'Vanguard', official organ of the Trinidad and Tobago Trades Union Council, and subsequently did general office work.

I have also been secretary of the Press & Printers Union.

I have had 2 years of college, part of which was spent at the Lincoln University School of Journalism.

At present I am home unemployed and would appreciate any help from you.

22-3-37

Thanking you in anticipation
for an early reply.

I remain
Yours respectfully
Mervyn M. Dymally

Mervyn M. Dymally

22-3-35

January 23, 1947

My dear Mr. Dymally:

I have your letter of January 14, 1947 but regret to say that I am not acquainted at all with the labor market nor employment chances especially in New York City.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

22-3-32

The East and West Association

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40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N. Y.
PLaza 5-0843

22-26-34

January 31, 1947

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Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are delighted that you will be able to participate in our Peoples Congress series on Minority Peoples and Problems: A World View. As you will note from the enclosed program, we have listed your subject as Human Rights for all Minorities. We shall be happy to have you treat this in any way that you like. The date is April 29th, the time is from 5:30 to 7:15 p.m. and the place is the Town Hall auditorium. We shall count on you to speak for about a half hour, thus allowing plenty of time for questions.

We are glad to offer the modest honorarium of fifty dollars ($50.00) for this.

We are looking forward to this meeting with great pleasure.

Sincerely yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp
encl.

A nonprofit membership organization for education not relief

22-26-36

30 April 1947

My dear Miss Edelman:

Enclosed are several pages for my speech. Please substitute these pages for the corresponding pages in my manuscript. They contain certain corrections which were not on the manuscript.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Lily Edelman
The East and West Association
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

The East and West Association

Devoted to new and better understanding
between peoples through mutual knowledge

[redacted]

22-26-35

May 1, 1947

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John Van Ess

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director, Department of Research
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It would be hard to thank you adequately for your eloquent presentation at the closing session of our Peoples Congress on Tuesday. The power of your speech, I believe, received a most eloquent tribute from our audience in that we have over 135 requests for copies of your speech. Miss Buck is taking it down to the country to have them mimeographed there. She is going to bring the stencils up so that you can read the proofs.

Again, our warmest thanks to you. I am enclosing the honorarium.

Cordially yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp
enclosure

P.S. I received your corrected proofs, and sent them to Miss Buck.

A nonprofit membership organization for education not relief

The East and West Association

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62 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-~~4894~~ 8565

22-12-33

July 10, 1947

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ELBERT D. THOMAS
JOHN VAN ESS

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Because of the generous way in which you have responded to East-West invitations in the past, we are taking the liberty of approaching you once again. As you may know, our Association has been conducting community programs in various parts of the country to foster better international as well as interracial understanding. In Pittsburgh, we have just completed this past year a very successful community-wide series of meetings under the local sponsorship of the Centre Avenue Branch of the YMCA. That happens to be the segregated Negro branch in Pittsburgh. What has been of special interest is that this group has been able to take a community-wide leadership to attract a wide audience representing an excellent cross section of the Pittsburgh public. The series which they put on last year, a sample program of which is enclosed, was considered one of the most noteworthy efforts of its kind to be put on in that city.

This year, they come to you with a very warm invitation to participate in their second annual program which is to be built around the general theme of the unfinished business of democracy. They would like to have you talk on the subject of Color and Democracy. The most suitable date would be October 16 but if that does not fit your schedule, we could arrange something else.

A nonprofit membership organization for education not relief

22-11-87

Since they charge a very small admission fee in order to attract as large an audience as possible, they are able to offer a fee of one hundred and fifty dollars ($150.00). We realize that this is very modest indeed but have gathered the courage to approach you because we know of your deep-going interest in such efforts toward better understanding.

We should appreciate hearing from you at your early convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp
enclosure

22-11-88

I5 July I947

My dear Miss Edelman:

I shall be very glad to speak in Pittsburgh in accordance with your letter of July tenth; but the date, October sixte nth, is not exactly suitable. I have an engagement at the University of Chicago, November twenty-eighth. I am wondering if you could arrange for me to be in Pittsburgh somewhere around that date; perhaps the week before or the week after? The twenty-seventh would not do, as that is Thanksgiving Day.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Lily Edelman
The East and West Association
62 West 45th Street
New York City I9, New York

The East and West Association

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July 18, 1947

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Dr. W.E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you so much for your letter of July 15th. We are so pleased to know that you can accept the date in Pittsburgh. We hope that December 4th will be suitable because that seems to be the best date to fit in with both your schedule and theirs.

I am also wondering, since you are going to be in Chicago on November 28th, whether you would accept two additional engagements. One would be on December 3rd in Butler, Pennsylvania, which, as you may know, is about thirty miles out of Pittsburgh. The other date would be on December 2nd in Zanesville, Ohio, where we have a very lively and flourishing East-West Council. As I understand it, Zanesville is about four hours out of Pittsburgh. The fee for Pittsburgh and Butler would be one hundred and fifty dollars ($150.00) for each speech and the fee for Zanesville would be one hundred dollars ($100.00).

Please let me know at once if you can take on these additional dates. Perhaps your secretary would be kind enough to call me as soon as you receive this letter.

Cordially yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp

A nonprofit membership organization for education not relief

The East and West Association

Lecture

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62 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.
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22-11-90

July 28, 1947

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Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I was so glad to learn from your secretary that you might be free to accept three tentative engagements which we thought we might be able to arrange in the Middle West. The date which is definite at the moment is December 4th in Pittsburgh. We are waiting for confirmation from Butler, Pennsylvania for December 3rd. Unfortunately, we have just received word from Zanesville, Ohio that December 2nd would not be suitable for them at all so I am afraid we must check this date off our list. I shall let you know within the next couple of days about December 3rd in Butler.

The generous way in which you have accepted East-West invitations has given us the courage to approach you on still another matter. As you may know, we are constantly arranging various types of meetings and suggesting speakers. Our Association, based as it is on the principle of the dignity of all peoples, is always looking around for distinguished individuals whom we can recommend to speak on important occasions. Would you give us your permission to list your name as one who accepts occasional speaking engagements through the East and West Association? We would quite understand the numerous pressures on your time and would, of course, limit these to only the most important events. We would really feel greatly honored if you would give us such an opportunity.

Cordially yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp

A nonprofit membership organization for education not relief

22-11-91

30 July 1947

My dear Miss Edleman:

Answering your let er of July 28th, may I say that probably I could not take very many lecture engagements. If you want to put my name down on your list, all right. But let it be the understanding that in some cases at least I shall have to refuse without very adequate reasons.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Lily Edelman
The East and West Association
62 West 45th Street
New York 19, New York

Req'd photo

22-26

27 August 1947

My dear Madam:

Enclosed is a photograph. The facts concerning my life will be found in Who's Who in America.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Smith
The East and West Association
62 West 45th Street
New York 19, New York

The East and West Association

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22-11-92

September 8, 1947

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JOHN VAN ESS

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N.Y.

and announced by telephone - November 26 confirmed

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have just had our invitation by wire requesting you as a speaker in Des Moines, Iowa on November 26th. This would be the final address in a series of meetings which the East and West Association is sponsoring in cooperation with the Des Moines Public Forums put on by the Adult Education Division of the Des Moines Public Schools. A distinguished group of speakers will participate including Pearl Buck, who will open the series. They would especially like you to discuss the whole question of color and empire. Since I believe you are going to be in Chicago on November 28th, I am wondering if you can see your way clear to take on this date. The meetings are held in the evening. The fee available for this would be two hundred dollars ($200.00).

Inasmuch as they are anxious to get the series set up as soon as possible, they wish to have an answer by wire within a day or two. I shall try calling your office tomorrow morning after you have had a chance to receive this letter in order that I may know your decision in this matter.

Cordially yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp

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22-11-93

September 10, 1947

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OWEN LATTIMORE
MILDRED H. MCAFEE
MARGARET MEAD
FREDERIC G. MELCHER
DOROTHY NORMAN
DANIEL A. POLING
A. K. REISCHAUER
FRANCIS R. ST. JOHN
THOMAS L. SIDLO
GREGG M. SINCLAIR
MICHAEL STRAIGHT
ELBERT D. THOMAS
JOHN VAN ESS

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your secretary has asked me to send you a note on the dates which you have consented to take on for us. I am sorry that I cannot yet send you our regular form because we do not yet have full details. However, I believe that we can do this within a week or ten days. Meanwhile, I am just sending you the dates and places so that you will know how they fit into your schedule.

November 26, 1947	Des Moines, Iows	Fee: $200.00
December 3, 1947	Butler, Pa.	$150.00
December 4, 1947	Pittsburgh, Pa.	$150.00

Sincerely yours,

Fay Perreira

Fay Perreira
Secretary to Mrs. Edelman

A nonprofit membership organization for education not relief

DES MOINES PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Adult Education
629 Third Street
Des Moines 9, Iowa

N. D. McCombs, Superintendent
Paul H. Durrie, Director

COPY

September 23, 1947

Miss Lily Edelman
East-West Association
62 West 45th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Miss Edelman:

We are returning copies of the contracts sent to us recently as well as the agreement in regard to the entire series. All meetings are to be held in the Roosevelt High Auditorium at 8:30 in the evening and will be over by at least 10:00 o'clock. They should include a presentation of approximately 45 minutes followed by a half hour for questions and discussion.

We recommend the Hotel Fort Des Moines or the Savery Hotel and if you would like to have us do so we will arrange hotel accommodations. Usually we do not meet trains since it is very difficult to recognize speakers and the distance to the hotel is negligible and adequate taxi service for that short hop. We will, however, be more than happy to pick up speakers at their hotel and take them out to the auditorium the evening of their appearance.

Wherever possible, we would appreciate having our speakers arrive in the city on the overnight train that comes out from Chicago. We like to use them for a radio broadcast at 11:30 in the morning and a newspaper interview during the morning hours. These are excellent publicity for our evening meetings and we feel that the usefulness of the speaker is increased when he can reach the very large radio audience that one of our programs does provide. This overnight train from Chicago is by far the best transportation and almost the only transportation though there is one train that gets in here about 8:00 in the evening. It frequently is late, however, and it runs things a little too close for comfort.

If at all possible we recommend the speaker get in town the morning of his appearance. From time to time we may invite the speakers to have dinner with selected groups who may be participating in the evening's program or who may have responsibility for it in one way or another. Any such social engagements, however, we feel are quite optional with the speaker. If they feel that it takes too much of their strength we quite understand their position.

We are looking forward with a great deal of anticipation to this program. I am sending to you a copy of our hobby nights program which includes the ten Wednesday evenings, five of which deal with the East-West series. Separate programs will be made up later for the lecture series and we will send you copies of that program.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) PAUL H. DURRIE
Director of Adult Education

P.S.
Please advise us of the time of arrival of the speakers. Also, we would like to have glossy prints of all speakers as soon as possible.

[Enclosure]

The East and West Association

SPEAKER'S COPY

62 West 45 Street, New York 19, N. Y. Murray Hill 2-4894

AGREEMENT between THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION and

Name Mr. Paul H. Durrie

Address Des Moines Public Schools, 629 Third Street

City and State Des Moines 9, Iowa

for the Sponsoring Organization Des Moines Public Forums

for the following engagement:

Speaker W.E.B. DuBois

Place Roosevelt High Auditorium

Date Nov. 26, 1947 Time 8:30 P.M. Duration 1½ Hr.

for which the Sponsoring Organization agrees to: #1 + 4 below

(1) Pay a fee of $200.00 directly to the speaker on the day of the meeting;

[redacted]

(4) Arrange transportation between place of meeting and bus or railroad station;

[redacted]

(THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION is not responsible for the delay or nonappearance of speakers owing to unforeseen circumstances, such as accidents, strikes, or other reasons beyond its control.)

By Paul H. Durrie
SPONSOR Director of Adult Education
Des Moines Public Schools

By Rose M. Smith
THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION

* * *

Additional Information for Speaker

Type of Meeting: closing meeting of an East-West series

Audience:

Topic: Color and Democracy: A World Challenge

Question period: ½ Hr.

Recommended travel: R. I. from Chicago.

Addommodations: Recommend - { Hotel Ft. Des Moines / Savoy

SEE attached sheet

Remarks: Your appearance is requested for a newspaper and radio interview the morning of the meeting.

The East and West Association

Devoted to new and better understanding
between peoples through mutual knowledge

62 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-8565

22-11-94

September 23, 1947

Officers and Board of Directors:
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THOMAS L. SIDLO
GREGG M. SINCLAIR
MICHAEL STRAIGHT
ELBERT D. THOMAS
JOHN VAN ESS

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are so pleased that we can count on you for Schenectady for November 20th, Des Moines on November 26th and Butler, Pa., on December 3rd. We had originally counted on another engagement in Pittsburgh on December 4th but regret to say that because of unforseen circumstances, our series there has to be postponed until spring. We are, however, trying to negotiate one more engagement for you in the Pittsburgh area and shall let you know as soon as we hear of anything. You will be receiving contracts on the three settled dates in a short time.

Sincerely yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp

A nonprofit membership organization for education not relief

22-11-95

29 September 1947

My dear Miss Edelman:

I have your letter and note three engagements for Schenectady November 20th, Des Moins November 26th and Butler Pennsylvania December 3rd. Thank you for these engagements, I shall be glad to receive the contracts.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Lily Edelman
The East and West Association
62 West 45th Street
New York 19, New York

Memo . . .

October 3, 1947

Lochner

To.....

from

W. E. B. DU BOIS

The East-West Association would like for you to consider a speaking engagement in Ashland, Wisconsin, at any time that is convenient for you to come to that city.

282 - 12

Also, Emory and Henry University, in Virginia, would like for you to appear for them at any time that you are available. The authorities said that they can arrange their schedule to suit your program.

Please name fee for both places, as well as possible dates for appearances.

SCHULTE PRESS, Inc. CHelsea 2-0326 2-0327 119 W. 23rd ST., NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

October 3, 1947

22-11-96

My dear Miss Edelman:

Your office has been phoning me concerning a possible speaking engagement in Ashland, Wisconsin. I am in Chicago November 26th and 29th and in Butler, Pennsylvania on December 3. If I could make a trip from Chicago to Ashland in that time without too great difficulty, I might arrange to go; but I would not want to take a long and difficult trip, and I have no idea what the cost of transportation would be. Could you ger me some data on this matter?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Lily Edelman
East and West Association
62 West 45th Street
New York 19, New York

The East and West Association

Devoted to new and better understanding
between peoples through mutual knowledge

62 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-8565

22-11-97

October 9, 1947

Officers and Board of Directors:
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FRANCIS R. ST. JOHN
THOMAS L. SIDLO
GREGG M. SINCLAIR
MICHAEL STRAIGHT
ELBERT D. THOMAS
JOHN VAN ESS

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 W st 40th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed are full details about your engagement in Des Moines, Iowa. You will want to know, I am sure, that yours will be the closing meeting of this series. Other speakers on the program will be Pearl Buck on The Rising Peoples, Dr. P.E. Dustoor on India, Dr. Hernane Tavares de Sa on Latin America, and Mr. Harold Isaacs on American policy in the Far East.

The person in charge of the Des Moines program is Mr. Paul H. Durrie, Director of Adult Education for the Des Moines Public Schools, 629 Third Street, Des Moines 9, Iowa. Would you kindly let him know when you are arriving so that he can make the necessary arrangements and whether you will want hotel accommodations.

Sincerely yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp
encl.

P.S. I am also enclosing details on your engagement in Butler, Pennsylvania on December 3rd. As you will note, the person in charge is Miss Lila A. Adams, 601 E. Pearl Street, Butler, Pa. We hope that you will let her know when you will be arriving since they probably will want to meet you. We are asking Miss Adams to communicate with you directly about other details and have sent her your address.

A nonprofit membership organization for education not relief

[Enclosure]

The East and West Association
62 West 45 Street, New York 19, N. Y.

SPEAKERS COPY

Murray Hill 2-4894

AGREEMENT between THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION and

Name Miss Lila A. Adams

Address 601 E. Pearl Street

City and State Butler, Pa.

for the Sponsoring Organization Butler Branch, A.A.U.W.

for the following engagement:

Speaker W.E.B. DuBois

Place ~~Senior H. S., Butler, Pa.~~

Date Dec. 3, 1947 Time _____ Duration _____

for which the Sponsoring Organization agrees to: #1 + 4 below

(1) Pay a fee of $150.00 directly to the speaker on the day of the meeting;

(2) Plus a service charge of 20% ($_____) to be mailed to the East and West Association, 62 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York;

(3) Plus a share of the speaker's travel expenses, not to exceed the cost of round-trip first-class travel from New York City;

(4) Arrange transportation between place of meeting and bus or railroad station;

(5) Provide room or hotel accommodations for the night of _____.

(THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION is not responsible for the delay or nonappearance of speakers owing to unforeseen circumstances, such as accidents, strikes, or other reasons beyond its control.)

By Lila A. Adams
SPONSOR Butler Branch, A.A.U.W.

By Rose M. Smith
THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION

Additional Information for Speaker

Type of Meeting: closing meeting of an East-West series

Audience:

Topic: Color and Democracy: A World Challenge

Question period: Yes

Recommended travel:

Addommodations:

Remarks:

282-11

lecture

October 31, 1947

Miss Lily Edelman
East and West Association
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, New York

22-12-52

My dear Miss Edelman:

On October 3, 1947 you phoned me concerning a possible engagement at Emory and Henry University in Virginia, "at any time that you are available." I might be able to speak there December 16 or 17, if an engagement pending in Virginia goes through. In case I went to Emory and Henry I think the charge should be $150.00. Will you take this up with them or shall I?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

The East and West Association

Devoted to new and better understanding
between peoples through mutual knowledge

62 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-8565

lecture

22-11-114

December 10, 1947

Officers and Board of Directors:
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CLELAND AUSTIN, *Treasurer*
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ELBERT D. THOMAS
JOHN VAN ESS

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed is a check for seventy-five dollars ($75.00) for your fee for the Schenectady speech on November 20th. We hope that you have not been inconvenienced by the delay in sending it on to you.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Perreira

Fay Perreira
Secretary to Mrs. Edelman

enclosure

A nonprofit, non-political membership organization for education not relief

C. F. Edwards Jr.,
108 Eastern Main Road,
San Juan, Trinidad,
23rd. Sept. '47.

W. E. B. Du Bois,
383 Madison Ave.,
New York.

Sir,

This is the voice of a West Indian who presently reads one of your "atomic" books. I have read before the "Color" and heard about you.

I tried in vain over and over from my government to obtain an Import Licence to purchase some of your books. I also tried relatives in the U. S. to post to me some, but this was to no avail. I can however say now that I am blessed for I have at hand one of your books entitled "Color and Democracy" and my folks who are zealous are getting mad to read a page or two.

22-4-9

When I speak, I do this for a circle of youth and what I say is precise, conscious facts. Your say which evolves a canopy from the faces of a majority in the Colonies is by no means a pessimistic view but facts. You say so with firmess of mind.

To thousands of us, we wished we could have you around us or perhaps see you. The facts taken during the war and continued is listed with details and indicate facts thoroughly. Things that have already been indicated and mentioned by you are daily coming to pass.

Brother Du Bois, we in the tropics here feel embarassed, suppressed and as though we are in a wilderness and cannot get out. The domination and bounded duty so enforced on us hardly ever permit but few to gain enterprise. All tropical white are up from the time they are in Schools for they come from such places and take a job, but we the Colored and Negroes is bondage although qualified are left to wonder with all our classification and certificates filed away at our homes.

Many of our folks are going to Howard University monthly to study in all porfessions, but God knows when they come back they will not bepermitted any government jobs at all, they have to practice privately and administer their own business.

If I can have an anser, an answer from you, I will express consciously my firm intention in this domination anddictatorship which have us strayed and pondering through life.

I am,
Sincerely Yours,
C. F. Edwards Jr.

30 September 1947

My dear Sir:

22-4-3

I have your letter of September 23rd and thank you for your kind words. I would be glad if you would write me the exact facts concerning censorship of American books and periodicals. Do you mean to say that you cannot import a book from the United States, unless you have the permission of the government? Do you have any documents or copies of laws and ordinances on this matter? If so I shall be glad to have them. I appreciate all you have said.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. C. F. Edwards Jr.
108 Eastern Main Road
San Juan, Trinidad

October 15, 1947

My dear Sir:

I had a letter from you September 23, and answered it later but have not heard from you in turn. However, I am writing to E. F. Collymore of British Guiana, who has asked me about a lecture trip. I am venturing to enclose a copy of the letter which I sent to him. I shall be glad to have you read it and let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. C. F. Edwards Jr.
108 Eastern Main Road
San Juan, Trinidad

WEBD:lm

108 Eastern Main Road,
San Juan, Trinidad,
26th. October '47.

W. E. Burghadt Du Bois,
Color & Democracy,

Sir,

I must indeed apoligise for my neglected opportuinty for not writing you before, but to be frank I was away to the country side and just yesterday returned.

I am indeed grateful to you for your reply and I do hope that this will be the beginning of an outstanding event.

About the books as originally mentioned, I must tell you how difficult it is for hundreds of us who wish to read coloured people books from the U. S. We must first make up an Import List and make classification of what books we need. This is taken to our Control Board when at the same time you are told to go to the finincial Secretary. He stamps not allowed on that list and then you have nothing else to do but regard as a bad event. If however he allows it, you then go to the bank where they tell you, we have not sufficient American currency exchange. However I am endeavouring to make more contact for information towards its effect.

I think that your suggestion for a trip is wonderful, and I am sure that you can definitely support you in the finincial sphere, for I am sure that you will be able to collect an ammount as mentioned with the support of the majority. I welcome your suggestion Mr. Du Bois and as I seek to find out more facts I will forward all necessary information to you at earliest reply.

Sorry so much for errors and hoping to hear soon,

Yours Sincerely,

C. E. Edwards Jr.

No. 108 Eastern Main Road,
San Juan, Trinidad,
28th. November '47.

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

22-4-7

Having written you a letter a few weeks well ago and thereby no receiving an answer, I make another attempt to seek your reply.

I am of the belief that you are at present very busy with business and most likely you have it tough causing perhaps a slip in correspondence.

As I have mentioned in my last letter I will together with the majority of coloured folks in this island appreciave very very much you willingness to make a visit to the tropics and especially to Trinidad. I have mentioned it to some of my folks and I have decided to further to one of my councillors in the Legislative Council the suggestion made by you providing I hear some good and sound talks from you, and I am sure that we will be able to stand your expense.

This island is still the same and its deteriorating daily. Just two weeks ago they have imposed on us what they call "Austerity Measures" that is we must endeavour to do all in our power to help the mother country (England) and that all our purchases should be made from England, in case we can't get what we want there then they will make suggestions from Canada or to otherwise where they think best. Then its hard for us to think of importing luxuries and things they class as unnecessary articles.

I had my Indent returned to me a week after I sent it to Control Board with a note advising me that I should send them some more valuable invoices from my company in the States about the transaction. I was told frankly by one of the clerks who is a friend of mine that they only suggest that to me to keep me off, because it won't be granted in anycase. If the company in the States has a branch in Canada or England then it may be a possibility.

Well I hope to hear from you soon,

Yours Sincerely,

Cecil F. Edwards Jr.

NAACP Cor.

30 September 1947

My dear Miss Edwards:

You wrote me July 31st and for some reason I have just come across and read your letter and am not sure whether I have answered it or not. I am afraid that I have not. You must remember that with the large number of members which we have in the NAACP it is pretty difficult to keep track of individuals. Usually the local branches make contact with individual members and send notices of delinquency in membership. The national office seldom does this. It might be a good plan, but it would entail, as I am sure you understand, a tremendous amount of work. I am handing your letter to the membership secretary and asking her to write you. I am sure you know how much we desire the active membership of such persons as you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Ruth D. Edwards
45-36 39th Place #4
Sunny Side, Long Island
New York, New York

[Egypt]

Egyptian Delegation

to

the United Nations

art. 7

October 4, 1947

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored
People,
20 West 40th Street, N. Y.

22-13-45

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 29th of September, for which I thank you.

This Delegation would be pleased to receive a copy of your petition to the General Assembly.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Maher T. Doss
Secretary of the Delegation

erg
PRODUCTIONS PAUL EISEMAN • SAMUEL ROBERT • LESLIE A. GOLDMAN
SEVENTY-SEVEN FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK
ALGONQUIN 4-7732
ALGONQUIN 4-1721

October 24, 1947

N.A.A.C.P.
20 West Fortieth St.,
New York, N.Y. Attention Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois

Dear Sir:

We would like to obtain two copies of the document presented to the United Nations.

22-21-1

My organization is planning to produce a filmstrip on Negro history and the status of the Negro people in the United States. It is more than likely that some of the material contained in your document will be helpful to us. When our plans are sufficiently advanced we intend to call upon your organization for advise and to check the accuracy of our script.

Very truly yours

Samuel Robert

Samuel Robert

[Ethiopia]

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK • FIELDSTONE 7-1100

REFERENCE:

ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION - Hotel Barclay - Rm 826
111 East 48th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Smythe:

22-13-53

In accordance with our telephone conversation of today, the Ethiopian Delegation will greatly appreciate your sending the document of the NAACP, prepared under the supervision of Dr. DuBois, and which was referred to in your letter of September 29th. This is, of course, of great interest to us, and would have requested the document earlier had not the envelope of your letter been misaddressed and the delivery of your letter delayed.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Deborah E. Bennett
Secretary
Ethiopian Delegation

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

[Ethiopian Review]

req. to write article.

IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT
PRESS AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

April 27, 1947

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/o THE CRISIS
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.
U S A

22-23-23)

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We shall feel honored if you will write for us an article on the theme of what Ethiopia means to Africa and the entire black world. We leave the length to your discretion, but would like something of not more than 3,000 words. Also, could you send us a "cut" of yourself to be used with the article?

The Ethiopian Review is the illustrated English-language monthly published by the Ethiopian Press and Information Office in Addis Ababa.

Awaiting a favorable reply from you, we beg to remain

Sincerely yours

Homer Smith

Homer Smith
Editor

[Ethiopian Review]

8 May 1947

22-23-24

My dear sir:

Your letter of April 27th has just come to hand. I shall be glad to write for you an article on "What Ethiopia Means to Africa and the World". It would be an article of three thousand words. I could also furnish you a photograph or if you prefer a cut, providing you let me know the size and screen. My charge for this service would be one hundred dollars. I should be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Homer Smith
Press and Information Office
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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EUROPEAN
PARCEL COMPANY

110 West 34th St., N. Y. 1, N. Y.
(Opposite Macy's)

30 September 1947

22-8-31

Gentlemen:

I should like to sent to Hamburg, Germany some old clothes which I have, to a family which I formerly knew. Will you kindly tell me how I should go about making this shipment? Could you make it for me?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

European Parcel Company
110 West 34th Street
New York 1, New York

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TEL. PENNSYLVANIA 6-0229

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THE MOST TO THEM . . . . . AT THE LEAST TO YOU

Oct. 1, 1947

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W; 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

19a-8

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I received your letter and I'll be more than glad to help you. You can ship your old clothes to me. The parcel should be approximately 19 pounds. Including the wrapping it will amount to about 22 pounds.

The postage is $3.08; service charge is $3.00; insurance will be 5%, according to the value of the merchandise. You can put your own price on the merchandise.

Hoping to hear from yourvery soon.

Very truly yours,

J Sbar

Jacob Sbar

P. S. If you wish, you can bring the package over yourself.

TEL. LO. [redacted]

PE. 6-0229

European Parcel Co.

110 WEST 34TH STREET
(OPPOSITE MACY'S)
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

No 376

FOOD AND CLOTHING PARCELS TO EUROPE

Date 10/28 1947

224-8

RECEIVED from: Name [redacted] W. E. B. DuBois

Address 409 EDGECOMBE AVE.

City & State NEW YORK 32, N.Y. USA

the sum of $ 4.82 for Parcel No. [redacted]

EUROPEAN PARCEL CO.

SENT TO:

Name FRAU MARIE SCHECK

Address JUNGFRAUENTHAL 13

City HAMBURG 13

Country GERMANY

227

[European Parcel Service]
1947

Second-hand clothing:

I woolen man's suit
I2 men's shirts
2 pajamas
I dressing gown

to be sent to

Frau Marie Schlick

Jungfrauenthal I3,

HAMBURG, I3, BRITISH ZONE

Germany

22-8-32

from

W.E.B. Du Bois

409 Edgecombe Ave.,

New York, 32,

N.Y., U.S.A.

[S. Ezenekwe, Jan. 7, 1947]

University Union,
Edinburgh.
1.7.47.

22-2-23

Dear Sir,

I will be very much obliged if I could place an order through you, for a copy of your photograph — about a plate or half-plate size. I intend to include this in my biographical sketches of eminent Africans.

I have read your "Souls of the Black Folk" and have admired it very much and would wish to get hold of the "Dusk of Dawn" and "Black Reconstruction. Your photograph opp. pg. 179 of Benjamin Brawleys "History of the American Negro" is good; much better than that which is in the frontispiece of the "Souls of Black Folk."

Can you remember from what point in West Africa you might have come? Do you know from where Booker T. Washington + Toussaint l'Overture came?

22-26-84

I hope you will be able to spare time to write me.

I yearn to know more about Afro-Americans and Haitians — our "grand-children far from home"

My pursuit here is medical studies, and I intend to write in my spare time. Our folks at home lack suitable reading matter. I come from Nigeria.

Wishing you Gods blessings.

Yours truly, S. EZENEKWE.

Regret Photo

22-26-82

29 August 1947

My dear Sir:

I am sorry to be so long in answering your letter of January 7th. I am sending herewith a copy of my photograph. With best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. S. Ezenekwe
University Union
Edingurgh, Scotland